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Plusieurs choses certaines sont contradiées: plusieurs fausses passent sans contradiction: ni la contradiction n'est marque de fausseté, ni l'incontradiction n'est marque de vérité

Omnis res argumentando confirmatur

PASCAL: (*Pensées.*)

CIC. DE INV.

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FEBRUARY, 1852.

I.

PERSEPOLIS.

It was stated in the article on Nineveh, in the last number of this Magazine, that that city was destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians B. C. 606. The alliance of these two nations lasted but a short time, and was entirely dissolved by Cyrus the Great in B. C. 559, at the Battle of Palsargade, and a new Empire, called henceforth the Persian Empire, and comprising Media, Persia, Assyria, Babylonia, Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, founded on the ruins. There does not seem to have been any capital city to this vast Empire: three royal residences are mentioned, Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana, but there is no mention of Persepolis.

It is almost certain that Persepolis did not exist,—at any rate not in the magnificent form which it subsequently assumed,—in the time of Cyrus. No mention is made of such a place; Cyrus was not buried there; and there are no traces of an antiquity so remote as his time. Till of late years, the general opinion was that Cyrus was the founder of Persepolis, but the recent researches in the cuneiform inscriptions have led M. Lassen and Major Rawlinson to conclude that the great platform on which the city was built, and the Chehel Minar (the 40 pillars), and the building on the third terrace behind the Chehel Minar were constructed by Darius, that is, about 100 years after the total destruction of Nineveh and the Assyrian Empire. The other chief builder of Persepolis was, as is proved by inscriptions on the remains, Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius.

The plan, which we propose to proceed in this article, is to give a hasty sketch from the writings of the Greek Historians, of what we already knew of Persian History before these remains were discovered, and then to give an account of some of the remains themselves, chiefly those of Persepolis, Murgháb, Naksh-i-Rustam, and Behistan; from which it will be seen how much additional knowledge has been gained, on this interesting subject, from the late researches.

The commencement of the Persian Empire is to be dated from the revolt of the Persians from the Medes. The manner in which this revolt began, as related by Herodotus, though it has the appearance of being legendary, need not be entirely disbelieved. The story tells us how Cyrus gave out that he had received authority from the King of the Medes to act as general over the different tribes of the Empire. They readily acquiesced in the supposed order of their king, and Cyrus bade them attend him on an occasion which he appointed. When they came to receive his commands, he took them into a field covered with thistles, and ordered them to clear it. The task was a long and difficult one, but they nevertheless performed it. On the next day Cyrus invited them to a feast, and took care to make them as happy with mirth and good cheer as they had been miserable the day before from poor fare and hard work. When the feast was concluded and they had expressed their sense of the striking contrast between the two states of life to which Cyrus had introduced them, he is reported to have said, "Men of Persia, thus it is with you: those who are willing to obey me, a thousand good things await, bearing in their train no toil befitting slaves: those who are not willing to obey me, innumerable labours worse than those of yesterday will attend. Freedom follows where I lead, and Providence has designed me to bring these good things into your hands."

On this stirring appeal, they readily attached themselves to the fortunes of Cyrus, and aided him in throwing off the galling yoke of the Medes. After a few minor engagements, their efforts were crowned with success at the battle of Pasargadae, in B. C. 559. Cyrus, being now at the head of a new Empire, carried his arms westward, and conquered first of all the kingdom of Lydia under Cræsus. It seems strange that the Persian conquest of Asia Minor should have preceded that of the Assyrian empire, which then comprised all the countries westward of the Tigris as far as

Egypt, and therefore lay directly in the route which the Persian Army would have to take. But so the history tells us, without making any reference to the difficulty, and from what has already been discovered in the remains in and around Persepolis, it does not seem likely that this difficulty will ever be cleared up. The only inscription yet found, which speaks of Cyrus, is that on his tomb at Murgháb, which merely contains the few words, "I am Cyrus, the Achaemenian." Of his exploits and personal history nothing has yet been added to our former stock of knowledge.

Cyrus was succeeded by Cambyses, of whose career in Persia very little is known. He is chiefly remarkable for his conquest of Egypt. He was succeeded by an impostor called the Pseudo-Smerdis, who contrived by the assistance of the Magi to retain his seat on the throne for the space of seven months. We come now to a more important and better known period of Persian History, the reign of Darius. He was of the Achaemenian tribe, and was chosen king (so the story goes) because his horse was the first to neigh on the meeting of the nobles for the choice of a king—this having been the pre-concerted sign by which they were to be guided in their election. He proved himself not unworthy of the high position in which chance had thus placed him. He began his reign by dividing his enormous empire into satrapies, 20 in number, and appointing a certain amount of tribute to be paid by each. At the first establishment of these divisions of the empire, the satraps seem to have been charged merely with collecting the tribute and forwarding it to the royal treasury. In the later times of the Persian empire they came to be erected into separate military governments, and this proved to be the remote cause of its final dismemberment.

One of the most remarkable events in the reign of Darius is his expedition into Europe to avenge, on the Scythians beyond the Danube, the losses which the empire had sustained from those barbarous hordes about 120 years before. Historians have not acquainted us with the details of this expedition; and it is fairly a matter of wonder how Darius came to avenge on the Scythians of *Europe* an outrage committed on his empire by the Scythians of *Asia*. But the fact seems so well established, that it does not admit of doubt. It certainly bespeaks a greater facility of locomotion than we have generally given the ancients credit for. We know, however, that it was undertaken by Darius in person, and that it was unsuccessful. He built a

bridge over the Danube, and committed the care of it to the Greeks, while he himself penetrated further into the country. As it was not certain that he would return by the same way, he fixed 60 days as the limit, beyond which the Greeks were not required to maintain the defence of the bridge. The story of his giving them a leathern thong having 60 knots in it, one of which was to be untied every day, if true, argues a very low state of scientific knowledge, and one hardly compatible with what we know of the civilisation of the Persians and the neighbouring countries, (to say nothing of the Greeks,) at this period of their history. This expedition, as may well be imagined, did not add much either to the reputation or to the strength of the empire; but the loss and disappointment were more than counterbalanced by the conquests of Otanes, one of Darius' generals, over Byzantium, Chalcedon, Imbros, and Lemnos. This is the most flourishing period of Persian History. There was no power in its immediate neighbourhood, nor indeed within many hundreds of miles, which could hope to throw off the Persian yoke, and to recover its independence.

It was in the midst of this career of victory and glory, that the memorable war arose between Persia and Greece, which of course we cannot here enter upon, further than to remark that the inscriptions seem to make no allusion to these famous wars. It is remarked by Richardson, in his Preface to his Arabic and Persian Dictionary, that no Persian writer, whose work he had been able to consult, contained any account of the Invasion of Greece. It is not so much to be wondered at that no Persian writings remain to attest the facts related by the Greeks, considering the radical changes which that country underwent before it was accessible to Europeans; but it is surely a matter of wonder that the later Dynasties, those founded by Arsaces and Sassan, should have been so wrapped up in their own exploits as to have left us no record of the mighty deeds of their forefathers.

But of more importance even than these extensive conquests, and these openings up of the Eastern and Western world to each other, is the change of religion in this part of the East attributed to the personal influence of Darius. It is seldom that in the history of times so early as these, we find an account of anything more than the conquests and magnificence of great kings; here we have a subject shewing that some great steps in civilisation and general progress had been taken. It is doubtful, as Heeren shews, whether historians have been right in supposing Zoroaster to have been con-

temporary with Darius. What Zoroaster has recorded of himself in the Zend Avesta points apparently to lands over which Darius had no control, and to a period earlier than his era. He shows, from the places mentioned in the Zend Avesta, that the native land of Zoroaster was Northern Media, Azerbaijan, the country between the Kúr and the Araxes; that he first appeared as legislator and reformer; and that, quitting this district, he passed into lands eastward of the Caspian, and came to Bactra, the residence of King Gustasp, his disciple and admirer. Again, in the commencement of the Vendidad there is a catalogue of the provinces and chief cities of Gustasp's kingdom; which, from their oriental names, may be easily recognised. We learn from this that all the countries east of the Caspian, as far as Hindustan, were subject to that King. Khorasan, Bactriana, Sogdiana, Aria, Kabul, and even Lahore, occur in the list; while no mention is made of Persia and Susiana; nor of the capitals, Persepolis, Susa, and Babylon. Yet these were the usual residences of Darius, and could hardly have been omitted if he were the Gustasp who patronised Zoroaster. Heeren adduces other reasons to prove that Zoroaster was not contemporary with Darius, but those which we have mentioned will perhaps be considered sufficient. But this much is certain, that Darius was instrumental in establishing the tenets of Zoroaster throughout the whole of his extensive dominions, and we may therefore look upon this reign as the great religious epoch between the establishment of Christianity and that gradual corruption of the earliest religious knowledge which resulted in Sabæanism. The bearing of this subject upon the visit of the Magi, to worship the Saviour of the world, can only be mentioned in this place in passing.

Xerxes the son of Darius succeeded, a name memorable in Grecian rather than in Persian History. Indeed the name Xerxes does not appear in Oriental History at all, but as his father's reign is stated to have lasted 60 years, it is probable that the reign of Xerxes is to be included in that. If so, he is the Isfurdîr of the Persian Historians, the father of Bahman, the Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks.

The only other king of the Achæmenian Dynasty, of whom remains are found in the monuments which we are about to describe, is Artaxerxes Ochus; but as we know very little of importance respecting him, we may pass on from this period, about three centuries and a half B. C., to the rise

of the Sassanian Dynasty in A. D. 226—premising, that in the meanwhile the whole of the Persian Empire had been overthrown by Alexander the Great, and that the Empire which he founded on its ruins was weakened by wars with Rome, and by the defection of the Parthians, one of the most powerful of its provinces.

The first king of the Sassanian Dynasty was Ardshir Babegan or Artaxerxes I. He managed to bring together the scattered fragments of the Empire, and to stand against the Roman arms under Alexander Severus. He also established the reformed religion of Zoroaster. The legends of this reign are no longer in Greek, as in the time of the Arsacidæ, but in the Pehlevi, or ancient Persian Language.

He was succeeded by his son Shahpûr I., whose reign is memorable for the defeat and capture of the Roman Emperor, Valerian—which is supposed to be the subject portrayed on many of the sculptures still existing in Persia, and especially those in Shahpûr, and Naksh-i-Rustam. The events of the succeeding reigns are of no great historical importance, till we come to the accession (A. D. 534) of Naushirwan, the contemporary and rival of the Emperor Justinian. During this reign the prosperity and glory of the Sassanian Dynasty was at its height. Victorious over his enemies in the field, and successful in eradicating the dissolute and destructive principles instilled into the people by one Mazdak, and the restorer of bridges, roads, and other means and instruments of civilisation, we may justly look upon him as the greatest monarch that had sat on the throne of Persia since the time of Darius Hystaspes. But the glory of the Empire was not destined to continue. During this reign Mahomet was born, and that terrible stream of conquest, which flowed from his warlike and exterminating doctrines, spread in the very next reign over the Persian Empire.

Khosru Parviz, the successor of Naushirwan, a king quite worthy of the throne occupied by Cyrus and Ardshir, was the Persian monarch to whom Mahomet addressed the well-known letter, requiring him to renounce the religion of his forefathers and submit to the faith of Islâm. The indignant Khosru tore the letter in pieces, and sent a defiant answer to Mahomet. An invasion of the Arabs followed, and in A. D. 641, under the feeble government of Yazdigird the IInd, the whole country was overrun by the Mussulmans, and the Sassanian Dynasty was utterly destroyed.

After this sketch, brief and imperfect as it is, and which must rather be looked upon as recalling to the reader, by a few rapid touches of outline, the general features of the period of history which we have gone over, than as a first introduction to this subject,—we may go on to a description of some of the remains of ancient Persia, which throw light on those parts of history which we have just enumerated.

It was mentioned before that Cyrus the Great had no hand in building the wonderful palaces of Persepolis. They are due to Darius and his immediate successors, and we shall be able to judge from the ruins, and from a description of the city by Diodorus Siculus, in what magnificence and splendor those monarchs were accustomed to live. This is Diodorus' description of it: "A triple wall surrounded the palace. The first wall was 16 cubits in height, defended by parapets, and flanked with towers. The second wall was in form like the first, but twice in elevation. The third wall was a square, and cut in the mountain, being 60 cubits in height. It is defended by palisades of copper, and has doors of the same of 20 cubits high. The first wall is to inspire awe, the second for strength, and the last for the defence of the palace. To the east of this, about 400 feet distant, is the spot called the Royal Mountain, containing the tombs of the kings. Here the rock is hollowed out into several chambers, to gain the entrance to which, the coffins are hoisted up by machinery: no other way of ascending to them exists."

The ruins now stand on an immense artificial platform, evidently cut down from the neighbouring rock, measuring on the S. 802 feet, N. 926, and W. 1425. On the platform there are very distinct traces of a triple line of walls and towers, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus.

The ascent to this platform from the plain is by one vast double flight of steps, the finest perhaps in the world, which rise to the north and south with a very gentle ascent, and emerge from the flat space, which has been gained from the face of the valley, over a slope of accumulated ruins and rubbish. The entire height is 45 feet, and the width of each step 22. The blocks of marble, which have been used in their construction, are gigantic, and some are so large as to allow of 10 or 14 steps being cut into the solid mass. It is curious that this staircase is not in the centre of any one of the faces, being 961 feet from the south face, and only 208 from the north.

On ascending the staircase, the first objects the traveller observes are two masses of stone-work, probably intended as an entrance gateway for foot passengers. Beyond these are two portals on which are figures in bas-relief of animals, by Mr. Morier supposed to be sphinxes. If this were true, the connection between these remains and Egypt would be made out much more clearly than it is now, but Sir R. K. Porter has proved that they are colossal bulls. The heads indeed are gone, but there is enough left to determine for what they were intended. The resemblance between them and the bulls lately found at Khorsabad and Nimrud is very evident, and the inference seems irresistible that, for this portion of the sculpture art, the early Persians are indebted to the still earlier Assyrians.

Proceeding still eastwards we come to the multitude of columns from which the whole ruins have taken the name of Chehel Minar, or Forty Pillars. We cannot do better than extract from Mr. Vaux's work the account of these ruins as given by Ker Porter. "On drawing near the Chehel Minar, or Palace of 40 Pillars, the eye is riveted by the grandeur and beautiful decorations of the flights of steps which lead up to them. The superb approach consists of a double staircase, projecting considerably before the northern face of the terrace, the whole length of which is 212 feet; and at each extremity, east and west, rises another range of steps; again about the middle, and projecting from it 18 feet, appear two smaller flights, rising from the same point, where the extent of the range, including the landing-place of 20 feet, amounts to 86 feet. The ascent, like that of the great entrance from the plain, is extremely gradual; each flight containing only 32 low steps, none exceeding 4 inches in height, in breadth 14 inches, and in length 16 feet. The whole front of the advanced range is covered with sculpture. The eye, at first, roves over it, lost in the multitude of figures, and bewildered by the thronging ideas instantly associated with the crowd of various interesting objects before it. The space immediately under the landing-place is divided into three compartments. The centre one has a plain surface, as if intended for an inscription; probably writing may have been there, which is now obliterated. To the left of it are four standing figures, about five feet six inches high, habited in long robes, with brogues like buskins on their feet. They each hold a short spear in an upright position in both hands. The fluted flat-topped cap, before described on another bas-reliefs, is on their heads;

and from the left shoulder, hang their bow and quiver. . . . On the right of the vacant tablet are three figures only. They look towards the opposite four, and differ in no way with respect to their robes and fluted helmet; but they have neither bows nor quiver, carrying their spear only, with the addition of a large shield on the left arm, something in the shape of a violincello; or rather I should say, exactly in the form of a Bæotian buckler. . . . As this seems to have been the grand approach to the entrance of the palace above, doubtless, the spearmen just described, must have been intended to portray the royal guards, the fashion of whose dress perfectly accords with the account given of it by Herodotus. . . . Two angular spaces on each side of the corresponding groups of spearmen described on the surface of the staircase, are filled with duplicate representations of a fight between a lion and a bull, a most spirited and admirable performance. . . . From the circumstance of a collar round the neck of the bull, it proves him to be no wild one, and that we are to understand the combat as accidental; but whether it may be received as a proof that such combats were brought forward before the Persian people, is another question. That wild animals of the untameable sort, were not merely hunted by the bold spirits of these Eastern Princes, but preserved near their palaces, is evident from the lion's den which we find at Babylon, after its conquest by Cyrus; but by no accounts that we can recollect, does it appear that beasts so immured were ever used for sport of any kind after their first capture. . . . On the inclined planes, corresponding with the slope of the stairs, runs a kind of frieze, on which is cut a line of figures, one foot nine inches high, answering in number to the steps, each one of which appears to form a pedestal for its relative figure. The figures themselves appear to be a lengthened rank of those already described on each side of the blank tablet; and a similar range runs up the opposite slope."

This palace of the Chehel Minar is on the first terrace after ascending the platform from the plain. Behind it are two other terraces, one 175 feet by 95, and the other comprehending a square of 96 feet. Beyond this again rises a fifth terrace of yet greater height, and which seems from its situation to have been a royal residence. It is in this palace, that Ker Porter thinks he discovered the site and ruins of the palace which Alexander is said to have set on fire.

On these ruins are found various slabs, on which are sculptured the usual representations of the King and his at-

tendants. In one slab, he is in the act of grasping with his left hand a strong single horn, which grows out of the forehead of his antagonist, while he thrusts his sword or dagger into the animal's body. This creature is a monstrous combination of a lion in body and limbs, with the head and neck of an eagle, and is covered with immense plumage, lying like scale armour half way down his back; he is in the attitude which is termed in heraldry rampant, with his fore paws resting upon the arm and chest of the King. There have been many speculations as to the meaning of this sculpture, but they are so evidently conjectural, that it will be needless to trouble our readers with them. With regard to the date of the different monuments found at Persepolis, it has been mentioned before that none are so old as the time of Cyrus. It is most likely that they belong to the time of Darius, and his immediate successors. There is nothing to indicate that they are the work of the still later dynasty of the Sassanians, nor are there any memorials of that dynasty in Persepolis, except a few inscriptions.

The intimate connection between the style of the sculptures at Persepolis and the later specimens found in Assyria, is another reason for supposing that we are to attribute them to a period of history immediately succeeding the overthrow of the Assyrian monarchy. When Sir R. K. Porter visited Persepolis, little had been done towards the interpretation of the cuneiform writing, except by the happy conjectures of Grotefend. Since then, M. Lassen and Major Rawlinson have been able to determine with accuracy the builders of different portions of the ruins. The inscriptions relative to Darius are the fewest; but it seems certain that during his life-time the great platform, the Chehel Minar, and the building on the third terrace behind the Chehel Minar, had been constructed. On this last monument the names and titles of Darius are now clearly read, and the building of the third structure is directly attributed to him. The palace in the S. W. corner of the platform is as certainly due to Xerxes. There is an inscription bearing the name of Artaxerxes Ochus, but there does not appear to be any building in existence of which he can be proved to be the founder. The sum of the evidence, therefore, is, that all the most important works, now remaining at Persepolis, are due to Darius and Xerxes.

The next most important ruin to mention, seems to be that at Murchah. It lies on the road from Shiraz to Isfahan, and is about 49 miles from Persepolis. Mr. Morier thus

describes it. "It is a building of an extraordinary form. It rests upon a square base of large blocks of marble, which rise in seven layers pyramidically. It is in form a parallelogram; the lowest range of the foundation is 43 feet by 37, and the edifice itself which crowns the summit, diminishes to 21 feet by 16 feet 5 inches." It seems now next to certain that this monument is really the Tomb of Cyrus. We learn from ancient historians that Cyrus was buried at Pasargadæ; the question therefore is, whether it can be proved that the ruins now surrounding the tomb at Murghâb are the ruins of that city. This question seems now to be set at rest by the labours of Grotefend and other interpreters of the cuneiform character. On a pillar discovered in the neighbourhood, containing a cuneiform inscription, is now read, I am Cyrus, the King, an Achæmenian.

But stranger even than the identification of the tomb of Cyrus, is the discovery of a figure among the ruins of Murghâb, supposed, and with great probability, to be the portrait of that monarch. "It consists," says Porter, "of a profile figure of a man, clothed in a garment something like a woman's shift, fitting rather closely to the body, and reaching from the neck to the ankles. His right arm is put forward, half raised, from the elbow; and, as far as I could judge from the mutilated state of its extremity, the hand is open and elevated. His head is covered by a cap, close to the skull, sitting low behind, almost to the neck, and shewing a small portion of hair beneath it. A circle, of what I could not make out, is just over the ear, and three lines marked down the back of the head seem to indicate braidings. From his shoulders issue four large wings; two spreading on each side, reach high over his head; the others open downwards, and nearly touch his feet. Over all is the inscription. The figure from head to foot measures 7 feet; the width of the stone where he stands is 5 feet; two feet from that line reach the present level of the ground."

The next ruins which we shall mention are those at Naksh-i-Rustam, which, though containing a few memorials of the Achæmenian dynasty, belong to the later period of the Sassanian.

Naksh-i-Rustam is the name of a mountain in which are cut sculptures and excavations. Those highest on the rock are four, and are evidently intended for Tombs, and of a date co-eval with the splendor of Persépolis. The only means of reaching these tombs, the lowest of which is upwards of 60 feet above the plain, is by being drawn up by

ropes. These tombs belong to the period of the early Persian Dynasty, as we may gather from Diodorus, who says that—"These were tombs dedicated to the Persian Kings in the mountain behind Persepolis," and from Ctesias, who speaks much to the same effect. It is now quite certain, from the interpretation of the inscriptions, that this is the actual sepulchre of Darius.

The next monuments to be noticed are the later sculptures existing on the same rock, belonging to the time of the Sassanians. Amongst these, that which is invested with the greatest interest, is a sculpture which is thought to represent the capture of the Emperor Valerian by Shahpūr I., the Sapor of our western historians. The King is on horseback; his dress undoubtedly Sassanian, and his features closely resemble those found on the coins of Shahpūr I. Before him is a figure kneeling down and holding up his hands in the attitude of supplication. He is dressed in the garb of a Roman soldier. History does not acquaint us with the details of Valerian's fate very explicitly or accurately, but we know that by his imprudence, and by placing implicit confidence in Marianus, his Praetorian prefect, a worthless minister, he gradually involved himself in such difficulties as to fall an easy prey to the watchful enemy to whom he was opposed. Shahpūr seized his opportunity when the soldiers were disaffected towards their Emperor, and demanded an interview. It was granted, and an Emperor of Rome was in chains before a King of the Persians.

Passing by other monuments on this mountain for want of space, we must proceed to notice that upon which Major Rawlinson has expended most time and labour, and from which the most important results have been obtained—the monuments of Behistan.

Behistan is on the high road from Babylon to the east. It is an almost perpendicular rock, rising abruptly from the plain to the height of 1700 feet. According to the account of Ctesias, Semiramis scarped the lower part of the rock, and caused her own image, and those of a hundred of her guards, to be sculptured on its face, with an inscription in Syrian characters. Later researches have proved this story of Ctesias to be, like many other of his stories, without foundation. There are only two tablets at Behistan. One contains a Greek inscription, and the other a Persepolitan sculpture, adorned by nearly 1000 lines of cuneiform writing.

The sculptured portion of the rock still remains very perfect, and represents a line of nine persons, united by a cord tied round their necks, and having their hands bound behind their backs, who are approaching another of more majestic stature, who, holding up his right hand in token of authority, treads on a prostrate body; his countenance expressing the idea of a great king or conqueror. The Persian king has evidently taken great pains to ensure the permanency of this monument. It is engraved at an elevation of 300 feet above the level of the plain, and is so steep that a scaffolding must have been used for the workmen. The care also expended in the monument may be estimated when we consider that, as Major Rawlinson informs us, "after the engraving of the rock had been accomplished, a coating of silicious varnish had been laid on, to give a clearness of outline to each individual letter, and to protect the surface against the action of the elements." From the inscription itself, Major Rawlinson concludes that it was made in the 5th year of the reign of Darius, B. C. 516, while he was returning to Babylon after the subjugation of the last of the rebels who disturbed the peace of the early part of his reign. The nine captives are the chiefs of the nine different rebellions which broke out, and which Darius and his lieutenants were able successively to overthrow. To each figure is appended a brief recapitulation of his history, and in addition there is a commemoration of the glories of Darius' ancestors, the extent of his dominions, his gratitude to Ormazd, his religious reform, the valour of his different generals, and above all, his obedience to that precept, which we know from the Greeks to have been paramount in the education of the early Persians, an abhorrence of an untruth.

In so extensive an Empire as that of Darius, it was not likely that he would be able to enjoy very long repose. Before the tablet was completed, new troubles had arisen both in Susiana and probably also in other parts of his dominions. It was therefore necessary to add a supplementary column, and the frame of the tablet was so extended that he was enabled to exhibit even the figure of the Seythian rebel whom he had reduced in person. The inscriptions do not give us any further information of the movements of the King. It has been stated that the approximate date of these inscriptions is B. C. 516. Before that time it would have been impossible for Darius to have erected those wonderful buildings, the remains of which are still existing at Perse-

polis, as he was constantly engaged in putting down the formidable rebellions that successively arose amongst the distant and half-subdued satrapies of his Empire. In B. C. 501 began those troubles which resulted in the disastrous Grecian War; we may therefore fairly conclude that Darius' share in those buildings is to be referred to the period between B. C. 515 and 501.

The following is a specimen of the inscription at Behistan. "I am Darius the King, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of Persia, the King of the [dependent] provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenian." Says Darius the King, "My father was Hystaspes; the father of Hystaspes was Arsames; the father of Arsames was Ariaramnes; the father of Ariaramnes was Teispes; the father of Teispes was Achæmenes." Says Darius the King, "On that account we have been called Achæmenians, from antiquity we have been unsubdued, (or we have descended,) from antiquity our race have been Kings." Says Darius the King, "There are eight of my race who have been Kings before me; I am the ninth. For a very long time we have been Kings." Says Darius the King, "By the grace of Ormazd I am King; Ormazd has granted to me the Empire."

Having given some of the most important results of the discoveries made amongst the monuments of Persia, and the interpretation of them, we shall now proceed to relate how scholars first came to decipher the cuneiform inscriptions.

This is perhaps the most interesting and most marvellous part of the whole subject. "The more," says a writer in the Quarterly Review, "in truth, we consider the marvellous character of this discovery, the more we feel some mistrust and misgiving returning to our minds. It is no less in the first place, than the creation of a regular alphabet of nearly 40 letters, out of what appears at first sight, confused and unmeaning lines and angles; and, secondly, the creation of a language out of the words so formed from this alphabet, and yet so completely does the case appear to be made out, that we are not in the least disposed to retract, or even to suspend our adhesion to Professor Lassen and Major Rawlinson."

To Professor Grotefend belongs the honour of having first deciphered the cuneiform characters. As early as the year 1802 he had read a paper on the cuneiform inscriptions before the Literary Society of Gottingen, in which he explains the form of these characters. They are, (as their name implies),

in the shape of a wedge; they assume chiefly four directions, the principal inclination being invariably from top to bottom, and from left to right. Another character is in the shape of an obtuse angle, the angle being always towards the right; putting these two facts together, therefore, there seems no doubt that all such inscriptions must be read from left to right. After a careful examination of the characters, themselves M. Grotefend set himself to the task of deciphering them. Among the inscriptions copied by Niebuhr he selected two short ones found at Persepolis.

On a careful inspection of these he came to the conclusion that they contained a genealogical succession. There were two names in the first line, and two in the second, but one of those in the second was the same, (with a slight change in the termination,) as the first one in the first line. Having made this conjecture, for it was nothing more than a conjecture, though most important discoveries have resulted from it, he made a thorough examination of the remains at Persepolis, and satisfied himself that they belonged to the Achæmenian Dynasty. But how to identify the names of any of the kings of that dynasty with the supposed names in the supposed genealogical tablet, that was the great difficulty. It was not a very hard matter to decide what these names were *not*. Cyrus and Cambyses would not do, because the names did not begin with the same letter. Nor would Cyrus and Artaxerxes, for the supposed names are nearly of the same length, and Artaxerxes is twice as long as Cyrus. Grotefend then tried Darius and Xerxes, and these fitted as nearly as could be expected, seeing that they were Greek, and not the original Persian forms. By means of the Zend language, he managed to get the true Persian form; that agreed equally well, and thus he was in possession of about twelve letters. From the alphabet thus obtained he succeeded in reading the name of Cyrus at Pasargadæ.

Major Rawlinson in 1835 had only heard that Grotefend had deciphered the names of the early sovereigns of the house of Achæmenes, but he had not been able to obtain a copy of the alphabet which that scholar had drawn up. By much the same process as that adopted by Grotefend, he succeeded in reading the names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes. He next collated the two first paragraphs on the Behistan Inscription with the tablets of Elwend, and thus obtained the native forms of the Greek Arsames, Ariaramnes, Teispes, Achæmenes, and Persia, and out of them he formed an alphabet, 18 letters of which are still retained. It must

not be imagined, as Major Rawlinson warns us, that the decipherment of these characters can be affirmed with the same accuracy as that which we can predicate of the tablets of Greece and Rome, but only that we are sufficiently acquainted with the alphabet to give us good reason to hope that, with the help of the Zend Language and the Sanscrit, we may make the very nearest approximation to certainty.

Before dismissing the subject of the cuneiform inscriptions, it may be proper to mention that there are three principal varieties of it, called by Rawlinson, Babylonian, Median, and Persian. Of these three the Babylonian is the most ancient, and one variety of this species is most likely to be attributed to the primitive race which settled in the plains of Shinar.

The Median cuneiform character is so called, because it is supposed to embody the language of the ancient Medians. It has not yet been determined what the nature of that language was, but, as the tablets of Persepolis and Behistan have furnished us with upwards of 90 proper names, of which the Persian equivalents are now correctly read, we may hope very soon to become acquainted with it.

The Persian cuneiform inscriptions are the peculiar records of the House of Achæmænes. The earliest is that of Cyrus at Murghâb, the latest is attributed to the time of Artaxerxes Ochus. The language resembles Sanscrit very closely in its grammatical structure, but approximates still more to the Zend in its orthography.

It is distinguished from the Sanscrit by that uniform permutation, both of alphabetical powers, and of grammatical inflexions, which points to a period very remote for their common separation from their parent stock. "How then," says Major Rawlinson, "is it possible, that the development of these languages should have proceeded for so many centuries, *pari passu*, each in its respective path, if either the one idiom or the other had been alone indebted to an oral medium for the preservation of its tone and purity? The antiquity of the Vedas, assailed as it has been of late, by the advocates of Buddhist literature, may be now triumphantly vindicated by an appeal to the language of the inscriptions; and as the Sanscrit in its purest form can be thus shown to be the type rather than the refinement of the historic Pali, we may perhaps not unreasonably assume the character of the Maurian Dynasty, which was appropriated to the latter dialect, and which is the oldest form extant of Indian orthography, to have been itself a derivation from

some earlier alphabet, that was in use among the primitive colonists of Aryavarta, for the transcription of their hymns and sacrificial prayers. If, however, alphabetical writings were known to any branch of the Arian family prior to that age of Cyrus, it can hardly have been concocted from that division which of all others was furthest advanced in Hagiology. Sacerdotal influence and a written character are in the East almost inseparable, and whatever may be our opinion of the books of Zoroaster, it seems impossible, therefore, to suppose that the Magi, anterior to the age of Cyrus, were without a sacred literature."

Such is a brief description of the ancient history of Persia, the present state of its remains, and the writings which have been left for posterity. We need not say how imperfect and meagre this sketch must be. But still we do not think that it will have been altogether useless. Sufficient matter has been brought before the reader, we should think, to incite his curiosity to know more on this interesting enquiry, and also perhaps to give a fair view of the subject itself; and even for those who are already acquainted with the subject, this sketch may have served to recall it to their memories, and so to repeat the pleasure which they felt in their first introduction to it.

But when we look back at the remains and inscriptions which we have been examining, we cannot avoid feeling some pain that a nation which extended its influence over so large a portion of the earth's surface, should have so few records to give to posterity, and those too, records unworthy, we may almost say, at least the *inscriptions* are unworthy, of so great a nation. For what are they after all? Do they acquaint us with any effort of the human mind? Do they display any marks of the use of the judgment, memory, imagination? Is there anything amongst them to shew that their authors were anxious to embody and transmit to posterity those higher creations of the intellect for which the Greeks have made themselves famous amongst all nations, and by which their influence and position in the world are retained and preserved to this very day? Nothing of the kind. They merely record the glories of the King, and that too in such a way as to shew us but too plainly that that glory consisted in triumphing over difficulties, produced by the shameful mismanagement and irregular exercise of that very power which overcame them. Look at the Behistan inscriptions. The chief object of that celebrated monument seems to have been to describe the successful struggle of Darius with nine indepen-

dent and powerful rebels; and nothing, we may be sure, can prove more plainly than that, that the Persian Empire, with all its extent of territory and magnificence, had no real and inward strength to sustain it when the tide of victory should once begin to turn. However, we have obtained much new information respecting a people of whom, but a short time ago, we knew scarcely any thing; and there seems reason to hope that further light will yet be thrown upon Persian History and the religion of Zoroaster when the language of the cuneiform inscriptions comes to be more thoroughly and more generally known.

SONNET.

HUMANITY, in every varied form—
What is it to the eye of deep reflection ?
A heap confused of sorrowing recollection
And sad foreboding—as a pictured storm,
With here and there, a ray more bright, more warm,
The rest all cold and dark. The retrospection
Of our past years is *this*—blighted affection,—
The world's cold selfishness,—our own,—the worm
In death which preys upon the sole remains
Of forms once loved and cherished as our own ;—
All, all, fill up the vacant solitude
Of the poor heart which feeds upon its pains.
Thus feel I oft, tho' rarely make my moan—
O God ! forgive my melancholy mood.

II.

INDIAN BUDDHISM*

No one who is even moderately acquainted with Hindu literature will, in the present day, repeat the assertion which was once so commonly made, that the Hindu mind has been absolutely stationary for thousands of years. The most cursory and superficial review of Sanskrit learning, as chronologically classified by the unanimous consent of competent scholars, is sufficient to shew the activity, and, during the greater part of its career, the progress also, of the intellect of India. Beginning with its earliest product, the simple hymns of the Vedas, written in a "rustic dialect,"† we can follow its course as it successively took up the investigation of the Divine nature, gradually polished and reduced to definite forms its noble language, displayed its subtlety in threading the mazes of logic and metaphysics, and, at a later period, exhibited its versatility by its successful efforts in the widely different departments of poetry, rhetoric, and mathematics. The very names of Vasishtha, Vyāsa, Kapila, Gautama, Pāṇini, Kālidāsa, Aryabhatta, and Bhāskara,‡ when viewed with reference to their respective eras and achieve-

* 1. Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, par E. Burnouf, &c. &c. Tome premier. Paris, 1844.

2. Indische Alterthumskunde, von Christian Lassen, &c. &c. (History of ancient India, by C. Lassen,) Vol. 2nd. Bonn, 1849.

† Colebrooke.

‡ This independent thinker held that in his science an assertion of the Śāstras, unsupported by demonstration, was of no authority. His words are

अत्र गणितस्कन्धे उपपत्तिमज्ञेवागमः प्रमाणम्, (i. e. in this department of mathematics it is only when the dictum of Scripture is accompanied by demonstration that it can be (taken for) proof). The same author, writing on the subject of the procession of the equinoxes, thus expresses himself in regard to the dependence of the science of astronomy upon observation, and predicts its advances in future times :

यदा पुनर्महता कालेन महदन्तरं भविष्यति तदा मतिमन्तो ब्रह्मगुप्तादीनां समान्धर्मिण एव उत्पत्स्यन्ते ते तदुपलब्ध्यनुसारिणीं गतिमुरीहस्त्य शास्त्राणि व्याकरिष्यन्ति । अतएव गणितस्कन्धो महामतिमद्भिर्धृतः सन्ननाद्यनन्तेऽपि काले खिलत्वं न याति । i. e. literally, "when, again, after a long period, there shall be a great distance (observable in the positions of the stars), then intelligent men, of like character with Brahmagupta and others, will arise, who, admitting a move-

ments, are significant of activity and development. It might *à priori* have been discerned that the supposition of an independent nation which had attained a certain stage of civilization, having remained intellectually stereotyped during a long course of ages, was contrary to all analogy and experience. And now we find that research has in fact demonstrated the groundlessness of the idea. Even in later times than those to which allusion has yet been made, and at a period, too, when the energies of the Indian mind were repressed by the weight of Mohammedan domination, we find, as has been amply shewn by Professor Wilson in his *Essays on the Hindu Sects*, that religious speculation had displayed its activity in the creation of numerous popular systems of belief and observance. But in the subject of this paper, Buddhism, we see the most signal and interesting proof of the independent spirit with which thought was exercised in this country in ancient times, on the most momentous of all themes. On this subject Professor Lassen remarks in his *Indische Alterthumskunde* (Vol. 2, p. 439): "From the commencement of the historical era, no event had occurred in the annals of Indian civilization which so powerfully affected (*so tief eingegriffen*) the whole religious, political, and civil condition of that country, and which held out such brilliant prospects of progress, pregnant with results, in its mental development, as Buddhism." This remark will be amply justified by the notice about to be given of M. Burnouf's "Introduction to the history of Indian Buddhism."

This work is in every respect highly creditable to the distinguished scholar by whom it has been executed;— creditable to his good feeling, no less than to his erudition, his research, his ability, and his soundness of judgment. It originated as follows: Mr. B. H. Hodgson, formerly Resident at Kathmandu, had for a length of time availed himself of the advantages which his position in that country afforded him for studying the doctrines of Buddhism, and for making a large collection of the principal works in which that religious system is embodied. Having ascertained the existence of such works, written in Sanskrit, he succeeded, not without difficulty, and after many years of exertion and

ment in consonance with observation, will compose treatises (accordingly). Hence the department of astronomy, being maintained by men of great intelligence, never fails in time which has no beginning or end." See the references given to these passages by Mr. Colebrooke in his *Essay on the procession of the equinoxes*. *Essays*, Vol. 2, p. 381.

research, in getting possession of a considerable collection of books, the existence of which, in general, had not been previously suspected. Besides writing for the Asiatic Researches, and the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, several dissertations (now collected in a separate volume printed in India) on the subject of these books and the doctrines of Buddhism, Mr. Hodgson presented a large collection of the manuscripts he had collected to the Royal Asiatic Society of London, and offered to procure copies for any other learned bodies which might wish to obtain them. He also made a similar present to the Asiatic Society of Paris, besides having a further set of works copied on its application. As M. Burnouf very justly observes, the best manner in which the Society could testify its sense of Mr. Hodgson's liberality, was by "responding in a scientific manner to the appeal" which he had made to it. It was well that the Society had in M. Burnouf himself a member capable of answering this appeal in so scholar-like a manner.

We have remarked that this work is creditable to M. Burnouf's good feeling. At a period when so much may be heard of the vitiated condition of French society in respect of morals and religion, it is pleasing and cheering to read such an affecting expression of filial piety as the following with which M. Burnouf concludes his preface:

"Smitten, as I have been, by the unexpected blow, which by removing from our family a respected head, has so cruelly marred the happiness which it owed to him, it is only by long efforts that I have been able to extricate myself from the discouragement with which I had been visited. It was necessary that the ever present recollection of my father should recal me to the labours which he had encouraged. Those to whom he was known will not enquire what are the motives which I have to lament him, for they are aware of all that he was capable of doing for those whom he loved; and they will without any difficulty understand that I have regarded it as the most imperious of duties to place this work under the protection of his dear and venerated name."

The testimony which M. Burnouf bears to the merits of his predecessors in the field of research Messrs. Hodgson and Turnour, is liberal and ample. Of Mr. Hodgson, for instance, he says—

"In 1828 the 'Asiatic Researches' of Calcutta contained a dissertation by this scholar, full of ideas entirely new regarding the languages, literature and religion of the Buddhists of Nepal, and of Bhöt or Tibet; and his first Essay contained an account of the different philosophical schools of the Buddhism there prevailing, which has never been since surpassed or equalled. At the same time Mr. Hodgson placed at the

disposal of the Society in Calcutta three Buddhist Treatises composed in Sanskrit, which Mr. Wilson published in the same volume of the *Researches*, with a translation, accompanied by a Commentary. This first memoir brought to light, among other important discoveries, the grand and hitherto unknown fact that in the monasteries of Nepal there existed large collections of works composed in Sanskrit, i. e., in the language of the country where Buddhism arose several centuries before our era, and from which it had long been expelled by the Brahmins."

Further on M. Burnouf speaks of the "disinterested zeal which animated Mr. Hodgson, and the perseverance with which he pursued the object of his researches." In like manner, he speaks of Mr. Turnour, in his preface, p. iv. "When I come to analyse the Pali books of Ceylon, it will be seen what discoveries and labours we owe to the zeal of Mr. Turnour; and we shall have to admit that, if he has given to Europe fewer original manuscripts, he has furnished us with a larger number of accurate translations." The merits of M. Csoma de Cörös are also duly appreciated.

The volume before us (which, we believe, is all that has yet been published,) contains only the commencement of the history of Indian Buddhism. What it embraces and what yet remains to complete M. Burnouf's design, will appear from the following passage:

"I shall describe in a general manner, agreeably to the Nepalese tradition, the Buddhist collection discovered by Mr. Hodgson. I shall enter into the necessary details regarding the three grand divisions of the sacred writings admitted by the Buddhists of the North, and I shall treat separately of the books in which the practices of the Saiva ascetics are blended with Buddhism. I shall then pass in review some of the treatises which bear the names of authors. In examining such of those works from Nepal as claim to be inspired, I shall enquire if they bear the marks of being all composed at the same period. * * * * *

* * * * * This memoir, which will be composed of texts borrowed from the most important of the works sent by Mr. Hodgson, will throw some light on the first days of Buddhism; and while it presents the most characteristic features of the social and religious condition of India at the time of Sakyamuñi Buddha's preaching, it will definitively solve,—at least so I hope,—the long controverted question, (which, however, is no longer a question with any Indian scholar,) of the relative antiquity of Brahmanism and Buddhism. *

"In another memoir, which will follow the present, I shall similarly examine the Pali collection of Ceylon. * * * I shall then devote another memoir to a comparison of the collections of Nepal and Ceylon, and of the traditions preserved in the North and South regarding them. This comparison will enable us to perceive that in the Sanskrit collection of Nepal and the Pali collection of Ceylon, we have two sets of Buddhist writings, which differ, in general, less in the matter than in the form and classification of the books. A further memoir will be devoted to a discussion of the era of Sakyamuñi Buddha. When this point has been settled," M. Burnouf proceeds, "I shall throw together all that

is most positively known of the destinies of Indian Buddhism; and to omit nothing which can in any degree illustrate them, I shall state the different epochs of the emigrations which successively transported it beyond the bounds of India, which it was never to revisit." pp. 30, 31.

The Buddhist literature, it appears, is divided into three classes, 1st, that of *Sutras*, or discourses of Buddha; 2ndly, *Vinaya*, or discipline; 3rdly, *Abhidharma*, or metaphysics. In regard to the *Sutras*, M. Bournouf remarks, that the word is understood by the Buddhists not only of brief aphorisms, such as those of the Brahmanical sages, but also in another sense, and that the treatises to which this title applies have a character quite different from those which are designated by it in the orthodox literature of ancient India. These *Sutras*, as has been indicated above, contain the discourses of the Buddhas. As M. Bournouf remarks;—

"Composed in general in a simple form and style, they preserve visible traces of their origin. They are dialogues on morals and philosophy, in which Sākya fills the place of teacher. Far from presenting his thoughts in that concise form which is familiar to the Brahmanical teaching, he develops it with repetitions and a diffuseness which are fatiguing no doubt, but which give his teaching the character of real preaching. There is a wide gulf between his method and that of the Brahmins. In place of that mysterious instruction confided almost in secret to a small number of hearers, in place of those formulas, the studied obscurity of which seems as well calculated to discourage, as to exercise, the penetration of the disciple, the *Sutras* shew us Sākya surrounded by a numerous auditory, composed of all who desire to hear him, and, to use his own language, display that necessity of making one's self understood, which has words suited to all capacities, and by its perpetual repetitions, leaves no excuse to dispositions the least attentive, or to memories the most intractable. That profound difference resides in the very nature of Buddhism, a doctrine of which proselytism is the characteristic feature; but the proselytism itself is only a result of the sentiment of universal benevolence which animates the Buddha, and which is at once the cause and the object of the mission which he assumes upon earth. It should not, however, be supposed that the brief maxims which savour so much of antiquity, are entirely wanting to Sākya's teaching; on the contrary, we find in the *Sutras* several traces of that sententious exposition which comprehends a long development in a few words or in a concise stanza. But these maxims, which might be called the real *Sutras*, according to the Brahmanical acceptance of this term, are very rare in the Nepalese *Sutras*." pp. 36, 37.

In regard to the authors of these books, M. Bournouf states his opinion thus;—"Every thing which leads us to believe that Sākya, resembling in this respect other founders of religious systems, contented himself with establishing his doctrine by oral teaching, and that it was not till after his time that the want was felt of fixing it by writing, in order

to ensure its preservation." p. 45. These Sutras are again characterized as "discourses, varying in length, in which the Buddha converses with one or more of his disciples, on different points of the law, which are rather indicated than thoroughly treated."—"In them Sākya recommends the practice of those duties which form the object of his teaching, and shows their importance by recounting the merits which their fulfilment confers. Most frequently he confirms his doctrine by a recital of events which occurred to himself or his disciples in a former birth;—admitting, with the Brahmins, that all creatures are condemned, by the law of transmigration, to pass successively through a long series of lives in which they receive the recompense of their good or evil deeds." M. Burnouf recognizes two kinds of Sutras, the *simple* and the *developed*; the former bearing, in his opinion, manifest traces of being the most ancient, while the latter, by their difference of character and of doctrine, appear to be as evidently referable to a later period. In regard to the former, he remarks,—

"I do not think I go too far when I say that, if we should not find in them a complete exposition of Buddhism, we shall at least see a faithful history of its first efforts, and an exact picture of its establishment in the bosom of Brahmanical Society. It is this, if I am not mistaken, which gives to the Sutras and the legends an interest which would not attach to books in which the system of belief was more fixed and expounded more dogmatically. Such Sutras elucidate a very important point in the history of Buddhism, viz. its relation to Brahmanism, a point on which the purely speculative treatises maintain an almost complete silence. And this circumstance suffices of itself to prove that these Sutras were composed when the two creeds existed in juxtaposition; just as the presence of some Buddhist monks in several Brahmanical dramas shews that the latter were written at a period when the followers of Buddha still lived in India. One sees that the study of the Sutras, regarded under this particular point of view, affords a new confirmation of the opinion which looks upon them as the records which approach most nearly to the time of Sākyamuni's preaching." pp. 128-9.

The author then proceeds to shew what a deal of light is thrown by the study of these simple and more ancient Sutras on the debated question as to the relative antiquity of Brahmanism and Buddhism, "which some," he says, "have wished to decide in favour of the latter, on the ground that the most ancient inscriptions which are to be met with in India belong to it, and not to Brahmanism. Without entering," he proceeds, "into an examination of these monuments severally, which it appears to me have not yet been studied with sufficient attention or severity of criticism, I will say

that the existence of ancient Buddhist inscriptions written in Pali, and even the priority of these inscriptions to Brahmanical monuments of the same character written in Sanskrit, ought to have led to the conclusion, not that the Pali is anterior to Sanskrit, which is impossible, or that Buddhism is anterior to Brahmanism, which is not less so; but rather that a historical turn and a corresponding mode of procedure sprung up and were applied at an earlier period among the Buddhists than amongst the Brahmans. And still it must be admitted that these historical efforts made no great progress among them, as we do not possess the continuous history of Buddhist India any more than of Brahmanical India. But what shall we say now that we have the formal testimony of the sacred writings of Nepal, in which Brahmanical society exists all complete, with its religion, its castes and its laws? Will any one affirm that the society of which these books attest the existence, was originally Buddhist, and that the Brahmans, who at a later period became its masters, borrowed from it certain elements to which they gave the forms we find in the laws of Manu, the Ramayana and Mahābhārata? Or will he rather imagine that the names of the deities and of the Brahmanical castes, of which the Sutras from the North are full, have been afterwards introduced into them? By whom, I ask, could they have been so introduced? By the Buddhists, forsooth, to give themselves the honours of a superiority, or at least an equality, in respect of the Brahmans, which they would not have been able to maintain in India; or by the Brahmans, perhaps, in order to carry back their existence to a period more ancient than that in which they really appeared! Just as if, on the one hand, the authors of the Buddhist books could have had any interest in shewing Buddhism in the act of detaching itself from Brahmanism, if the latter had not in fact existed in their time; or as if, on the other hand, they would have permitted the Brahmans to come subsequently and intrude their odious names among the names of Śākya and his disciples. In fact, we cannot escape from this alternative: either the Sutras which prove the existence of Brahmanical society were written near the epoch of Śākya, or long after. If they are contemporary with Śākya, then the society which they describe existed at that period, for we cannot otherwise conceive why they should have entered into so much detail about a state of society different from that in which Śākya appeared. If, on the other hand, they were written long after his time, one cannot comprehend any better

how the Brahmanical gods and personages occupy so large a place there, since long after Buddha, Brahmanism was widely separated from Buddhism, and these two creeds had but one field on which they could meet, that of polemics and war. But it is sufficient, I think, to reason upon simple hypotheses, and so much the more as the inscriptions which have given rise to these different suppositions will soon be subjected by me to a special examination.* With a small number of facts and an ample employment of dialectic, it is easy to arrive at conclusions the most absurd and contrary to common sense; and if I could convince myself that polemics in general serve to throw light on any thing else than the passions or vanity of him who gives himself up to them, I could find in the present subject, matter for a long and laborious argumentation. But the reader will doubtless prefer that I should shew by what features, and in what point of view the Sutras and legends represent to us the society in the midst of which Buddhism arose and was propagated." pp. 129—30.

After stating that it would be inconvenient to cite all the proofs which might be adduced from the works before him, of the fact that, when 'Sākya appeared, Brahmanical society had reached its fullest development, M. Burnouf proceeds to indicate what information they afford in regard to the religion and political organization existing at the period in question :

"The deities whose names appear in these Sutras of the Nepalese Collection are, Nārāyana, Siva, Varuna, Kuvera, Brahmā or Pitāmahā, 'Sakra or Vāsava, Hari or Janārdana, Sankara, who is but another name for Siva, and Viśvakarman. To these gods, well known in the Brahmanical Pantheon, succeeds a crowd of inferior deities, such as the Devas, Nāgas, Asuras, Yakshas, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, Gandharvas, Pisāchas, Dānavas, and other good or malevolent genii, whose names meet us at every moment in the legends and preaching of 'Sākya-muni. At the head of these secondary divinities figures Indra, ordinarily called 'Sakra, or S'achipati, the husband of S'achi. Of all the gods it is he whose name recurs the most frequently in the Sutras and in the legends. In them he appears commonly to 'Sākya-muni, with whom he has frequent conversations, and he there receives the title of Kausika, a name which he bears in the Upanishads of the Brahmanical Vedas. His name figures with that of Upendra, one of the most ancient epithets of Vishnu, even in the following formula, by which the legends express that a saint has attained the grade of Arhat, viz. "He has become one of those who are entitled to be respected, honoured, and sainted by the devas, along with Indra and Upendra."

We are not aware that M. Burnouf has yet executed the task he here assigns to himself.

"All these deities are those of the people amidst whom 'Sākya, with his devotees, lived. They are represented as being, on the part of all the castes, the objects of a constant and exclusive worship; they are supplicated to bestow children; mariners threatened with danger, call on them, in order to escape from peril. But their power is not recognized by the Buddhists as absolute, and it is inferior to that of Buddha. 'Sākya, in fact, is represented as saving from shipwreck traders who have vainly invoked these gods; and as regards the power attributed to them of bestowing children, it is thus denied by the authors of the Sūtras; 'it is a maxim admitted in the world that it is the prayers addressed to the gods which occasion the birth of sons and daughters; but it is not so; otherwise every man would have a hundred sons all sovereign monarchs.' The subordination of the gods to Buddha is expressed, and in a way regulated, in the following passage; 'It is a rule that when the blessed Buddhas conceive a mundane thought, at the same instant 'Sakra, Brahmā and the other gods become acquainted therewith.' Thus also, we see, in more than one passage, 'Sakra, the Indra of the Devas, as he is commonly called, come to help 'Sākya-muni in his enterprises.'" pp. 131-32.

After further details on this subject, the author proceeds:

"These testimonies mark exactly the relation of the popular gods of India to the founder of Buddhism. It is evident that he found their worship already existing, and that he did not invent it. * * * * * I am thoroughly convinced that if 'Sākya had not found around him a pantheon peopled with the gods I have named, he would have had no need to invent it, in order to ensure to his mission the authority which the people might refuse to a man. 'Sākya does not come, like the Brahmanical incarnations of Vishnu, to shew the people an eternal and infinite God descending on earth and preserving, in his mortal condition, the irresistible power of the Deity. He is the son of a king who becomes a religious devotee, and who has nothing to recommend him to the people but the superiority of his virtue and his knowledge." p. 134.

In the following passage, the author both brings before us a Brahmanical tenet which would afford 'Sākya-muni a strong hold on the minds of the people whom he aimed to convert, and also explains a striking dogma of the Buddhist creed, viz. that an individual may elevate himself to divine rank by his virtue and exertions:

"The belief, universally admitted in India, that great sanctity is necessarily accompanied by supernatural faculties, was the sole foundation in men's minds on which he could hope to build; but it formed an immense aid, and gave him the means of creating for himself an anterior existence which supplied proofs and virtues to justify his mission. This past existence was, nevertheless, not exclusively divine; the Buddha had, like all other creatures, revolved in the eternally-moving circle of transmigration; he had passed through several lives in the bodies of animals, of the damned, of men and of gods, by turns virtuous and vicious rewarded and punished, but accumulating by degrees the merits which behoved to render him acceptable to the Buddhas under whom

he lived, and to ensure him their blessing. In this system, we may see, 'Sākya depends upon no god; he derives every thing from himself and the grace of an anterior Buddha, whose origin is no more divine than his own. The gods have here nothing to do; they no more create the Buddha, than they prevent him from forming himself, since it is to the practice of virtue and to his personal efforts that he owes his more than divine character." p. 135.

After repeating that the priority of Brahmanism to Buddhism can no longer be contested, M. Burnouf proceeds to state the questions which still remain to be investigated; and to give us an example of the light which the study of the Buddhist books may be expected to throw upon the 'historical succession of the Brahmanical tenets,' in the fact that the name of Krishna has not been found among the number of the gods who are there mentioned as the objects of worship at the time when 'Sākya appeared :

"I will only cite, as a sample of the results which may be expected from the study of the Sutras regarded under this point of view, a fact which deserves to be verified by the examination of a greater number of texts than we now possess,—that nowhere in the treatises of the Divya Avadāna have I found the name of Krishna. Shall we say that the legends relating to this personage, now so famous in India, were not yet spread among the people, or that his name had not yet taken its place along with those of the other Brahmanical gods? I would not venture to affirm this with certainty, but the subject is well worthy of all the attention of criticism;—for one of two things must be supposed;—either Krishna was venerated in India, under the character all but divine ascribed to him in the Mahābhārata, at the time when 'Sākyamuni appeared, and his discourses were committed to writing; or his deity was not yet universally recognized in the time of 'Sākya and the first apostles of Buddhism. On the first supposition we have to explain the silence which the Buddhists maintain in regard to him; on the second, we shall have to admit that the literary records of the Brahmins in which Krishna plays so important a part are subsequent to the teaching of 'Sākya, and the composition of the books which we are studying in regarding as the oldest written authorities of Buddhism.* But in either case, it will be necessary to have ascertained with certainty that no Buddhist work mentions Krishna among the deities,—in my opinion, Brahmanical deities,—admitted by 'Sākya himself." p. 136.

* In a note the author says: "I have no means of expressing myself with greater precision on this curious question. I will only recall to recollection that the high intellect of Colebrooke had already led him to doubt the antiquity of the worship of Krishna, and that he went very near declaring the development of the fables and legends which have made a god of the son of Devaki to be posterior to the establishment of Buddhism. (Asiatic Res. Vol. II. p. 197.) We shall perhaps find afterwards that the very considerable extension of the worship of Krishna was only a popular reaction against that of Buddha,—a reaction directed or fully accepted by the Brahmins."

At all events, M. Burnouf considers that the Buddhist books display the Indian religion in a light different from the Purāṇas :

"I do not hesitate to say that in the former, Brahmanism bears a character more ancient and simple than in the Purāṇas. Is that difference to be attributed to the circumstance that Buddhism has made a selection from the deities adored by the Brahmins? Or does it result from this, that the Sūtras reproduce a tradition anterior to that of the Purāṇas? I confess that of these two suppositions the second appears to me by far the most probable. The Sūtras appear to me contemporaneous with an epoch when the Vedas and the legends connected with them formed the basis of the Indian creed. I do not rely merely on the mention made of the Vedas in almost every page of the simple Sūtras; for this fact only proves the priority of the one to the other. I am much more struck by the part played in the Buddhist Sūtras by a god equally celebrated in the Vedas and in the Purāṇas, but who certainly meets with fewer rivals in the former than in the latter. I mean Indra or 'Sakra, as he is called, the hero of the Vedas, who alone appears oftener in the Sūtras than all the other gods put together. I do not mean to infer from this that the Buddhist Sūtras are contemporary with the Vedas; on the contrary, there is, in my opinion, an immense interval between these two classes of books. I only mean that Brahmanism, as it appears in the Sūtras, certainly presents an intermediate condition of the Indian religion; a condition which approaches more nearly to the somewhat bare simplicity of the Vedic tenets than to the exuberance of the developments which overload the Purāṇas. I cannot help thinking that at the time when the Sūtras were composed, or, to express myself in a less exclusive manner, at the time of which the Sūtras have preserved to us the recollection, Indian mythology was not yet enriched with that luxuriance of fables which have sometimes their rise in the Vedas, but which have not yet been found in their complete state except in the Purāṇas." p. 137.

We now pass to the notices contained in the Sūtras of the state of society as it existed at the era when Śākya appeared, which are numerous and important. The system of caste was then fully developed. On this subject M. Bournouf says :

"The names of these castes are cited continually. * * * * The Brahmins are those who are most frequently named; they figure in almost all the Sūtras, and their superiority to the other castes is never contested. They are distinguished by their knowledge and their love of virtue. Some of them are to be seen who, having attained the rank of Rishis or sages, live amidst forests or in the caverns of mountains. They subject themselves to severe penances, some lying on beds bristling with sharp points, or on ashes; others holding, all their lives, their arms raised above their heads; others seated under a scorching sun, in the middle of four fires. They recite the Brahmanical mantras and teach them to their disciples. This is their noblest function, that which properly belongs to their caste. The Sūtras afford us several instances of Brahmins instructed in the Indian Sciences, and they thus teach us what those Sciences were."

In illustration of this a story is cited of a Brahman of 'Srāvastī, who, after teaching his eldest son the four Vedas and the ceremonial of sacrifice, made a similar attempt with the second, with such indifferent success that he was obliged to put him into the hands of another Brahman; who, as the following extract from a Sutra shows, succeeded no better: "When *Om* was repeated to him, he forgot *Bhūh*; and when *Bhūh* was repeated to him, he forgot *Om*. The teacher then said to his father; I have many boys to teach, I cannot be always engaged with your son Panthaka, when I repeat to him *Om*, he forgets *Bhūh*, and when I repeat to him *Bhūh*, he forgets *Om*. The father then reflected; Brahmins don't all know the Veda by heart, any more than they can all read and write; my son then shall be a simple Brahman by birth." After adducing other particulars, the author observes, "it is impossible not to recognize in these features the Brahmanical caste just as the law of Manu describes it; but the features which, in the summary I have given, are meagre and lifeless, form, when displayed with the various details by which they are accompanied in the Sutras, an animated picture of the first of the Indian castes." p. 141.

Passing over our author's details in regard to the other castes as represented in the Sutras, the kings, their absolute exercise of power, their habits, and so forth, we come to his description of the appearance of Śākya on the stage. The promulgator of Buddhism is thus introduced to us:

"It was in the midst of a society thus constituted, that a young prince was born in a family of Kshatriyas, that of the 'Śākyas of Kapilavastu, (which claimed to be descended from the ancient solar race of India,) who renouncing the world at the age of twenty-nine, became an ascetic under the appellation of 'Śākya muni, or 'Sramana Gautama.

His doctrine which, according to the Sutras, was rather moral than metaphysical, at least in its principle, rested on an opinion admitted as a fact, and on a hope presented as a certainty. The opinion was, that the world is in a state of perpetual change; that death succeeds life, and life death; that man, as well as all that surrounds him, revolves in the eternal circle of transmigration; that he passes in succession through all the forms of life from the most elementary to the most perfect; that the place he occupies in the vast scale of living beings depends on the merit of the actions he performs in this world; and that thus the virtuous man after this life, is to be born again with a godlike body, and the guilty with the body of the damned; that the rewards of heaven and pains of hell have only a limited duration, like every thing else in the world; that time exhausts the merit of virtuous actions, just as well as it effaces the guilt of evil ones; and that the fated law of change brings back to earth both the god, and the inhabitant of hell, in order to put both anew to the proof and subject

them to a new series of transmigrations. The hope which 'Sākya-muni held out to men was the possibility of escaping from the law of transmigration, by entering into the state he calls *nirvāṇa*, i. e. annihilation. The definitive sign of this annihilation was death; but a preceding sign pointed out in this life the man who was predestined to that supreme deliverance; this was the possession of an unlimited knowledge which enabled him to regard this world in its real character, viz. the knowledge of physical and moral laws; to sum up all in one word, it was the practice of the six transcendental perfections, almsgiving, morality, knowledge, energy, patience, and charity. The authority on which the ascetic of the race of 'Sākya rested his teaching was entirely personal, and was formed of two elements, one real and the other ideal. The first was the regularity and sanctity of his conduct, of which chastity, patience, and charity constituted the principal features. The second was the claim he had to be Buddha, i. e. enlightened, and as such, to possess a superhuman knowledge and power. By his power he wrought miracles; by his knowledge he brought before himself the past and the future in a clear and complete form. Through it he could tell all that every man had done in his former existence; and thus he affirmed that an infinite number of beings had, like himself, already attained by the practice of the same virtues to the dignity of Buddha, before entering into complete annihilation. Finally, he presented himself to men as their Saviour, and promised them that his death would not be the annihilation of his doctrine, but that that doctrine would last many ages after him, and, when its salutary action had ceased, a new Buddha, whom he designated by name, would come into the world, and that before descending to the earth, he had, according to the legends, consecrated himself in heaven to be a future Buddha. This is what the Sūtras teach us of the position and designs of 'Sākyamuni in the midst of Indian society; and this, if I am not mistaken, is the most simple and primitive form under which his doctrine is presented to us, while it was still, as exhibited in these treatises, in the condition of being preached," pp. 152-54. "It is clear that he appeared as one of the ascetics who from the most ancient times had been in the habit of traversing India preaching morality, respected in society in proportion to the contempt of it which they affected; it was even by placing himself under the tutelage of the Brahmins that he entered on the religious life. In fact, the *Lalitā Vistara* shews him to us, when he left his father's house, resorting to the most famous Brahmins, in order to derive from their school the knowledge of which he was in quest. * * * * * 'Sākyamuni, or the Anchorite of the 'Sākya race, is not distinguished, at first, from other anchorites of Brahmanical descent; and the reader will see presently, when I collect the proofs of the struggles which he had to sustain against the rival ascetics, that the people, astonished at the persecutions of which he was the object, sometimes asked his opponents what reasons they had for hating him so much, seeing he was only a mendicant like themselves." p. 154.

M. Burnouf proceeds to remark that the doctrine of the transmigration of souls was one which was common to him with all classes of Indian society; that in becoming an ascetic he only followed the example of Viśvāmitra and other Khattryas; and that he agreed in most of the dogmas held by the Brahmins, while he differed from them in the

conclusions he thence drew, and the views of salvation he gave, by substituting annihilation and vacuity for absorption into Brahma. After supporting by further observations his positions in regard to the equal footing on which the Buddhist stood with the Brahmanical ascetics, our author proceeds to enlarge on the end which Śākya proposed to himself, and the effects wrought by his efforts on the minds of his disciples. "Encouraged," we are told, "by the example of his virtues and the recollection of the trials which he told them they had gone through in former births, his disciples submitted to the severest sacrifices, with the view of attaining, like him, the perfection of sanctity. It was nothing uncommon to see some of them abandoning life, with the desire and firm hope of one day reaching the state of a perfected Buddha. Their devotion is, meanwhile, more disinterested than that of the Brahmans, who undertook severe penances, in order to share in another life the abode of Indra or Brahmā; for the perfection to which the Buddhist ascetic aspired, would not exalt himself alone, and it was with the view of making other men partakers in the benefits of it, that he sought it through the severest trials." p. 159. In respect of such penances, Buddhism resembled Brahmanism, with points of difference: "The belief in the sanctity of suicide with a religious aim, is the same in both, because it is based on the ancient sentence of reprobation passed against the body by oriental asceticism. And in fact, if life is a state of sorrow and of sin, if the body is a prison, in which the soul languishes in miserable captivity, what better use can be made of it than to rid one's self of it? And with what ardour ought not the ascetic to advance to this sacrifice, if he believes that he will thus approach more rapidly to the exalted aim held out to his efforts? This, it cannot be doubted, is the meaning of those voluntary immolations which are performed even in our own day under the ear of Jagannāth." p. 160. This asceticism and self-mortification won for the Buddhist devotees the respect of the multitude; and their popularity naturally drew on them the ill-will of the Brahmanist ascetics whom they rivalled: "One of the grievances which usually urged the Brahmans to hostility to the Buddhists, was that the latter, devoted, like themselves, to an ascetic life, and drawing towards themselves the respect of the people by the regularity of their conduct, drew away from the devotees of other sects a portion of the homage and the profits which they formerly enjoyed alone. We shall immediately come to the

case of six Brahmans who wished to try their supernatural powers against those of 'Sākya, complaining loudly of the wrong he had done them since he had embraced the religious life." p. 161.

According to the Buddhist Sutras, the Brahman ascetics endeavoured to rival 'Sākyamuni in working miracles; but as related in a legend which M. Burnouf translates nearly entire, and of which we shall give an abstract, they were signally worsted. It seems there lived in those days in the city of Rājagriha six mendicants called Purāṇa Kāsyapa, Maskarin, Sanjayin, Ajita Kesakambala, Kakudā Kātyāyana, and Nirgrantha, who imagined themselves omniscient, while they were very far from being so. These six Tirthyas, (as Brahman ascetics are called in these books,) said among themselves, 'Before 'Sramana Gautama appeared, we were honoured, respected, venerated, adored by kings, counsellors, Brahmans, heads of families, dwellers in town and country, by the head tradesmen, and merchants; and we received from them divers assistance, as clothing, food, beds, seats, medicines and so forth. But since Gautama has appeared, it is he who receives all these honours and all this assistance; our profits and honours are gone. And yet we are endowed with supernatural power and can discuss points of learning; Gautama, in like manner, professes to have these endowments. We must therefore strive with him in the performance of miracles. If he works one, we will work two; if he works two, we will work four; if he works four, we will work eight; if he works eight, we will work sixteen; if he works sixteen, we will work thirty-two; in short, we shall work twice or thrice as many as he. Let him advance half way, and we will do the same. Come then let us strive with 'Sramana Gautama in working miracles.'

They accordingly applied twice in vain to Bimbisāra the King of Magadha, to be allowed to make trial of their strength against 'Sākya, as workers of miracles, and he threatened to drive them out of his country, if they applied a third time. They found, however, a more favourable reception from Prasenajit, the King of Kosala, who visited 'Sākya in his hermitage, and prevailed upon him to manifest his miraculous powers in opposition to the Brahman ascetics. The king then constructed a spacious building, with a throne for 'Sākyamuni, where he was to perform his miracles on the day appointed. The friends of the Brahman devotees in like manner erected buildings for their reception. On the appointed day, the king, attend-

ed by a great multitude, came to the ground which had been garnished with standards, draperies, and flower; the Tirthyas also came to their respective places. As Buddha had not arrived, a young man named Uttara was sent to summon him. The sage agreed to come, and gave the messenger the power of flying back to his master through the air. On seeing this miracle, the king called on the Tirthyas to do the like, but they excused themselves by saying that there was a great crowd of people, and the king would not be able to know whether the miracle was wrought by them or by Buddha; 'Sākya next miraculously set fire to the building prepared for himself and as miraculously extinguished the conflagration, without injury to the structure; and then caused the appearance of a brilliant luminary, which filled the whole world with its splendour; on being challenged to match these miracles, the Tirthyas again excused themselves as before. 'Sākya then, by putting his feet to the ground, caused a great earthquake, in the course of which the earth was agitated in six different ways. When the eastern part sunk, the western rose; when the southern rose, the northern sunk; and then the reverse took place, and so forth. The sun and moon glowed. Various and wonderful apparitions took place. The gods of the air showered on Bhagavat (the divine, an appellation of Buddha), celestial lotuses, blue, red and white, with sundry powders, leaves and flowers. Celestial instruments sounded, and a shower of vestments fell. Five hundred Rishis who lived on a mountain in the neighbourhood, ascribing the earthquake to the power of Buddha, set out for the city of Srāvastī, near which was the scene of miraculous encounter, and by the same miraculous power of Buddha arrived at the same moment as they set out. They then applied to 'Sākya to be received as religious mendicants of his order, and he had no sooner pronounced the words of assent, than they found themselves shaven, clothed with the garments of mendicants, furnished with the pots which terminate in the shape of a bird's beak, and otherwise possessed of the decent exterior of men who had received the investiture for a hundred years.

Bhagavat arrived at length at the building prepared for him. He then mounted up into the air, and attained the region of light; flames burst from the lower part of his body, and a shower of cold water fell from the upper. After this display, he returned to his seat. Indra, Brahmā, and

the gods next came and saluted him, and some further miraculous phantasmagoria took place. The king then again twice challenged the Brahman ascetics to work some miracles, but they had nothing to say.

It now occurred to Pāṇchika, the general-in-chief of the Yakshas, who was subservient to the will of Buddha, to raise a great storm of wind and rain which destroyed the buildings erected for the Tirthyas. The latter took to flight, and many hundred thousands of people took refuge near Buddha, who so arranged matters that not a single drop of rain fell on them. Pāṇchika exhorted the Tirthyas in like manner to take refuge with Buddha and his law; but they would not be persuaded, and ran off, and Purāṇa, one of them, threw himself into a lake with a jar full of sand tied to his neck, and was drowned. The legend winds up with an exposition of the law by Buddha, followed by numerous conversions.

Another legend is then given; the substance of which is, that the Tirthyas hearing of the expected arrival of Buddha at a city called Bhadrakara, prevailed on the people to desert the city, plough up the pastures, obliterate the landmarks, cut down all the fruit and flowering trees, and poison all the fountains. This was done, but the gods restored the country to a flourishing state. The people returned, but agreed not to visit Buddha when he came. He came, however, and succeeded in getting them all to come to him. M. Burnouf proceeds to speak of the manner in which Śākya addressed himself to his work:

"The passage last cited naturally leads me to speak of the means which Śākya employed to convert the people to his doctrine. These means were preaching, and, according to the legends, miracles. Let us set aside for a moment the miracles, which are worth no more than those which the Brahmins opposed to them. But the preaching is a means in every way deserving of attention, and which, if I mistake not, was unheard of in India before the appearance of Śākya. The difference in the mode of instruction employed by the Buddhists and the Brahmins lay entirely in preaching, which had the effect of placing within the reach of all the truths which were formerly the portion of the privileged castes alone. This gives to Buddhism a character of simplicity, and in a literary point of view, of mediocrity, which distinguishes it in the widest manner from Brahmanism. It also explains how Śākya was led to receive into the number of his auditors men whom the highest classes in society rejected. It accounts for his success, viz. for the facility with which his doctrine spread and his disciples were multiplied. In short, it furnishes us with the secret of the important modifications which the propagation of Buddhism would necessarily occasion in the Brahmanical system, and of the persecutions which the fear of change could not fail to draw down on the Buddhists, from the period when they became

strong enough to place in peril a political establishment founded chiefly on the existence and perpetuity of castes. These facts are so intimately connected with each other, that the first had only to be brought into existence in order to the other also being, in time, developed almost as a matter of course. But external circumstances, too, may have favoured this development; the minds of men may have been more or less happily prepared; the moral condition of India, in a word, may have seconded the eagerness of the people to listen to the teaching of Śākya.

"I have already said that the means employed by Śākya to convert the people to his doctrine, besides the superiority of his teaching, was, the éclat of his miracles. The proofs of this assertion meet us at every page of the Sūtras, and I find this sort of maxim frequently repeated, viz. 'miracles wrought by a supernatural power very quickly attract ordinary men.' This instrument of conversion found always a response in the sentiments of good-will and faith awakened in those who came to hear, or even to see, Buddha, by the influence of virtuous actions which they had performed in previous births. This is one of the favourite themes of the legend-writers; to say the truth, there is not a single conversion which was not prepared by the good-will which the hearer of Buddha had for him and his doctrine; and Śākya delighted in relating at length to his disciples their actions in a former existence by which they had merited to be born again in his time, to attend on his preaching, and become touched with goodwill towards him. That good-will, or, to speak more clearly, that species of grace, is the grand moving-power in conversions otherwise the most inexplicable; it is the bond by which Śākya connects the new present introduced by his doctrine, with an unknown past which he explains so as to advance the cause of his preaching. It is easy to understand the influence which such an instrument of persuasion would exercise on the mind of a people among whom the law of transmigration was so generally admitted. In taking as his starting-point this dogma, upon which he relied to authorize his mission, Śākya appeared rather to lay open the past than change the present; and it cannot be doubted that he made use of it to justify those conversions which were condemned by the prejudices of the superior castes to which he belonged by birth. But this moving-principle of grace is essentially religious, and it is one the use of which might, and doubtless must, have been exaggerated by the legend-writers after the event, and when Buddhism had acquired an importance which it certainly had not in the time of Śākya. Probably more human motives must have acted on men's minds, and favoured the propagation of a creed the rise of which announced nothing more than one of those sects which have always been so numerous in India, and which Brahmanism tolerates, while it despises them. These motives were individual or general; and I proceed to state some of them, gathered from the Sūtras and legends of the collection I have so often referred to." pp. 194-6.

The causes specified by M. Burnouf as those which led men to adopt a life of Buddhist monkery are ignorance, poverty, misfortune, and the greatness of the rewards held out by Śākyamuni. In illustration of the first cause, ignorance, M. Burnouf recurs to the case of the youth Panthaka, whom he had before introduced to us, as so impracticable a scholar that when his teacher pronounced *Bhūh*, he forgot

Om, and when *Om* was pronounced, he forgot *Bhūh*. This young Brahman, strange to say, (*chose remarquable*!) was found to have the qualities suited to make an excellent Buddhist, and quickly learned so much of the mysteries of that creed, as sufficed to inspire him with the desire of embracing the religious life. On this case M. Burnouf justly observes: "A conversion of this kind is perfectly natural, and it appears to have been always more easy in India to assume the convenient and easy position of an ascetic than to remain in society, where the heavy yoke of caste confines men at every moment of their lives. I look upon the notices contained in this legend as having great value for the history of the earliest times of Buddhism; we here learn that the doctrine of 'Sākya had become, probably at an early period, a sort of easy devotion, which gathered its recruits among those who were alarmed at the difficulties of Brahmanical learning." p. 196.

Our author makes the following remarks on the way in which 'Sākya, while admitting as a fact the existence of castes, extricated himself from the difficulties which this institution threw in his way; with the necessity, however, that sooner or later he, or his followers, would come into conflict with the Brahmins: "His avowed aim was to save men from their miserable existence in this world, and exempt them from the fated law of transmigration. He admitted that the practice of virtue ensured to a good man a future abode in heaven, and the enjoyment of a better existence. But no one regarded this as a definitive state of well-being; to become a god, was to be born again in order one day to die, and the object was to escape for ever the necessity of being born again and dying. The distinction of castes was in the eyes of 'Sākya an accident in the existence of men here below,—an accident which he recognized, but could not prevent. This is why castes appear in all the Sutras and legends I have read, as an established fact, against which 'Sākya does not make a single political objection. This was so much the case, that when a person attached to a prince's service wished to embrace the monastic life, 'Sākya did not receive him till the prince had given his assent." * * * * * "This respect of 'Sākya for the royal authority has left its traces even on modern Buddhism; and it is one of the fundamental rules for the ordination of a monk that he should make answer in the negative to the question, 'are you in the king's service?' " * * * *

* * * * * "Śākya admitted, therefore, the hierarchy of castes; he even explained it, as the Brahmans did, by the theory of punishments and rewards; and as often as he instructed a man of low condition, he invariably ascribed the baseness of his birth to the sins he had committed in a former life. To convert a man of whatever character, was, then, in 'Śākya's view, to give him the means of escaping from transmigration. * * * * *

* * * * * 'Śākya opened to all castes without distinction the way of salvation, from which their birth had formerly excluded the greater part; and he made them equal among themselves and in his own esteem, by investing them with the rank of monks. In this last respect he went much further than the philosophers Kapila and Patanjali, who had begun a work nearly resembling that which the Buddhists accomplished afterwards. By attacking as useless the works prescribed by the Veda, and by substituting for them the practice of personal ascetism, Kapila had placed within the reach of all, in principle at least, if not in reality, the title of ascetic, which up to that time had been the compliment, and nearly exclusive privilege, of the life of a Brahman. 'Śākya did more; he gave to isolated philosophers the organization of a religious body. We find in this, the explanation of two facts; *first*, the facility with which Buddhism must have been propagated at the commencement, and *secondly*, the opposition which Brahmanism naturally made to its progress. The Brahmans had no objection to make to 'Śākya so long as he confined himself to work out as a philosopher the future deliverance of mankind, to assure them of the liberation which I have already styled *absolute*. But they could not admit the possibility of that *actual* deliverance, that *relative* liberation which tended to nothing short of the destruction, in a given time, of the subordination of castes as regarded religion. This is how 'Śākya attacked the foundation of the Indian system, and it shews us why a time could not fail to come when the Brahmans, placed at the head of that system, would feel the necessity of prescribing a doctrine the consequences of which could not escape them." pp. 210—12.

To illustrate further the subject before us, we shall introduce here some of Professor Lassen's observations on the position in which Buddha stood to the Brahmans and their system.

"When the founder of Buddhism" he remarks, "entered on his career, the priestly constitution of the Brahmans had

existed for a great length of time, and appeared to be established on a foundation which could not be shaken. The priestly estate was revered by the other castes as the possessor of divine revelation and the knowledge thence derived of true religion and right morality, and further as the sole depositary of the sciences. The whole conduct of life was directed by regulations; and the particular position of all the members of the state, and the rights and duties thence arising, were defined. Even persons of the lowest and most despised castes had a deeply-rooted belief that their lot was a necessary result of their birth. Amid a people, in whom the sense of freedom was thus entirely repressed, and to whom the idea of any amelioration in their condition was quite strange, Buddha entered the lists against the omnipotence of the Brahmans. Instead of regarding, as they did, the highest truths as an exclusive privilege, which could only be acquired through a correct understanding of the sacred scriptures and the doctrines and morals founded thereon, and set forth in forms intelligible only to the initiated,—he propounded to all men without distinction of birth, and in simple language, the tenets which he regarded as the highest verities. These were of such a kind as did not require to be accredited by any revelation, because they were either acknowledged by all, or of themselves were obvious to the meanest understanding." p. 439. After a summary of Buddha's doctrines and mode of teaching, in which he follows Burnouf, M. Lassen proceeds:

"Still more decidedly did the new doctrine conflict with the high consideration and influence enjoyed by the Brahmans. It detracted from the first, inasmuch as its founder claimed to be in possession of the highest knowledge. By putting forward this claim, he in fact denied, without expressly calling in question, the authority of the Veda, as the highest source of knowledge, and hereby took away from the Brahmanical system its proper foundation. The chief influence of the Brahmans over the other castes must of necessity cease with the abolition of the sacrifices to the gods, which they alone had the right of administering. To such a result did the system of the Buddhists tend, who, (not to speak of animal sacrifices,) did not even practise the Brahmanical rite of oblation by fire." p. 440.

After some further illustration, (which is little more than an abstract of Burnouf's more detailed account,) of the points in which Buddhism was at variance with Brahmanism,

—Professor Lassen proceeds to describe the effects produced by the former on India and the world :

“As a full consideration of the subject would here be out of place, these brief remarks must suffice to indicate the importance of Buddhism as an element in Indian history, and its position with reference to Brahmanism, and to justify the assertion that it opened up a new path of development to the Indian mind, and offered to it the chance of reaching a higher stage of freedom. This religion has called into activity in several ways the power of life inherent in the Indian mind. In the first place, it has given birth to missions, by which it was diffused far and wide beyond the bounds of India, over the whole of the interior and east of Asia. This mode of diffusion was also a novelty originating with Buddhism.” * * * * *

“In this wide diffusion consists also the importance of Buddhism in the history of the world, inasmuch as it has introduced a unity of doctrine and literature among so many nations, and thus drawn them closer to each other. It has achieved this result, not, like Islam, by the sword, but by the agency of messengers of peace, who communicated a higher civilization : and in this respect it claims, more than any other religion, to be compared with Christianity.

“Two other creations of Buddhism attest in like manner its capability of educing new results. One is its copious literature, which, (if it be considered that the sacred writings and books which serve to explain and complete them, are translated into so many languages of interior, north-eastern, and southern Asia,) is surpassed in extent and circulation by few others, and by the Christian alone in the number of tongues into which these writings are transferred.” * * *

* * * * * “The second is the mythology and cosmography peculiar to this religion, with its numerous orders of celestial beings, and their numerous heavens, to which we must add a peculiar mythical history, with its numberless kings and endless periods.” The remark by which M. Lassen qualifies the preceding one, might lead us to say that this monstrous mythology is the product of an effect, rather than of an inventive, mental condition. “But in this instance,” he observes, “the desire of excelling their predecessors has misled the Buddhists to transgress the usual bounds of the measureless, and to give free scope to an imagination which runs riot amid mishapen conceptions.” pp. 441—8.

M. Lassen then glances at the final issue of the struggle just commencing (at the period which his history has reached,) between the Brahmins and Buddhists. "In spite," he writes, "of the peculiar advantages just described, which it possessed, Buddhism, although it commenced, with the youthful vigour of a new doctrine, its conflict against Brahmanism,—while the latter had already at that period given birth to its greatest creations, and attained the stage of development at which the mind, instead of striking into new paths, continues to follow its ancient one, and, in place of creative activity, devotes itself to the careful employment of the treasures it has inherited from its predecessors,—succumbed, nevertheless, at length, in India, to its rival, though at a late period, and after an obstinate resistance." p. 413. This eventual triumph of Brahmanism shows its great inherent strength. The details of this protracted religious conflict, and of the various steps which led to its well-known termination, which we may hope one day to receive from M. Burnouf's pen, will doubtless be interesting in a high degree.

We return to that author and his work.

It is a curious fact, mentioned by M. Burnouf, that though the system of castes does not prevail in other Buddhist countries, it does among the Buddhist Cingalese. "Not that they are divided into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras; for the number of castes of Indian origin is greatly diminished; the highest are there nearly unknown;" but it appears that the Cingalese character is very deeply affected by the system, that the military caste is extremely jealous of its privileges, and that their Kings understand very imperfectly the principles of equality on which the Buddhist priesthood is founded.

We must however draw to a close our analysis of this very interesting work, though our extracts are all taken from the first and second, out of the seven sections into which the second memoir (which constitutes by far the largest part of the volume) is divided. The third section treats of *Vinaya* or discipline, which however M. Burnouf says is not reduced to any precise system in the works before him styled *Avadānas*, which represent Buddhism in its early stage. A great variety of details are however given of the organization, (such as it then was,) the practices, observances, and worship of the Buddhists.

The 4th section treats of *Abhidharma*, or metaphysics; and gives some account of the philosophical schools of the

Buddhists. The labours of Mr. Hodgson and M. Schmidt in this department are here referred to and duly appreciated.

The 5th section relates to the Buddhist works called Tantras, which exhibit a system composed of heterogeneous elements, of Buddhism in its primitive state, and in several of its later modifications; and of the worst parts of popular Brahmanism, viz. the worship of the 'Saktis, or female energies, of the Brahmanical triad, especially the sanguinary 'Sakti of 'Siva, with her manifold appellations. These works are evidently comparatively modern.

The 6th section treats of certain Buddhist works "bearing the names of their authors," and regarded as uninspired.

The 7th and concluding section of this volume contains 'the history of the Nepalese collection of works.'

From the above notice it will be seen that this elaborate Treatise, (extending to pp. 588, besides the appendix,) is only what the author has styled it, an *introduction* to the history of Indian Buddhism. The history of the progress of this widely-diffused religion, and of its conflict with Brahmanism in India has yet to be told. It is not improbable that M. Burnouf, having brought out the whole of his edition and translation of the Bhāgavata Purāna, may now be employed on this task.

J. M.

FROM THE ANTHOLOGY.

Ἀστὴρ πρὶν μὲν ἑλαμπεις ἐνὶ ζῳοῖσιν ἑῷρος.
 Νῦν δὲ θανὼν λάμπεις ἑσπερος ἐν φθίμενοις.

PLATO.

Upon the brow of Morning bright
 Thou late did'st shine, a living star :—
 Now death sheds thy reflected light
 As clouded Vesper, faint and far.

III.

THE MODERN ENGLISH DRAMATISTS.

BY SYLVANUS SWANQUILL.

I.—**Sheridan Knowles.**

Nothing is more common than to hear critics talk of the decline of the English Drama; and yet has the Drama *indeed* declined? Is the present era *really* the most barren in Dramatic talent? Is there *no* period in the literary history of England, in which Shakespeare's magic art was cultivated with *less* success? It is difficult to answer these questions in the affirmative, when one casts a backward glance at the plays produced since the last of Shakespeare's contemporaries ceased to tread the earth, and compares them to the productions which have been issued in our own time. The truth is,—that excepting Otway's *Venice Preserved*, and Home's *Douglas*, no plays written during that dreary interval can be compared to Knowles's *William Tell* or *John of Procida*,—or to Talfourd's *Ion*, or Taylor's *Van Artevelde*, or Home's *Cosmo de Medicis*, or Milman's *Ezio*, or Lovell's *Provost of Bruges*, or Browning's *Blot on the Scutcheon*, or Barry Cornwall's *Mirandola*, or Pulwer's *Richelieu*. The merits of these plays are not equal, nor even are they of the same sort; for instance, the chief merit of some of them lies in their fitness for the stage,—a merit for which some of the others do not even put forth claims,—but various as their pretensions to excellence may be, and differently as they may have attained it, this can hardly be denied, that on the whole, it would be difficult for our grandfathers and great-grandfathers to put forth a cluster to throw their brilliance into shade.

There have doubtless been many more obstacles to the successful cultivation of the drama, during our times, than during the times of our revered ancestors; but surely these should double our respect for those who overcoming them, have triumphed over labourers in the same field with fewer disadvantages. The rates of remuneration for plays in the days of Dryden were much higher than for other species of composition. They are very different now. Macaulay, in his *History of England*—(the most masterly of all his masterly productions)—tells us that Dryden turned his attention to the drama not from any internal conviction that the bent of his genius lay in that direction, but because he found that he could acquire more money by a week's

labour for the stage than by a month's for the closet. His fables, which extend to upwards of twelve thousand lines, and contain some of the most delightful of his bequests to posterity, were sold (to crusty old Jacob Tonson, we presume,) for 250 guineas;—while Southern cleared £700 by a single drama, and Otway was raised from penury to affluence by the success of his *Don Carlos*. At present, a much more liberal price is given for a novel than for a play, and a hungry scribe would therefore very naturally prefer writing the one to the other;—nor is the price the only consideration. A novel is written and made over to the publisher,—who reads it, and then either rejects or accepts it at once. The author is not kept in a state of suspense. He is not fed on hopes from day to day. He is not told to dance attendance on half a dozen of the literary friends of his patron. He pockets his cash the moment his book is launched among the conflicting currents of public opinion; and if there is a sale, and a call for new editions, so much the better for him. The case of the writer for the stage is very different. His play is written and submitted to the manager, but it is neither accepted nor rejected when it is read. It is under consideration. One counsellor of the manager thinks a particular scene overdone, and recommends a thorough revision of it;—another thinks an act too meagre;—a third objects to the character of the hero, as there is none in the existing corps whom the part would suit;—a fourth thinks there is by much too great a display of passion in the piece;—a fifth complains that there is very little action in it;—a sixth approves of the plot, but objects to the manner in which it is developed, and to the execution of the work generally;—a seventh approves of the execution, but objects to the plot—until at last, after the lapse of three or four years, the play is returned to its unfortunate parent, blotted, interlined, and marked with triple notes of admiration and interrogation, yet with a hint of possibility that it may yet answer, if altered and modified,—in fact—re-written.

One might naturally suppose that such scurvy treatment is only for those who have yet to make a name; and that those who have already acquired the reputation of successful dramatists receive better. The case is otherwise. We are informed that Mr. Knowles's *Hunchback*, (written and submitted long after his *Virginus*, which in the vigorous hands of Macready was crowned with almost unparalleled success,) and Miss Mitford's *Rienzi*, lay several years in Covent

Garden before they were accepted; and then they *were* accepted—why? Not because the manager in a suddenly perspicacious hour discovered their merits—oh no!—but because in one case a young lady was coming out, and the part of Claudia with her

“Flowers and herbs thick set as grass in fields
And pretty snow-white doves—”

would be just the thing for her *début*; and in the other, Julia would be the very part for Miss Fanny Kemble, and Master Modus for Mr. Mason!

The price given for an ordinary novel in three volumes is £500. The price given for an ordinary play is £100 the night, on the third, sixth, ninth, and fortieth nights of representation. The great writers, however, do not accede to terms by which their reward is made dependent on the success of their works. Knowles, Bulwer, Jerrold, and writers of their class, generally receive £300 for a five act play—if it is very successful, they receive £100, and sometimes £200 more. The sum of four hundred pounds was paid to Knowles for his *Hunchback*, and the same sum to Bulwer for his *Duchess de La Valhiere*,—yet Bulwer, we dare say,—had laboured much longer at his play than at his *Paul Clifford*, for which he received £1500, or at his *Eugene Aram* for which he received £2000.

It is not, therefore, to be doubted, that the rewards of dramatic composition, though actually much higher now than before, (for then £100 was considered fair remuneration for a five act play,) is, comparatively with other kinds of composition, much lower; and that the dramatists of the present day labour under greater disadvantage than their predecessors. If, therefore, as we have asserted, they be more expert at their tools than their fathers were, the fact is very much to their credit.

It would not be an idle or uninteresting task to endeavour to trace the causes which have thus reversed the order of remuneration, and made dramatic compositions, which were once the most liberally valued, now paid for at the lowest scale. Theatres were formerly places of public resort, where men met together not only to while away an idle hour in rational amusement, but to discuss literary questions, to learn the latest news, and comment on the politics of the day. There were in those days no newspapers, and the man who now spends a shilling to buy a copy of the *Chronicle* or the *Sun*, and con it over by his own fireside with his wife and

children about him, then spent it for an hour's seat on one of the pit benches of the Globe or the Rose. The patrons of the drama were therefore much more numerous then than now. There are various other causes which satisfactorily explain the riddle, but as the subject is foreign to our present topic, we pass it over slightly.

Common consent has placed the name of Sheridan Knowles at the head of the modern drama,—and deservedly. In none of his many rivals are all the qualities requisite for a great dramatist so happily blended. Many of his contemporaries are superior to him in particular respects,—but none in every respect. Henry Taylor is more philosophical, Bulwer more romantic, Talfourd more polished, Browning more profound, Jerrold more witty, but in none are all the qualities essential to the dramatist so fully developed as in him. Jerrold and Bulwer seem to have written with no other object than to be successful on the stage. Browning and Taylor can hardly have had a design beyond the gratification of closet readers. Many of the plays of Jerrold and Bulwer, (the *Lady of Lyons*, *Nell Gwynne*, and the *Housekeeper* for instance,) appear absolutely tame, off the stage; and those of Browning and Taylor, written without any idea of representation, would appear absolutely ridiculous upon it. We remember very well the feeling of disappointment with which we laid down the *Lady of Lyons* when we first read it. We had heard that it was the most successful acting play of modern times, and that when well represented, it never failed to draw tears from an audience. We had accordingly made up our minds to consider it as good at least as the *Duchess De la Valliere*,—an earlier bantling of the same author, which was coldly, and even discouragingly received when brought on the stage. But our anticipations received a severe shock. A plot absurd and borrowed—over-coloured imagery,—bombast and fustian—tinsel, in short, which might pass for gold, in the bustle and confusion of a theatrical night, but which can look no better than it is by day, form its components. There is ten times more poetry in the *Duchess De la Valliere*, than in the *Lady of Lyons*. The first is full of passages of genuine pathos—the last scarcely has one. The scenes where the *Duchess De la Valliere's* discarded and heart-broken lover, in the disguise of a monk, informs the beautiful but fallen mistress of the death of her mother,—(a death occasioned by her conduct),—or when he upbraids the King of France with his heartless treachery, or communes with his own soul, and represses

his rising passions with a manly struggle, are written with such power, that we think there is no modern dramatist who would not be proud to own them. But such cannot be said even of those scenes in the *Lady of Lyons*, which are most effective on the stage. On the other hand, we remember also having seen Mr. Taylor's *Van Artevelde*, which we had read with the purest pleasure over and over, make but a poor pantomimic exhibition; and we have not the least doubt that had his *Edwin the Fair* been ever represented, the exhibition would have been still poorer.

The happy union of stage effect and poetical excellence, which most modern writers have attained in occasional scenes only, appears to be natural to Knowles, and is the peculiar characteristic of all his efforts. His works are equally suited for the library and the theatre. As long as striking situations, interesting plots, happy images, and a style at once elevated and unostentatious find favor with a public audience, so long will Knowles's plays be acted with applause; and as long as there be a charm in pure poetry, without the smallest taint of affectation or pedantry, so long will they be favourites of the student in his retirement.

The collected edition of Knowles's dramatic works, published in three volumes by the poet-publisher Moxon, in 1841, contains fifteen plays, all of which were brought on the stage with success. The most popular with the public are his first effort in tragedy, *Virginius*; and his second and fourth efforts in—(shall we call it?) comedy, *William Tell* and the *Hunchback*;—but we confess we prefer two plays in the last volume, *John de Procida*, and the *Maid of Marien-dorpt* to these before-named productions. *John de Procida* is perhaps the noblest tragedy of modern times. It is superior to Mr. Talfourd's *Ion*, to his *Athenian Captive*, and even to his *Last of the Macdonalds*, which, though some consider it his *worst*, we have our opinion that it is his *best* attempt. It is superior to Mr. Taylor's *Van Artevelde*, to Mr. Lovell's *Provost of Bruges*, to Mr. Proctor's *Mirandola*, and to Mr. Milman's *Fazio*. It is superior also (but this of course is implied in the preceding encomium) to the dramas of the greater poets, to Shelley's *Cenci*, to Scott's *Halidon Hill*, and even to Byron's *Werner*. There is an unity of purpose throughout the piece, (the last, we believe of Mr Knowles' tragedies,) for which we shall look in vain among all, or almost all, his other plays. The second and third acts, especially the latter, pourtray struggles between contending passions with a skill and a power which shew that Knowles

undertook their execution

"Non sine consilio numinibusque Deum."

The conclusion, where the magistrates of Sicily, whose office had long been suspended under the tyrannic dominion of France, offer their congratulations to the liberator of the island, and thrust upon him the office of a ruler; and where he turns away from them with the words

"Forgive me—I'm a father—There's my son."

is almost sublime.

The Maid of Mariendorpt, though inferior in nerve and power to William Tell, contains passages of more exquisite pathos, and touches of nature such as are rarely to be found in the works of the Great English Dramatist. The plot is loose, but the manner in which it is wrought up is exquisite.

Next to these plays we would rank William Tell and Virginus. For vigour of conception, for boldness of imagery, for felicity and ease of diction, few plays from the pen of contemporary writers will bear a comparison with William Tell. We have no great liking for the plan of intermingling comic with tragic scenes, though that plan was a favourite one with Shakespeare himself,—but abating this fault, which occasions a certain want of unity higher, in our estimation, than the dramatic unities, and further taking no account of certain dramatic tricks by which nature is unhesitatingly sacrificed for temporary applause in the theatre, William Tell has few faults, if any. On its first introduction on the stage, it was crowned with the most eminent success. Talfourd says, that he considered at one time Macready's most successful effort to be his representation of the character of Tell;

Or when the patriot archer's hardy son
Was schooled by doting sternness for the hour
Of glorious peril—

But though Macready has subsequently proved himself capable of personating other characters still better, he did such ample justice on that occasion as to ensure the play a run—and a very extraordinary run.

Superior to William Tell as an acting play—but far—very far inferior as a reading one, Virginus, the first drama from the pen of Knowles, still continues to be the piece by which he is best known. It must have been written off-hand, and in early youth. It bears evident marks of haste

and immaturity, even in its most passionate scenes; but at the same time its most defective passages contain indications of genius. It was in fact more a promise than a performance. Of later years Knowles appears to have been somewhat ashamed of it, though without cause, for we apprehend a first attempt will of necessity be always more or less imperfect. He has placed it *second* in the collection of his works before us, instead of *first*, though in no other instance has he disturbed the order of publication. He has done so with a view, we imagine, of making it less prominent than it would otherwise have been. But in this object, if indeed he ever seriously entertained the idea of compassing it, he will naturally be disappointed; for every one that takes up his book for perusal will of course first turn to the play which has contributed most to the celebrity of its author. Campbell entertained a similar feeling for his most popular book. He was ashamed of *The Pleasures of Hope*. Nothing annoyed him more than to be introduced into any society as the author of that poem. He preferred being called the author of *Gertrude*,—a more finished composition as every critic knows, defaced with fewer faults and replete with beauties of a higher order,—but far less popular. Yet the very tombstone on his grave describes him as the author of *The Pleasures of Hope*, and *not* of *Gertrude of Wyoming*! The chief faults in *Virginus* are a want of individuality or distinctness in the characters and a slovenliness in the language. These are the common faults of a young writer, and pardonable; but they are faults still. Excepting the character of *Virginus*, which is drawn with great spirit, there is no character in the play that makes any impression on the mind, although upwards of twenty individuals are introduced. Appius Claudius is not a man of flesh and blood—he is the villain of a play.—Icilius and Virginia are not personages whom we actually know, as we know all the characters of Shakespeare,—they are the hero and heroine of a book—all sweetness, love and perfection. As for the rest of the characters, Opus, Vibulanus, Honorius, Valerius, Marcus, Dentatus, Numitorius, Lucius, Publius, Decius, Sextus, Titus, Servius, *et hoc genus omne*, all we can say of them is that their speeches might be interchanged at random, without any violation of propriety. No reader would dare to find fault with the author if he had put all that Numitorius says into the mouth of Lucius, or *vice versa*;—because, in fact, they are not two distinct men,—but one man under two distinct names. . The slovenliness of the

style may be best illustrated by extracts; but for these we have no room at present. We will therefore only mention that the blank verse very frequently reads like prose, that expletives are plentiful, that lines frequently terminate in adjectives and conjunctions, and that in occasional passages, sins against the rules of construction may be discovered.

The Hunchback and Caius Gracchus may be ranked next to William Tell and Virginius in the order of merit. The Hunchback will always retain a high place among the acting plays of England. Its merits are peculiar, and consist principally in detached scenes, apart from the plot, which is confused and improbable. The manner in which bashful and studious Master Modus is wooed by his coquet of a cousin must always, when effectively represented, excite the mirth of an audience;—we remember being heartily tickled by it even when cursorily glancing over the book. Caius Gracchus is written with great vigour, but we are afraid it will never be so popular as Virginius, for it has one besetting defect. It is too servile an imitation of Coriolanus.

The Rose of Arragon, The Wife, and Woman's Wit may be placed after the Hunchback and Caius Gracchus. They are all sweet productions, richly, but not over-profusely studded with gems of poetry. The plot of the Rose of Arragon is good, and the language exquisitely finished. It is, we believe, the last production from the pen of Kuowles, and it is not unworthy to be known as such. The only objection against it is that the denouement is too apparent from the very outset. Coming events cast their shadows too distinctly and mar the interest of the tale—but this objection may probably arise from fastidiousness engendered by the very excellence of the play. The Wife is the most popular of the three,—but we like it the least, though there is as much poetical beauty in it, as in the rest. The principal defect of Virginius is also, if we mistake not, the principal defect of the Wife. There are too many *individuals* and there is too little *individuality*. The story does not rest upon the mind,—it fleets from it,—a sure proof that it is commonplace. Woman's Wit is with us a more decided favourite. There is much pathos in the passages where Walsingham converses with the lady whom he loves, but believes to be false, under the impression that she is no more than she appears to be,—a pupil of the same fencing master as himself. We have never had the opportunity of enjoying the representation of this piece at any of the theatres at home,—but we can venture to say that with Macready as Walsingham and Miss Taylor as the lady in disguise, the

effect must have been electrifying, and that many tears must have been shed where the youth defends the lady against the aspersions unjustly cast against her, with an earnestness and an eloquence that had almost betrayed her to her companion.

“Have I not shaken—
Not much,—but somewhat—say,—a little—say,
A very little—your belief of her
Dishonour—.”

The rest of the plays, *The Love Chase*, *The Beggar of Bethnal Green*, *Love*, *Old Maids*, *Alfred the Great*, and *The Daughter*, may all be classed together, with the exception of the last, against which we entertain a great antipathy. *The Love Chase*, *the Beggar of Bethnal Green*, and *Old Maids* are comedies, and—the two last especially—excellent of their kind. There are three or four scenes in *Love* which are among Knowles's happiest efforts; for instance, the scene where the Countess betrays her love for the serf attending on her, by her very haughtiness, and that wherein her father insisting that the serf, on pain of death, sign a document promising to marry a slave girl whom he does not love, he peremptorily refuses to do so, and still better, that in which the document gets into the hands of the Countess, and she after an internal struggle discovers her real feelings towards the serf:—but the conclusion of the play is tame. We are informed in the advertisement to the work, that Mr. John Forster suggested several improvements in the conduct of the plot, particularly with regard to the last act. We have no means of ascertaining what these improvements are, but we are free to confess that the last act appears to us the worst, and that we should have thought it our duty to place *Love* much higher among Mr. Knowles's productions if it had been better sustained—if the fourth and fifth acts had kept up the promises of the first three, and afforded no cause for disappointment. *Alfred the Great* is not quite worthy of the subject; but there are spirited scenes in it also;—that in which the monarch visits the camp of Guthrum disguised as a minstrel, and unexpectedly meets his wife and child there, is very effective. The parts where our author attempts to dramatise the traditions handed down from ancient times concerning the Saxon king, do not appear to us to be very happy. The scene where Maude leaves Alfred to neglect the cakes is ridiculous; and the conclusion, in which he establishes trial by jury, appears to us scarcely less so. *The Daughter* is the worst of Mr. Knowles's dramas, and the public seems to agree with us in this unfavourable opinion; for it has never,

as far as we know, been brought on the stage since it was first played in 1836, under the auspices of Manager Bunn, well known for his quarrel with Macready. It had a "run" of ten or twelve nights and was then withdrawn as a failure. Although not a favourite with the admirers of Knowles, however, it is a favourite with himself. The plot is revolting and involves the murder of a father by a son. We remember having seen the story before in the form of a contribution to some annual or other; but what is striking in a tale or novel, will not necessarily be so, in a drama. Mr. Knowles's partiality for the play is of course readily excusable. Fathers love their deformed and helpless children best, and authors on the same principle love their inferior productions more than those which are generally admired. Milton loved his *Regained* beyond his *Lost Paradise*; and Campbell his *Theodric* more than his *Gertrude*. But surely no writer of the present day can contemplate the impossibility which Milton and Campbell waited for in vain,—the renunciation of the Public's first estimate in favour of an author's unaccountable idiosyncrasies.

We have dwelt so long on Mr. Knowles's plays, and in a manner so desultory, that we have left ourselves but little space for extracts, although very anxious to enrich our pages with a few favourable specimens. The following passage from the *Maid of Mariendorpt*, the play which we have praised so highly, shows that Mr. Knowles is no unworthy follower of Shakespeare.

RECOLLECTIONS OF CHILDHOOD.

Meeta. I had a sister?
Muhlidenau. You had a sister.
Meeta. Had?
Muhl. Had, Meeta.
Meeta. Had!

Alas! was I so rich, and knew it not?
 I had a sister! Oh what light and warmth
 Of love, I never knew before, the thought
 Hath shot into my soul!—And now—and now,
 All's strangely dark and cold! How is it, father,
 I had a sister, and remember not?

Muhl. Because 'twas in thy childhood, Meeta, when
 The memory, too tender, yields impressions
 Their causes ta'en away.—And yet there was
 A time thou didst remember such a thing!

Meeta. Was there? Oh heartless Meeta! once remember
 She had a sister, and forget it ever!

Muhl. Thou hast forgot the siege of Magdeburgh.

Meeta. No! I remember that! I never hear

The thunder, but I think of that!—or see
The lightning set the sky on fire,—but that
Comes back to me! No—No! I recollect
The siege of Magdeburgh!

Muhl. How long did it last?

Meeta. One night.

Muhl. Three months.

Meeta. I only recollect

One night,—and it was in the street, and men
With horrid looks and yells ran to and fro!

On horseback some, and some on foot—some firing,
And some with swords which they did whirl and dart
As they moved on.

Muhl. Ay! mercy shewed they not

That night to man or woman!

Meeta. Woman? No!

I saw them seize one by the hair!—I am sure
I did!

Muhl. You did—you told me so yourself.

Meeta. I told you so myself?

Muhl. You have forgot!

And can you wonder? You were barely then
Turned five years old. Were you not near that woman?

Meeta. Yes! close to her! I had a hold of her.

Muhl. That too you told me! Do you not remember?

Meeta. No.

Muhl. No!—not when I found thee in the street
Wandering alone, and 'twix' thy sobbings, on
Thy father calling?

Meeta. No.

Muhl. Thou told'st it me

The following day, and often afterwards.

I let the fruitless inquisition drop,

So memory fell asleep! Remember'st aught

That woman carried?

Meeta. Carried?

Muhl. Carried.

Meeta. No.

Muhl. She was thy sister's nurse.

Meeta. It was a child

She carried! was it? Yes—I see it now

In her arms, as plain as I see you. O, heart!

What hast thou been about! All's clear as noon!

A child she carried, and it was my sister!

I recollect my sister! Were they killed?

Muhl. The woman was.

Meeta. And not my sister?

Muhl. That

Knows Heaven alone! That night of carnage over,

We searched the street—the woman's body found,

But of thy little sister not a trace!

Few but the poet who put the words "What man! Ne'er
pull your hat upon your brows" in the mouth of Malcolm, or
"I pray you undo this button" in that of Lear, could have put

that "one night" in the mouth of Meeta. The whole passage strongly impresses upon us the truth of De Quincey's quaint remark, "that there is no such thing as *forgetting* possible to the mind; a thousand accidents may and will interpose a veil between our present consciousness, and the secret inscription on the mind; but alike, whether veiled or unveiled, the inscription remains for ever."*

Here is another bit from the Maid of Mariendorpt.

FILIAL AFFECTION.

Meeta. You lost your father
When you were but an infant. You don't know
What 'tis to love a father.

Esther. Do I not?
Yes; but I do! It is to honour him,
So we are bidden—that is, to obey him,
Respectfully entreat him!

Meeta. Nothing more?

Esther. What more?

Meeta. Oh much! Oh very much!—such things
We do to persons who are indifferent to us,
Or to their stations. There is something more—
Better—less earthly—more o' th' grain of Heaven—
A love that's indefinable!—That holds
Ourselves as nothing in respect of cherishing!
That still is kneeling though no limb be bent,
And looking up with evergushing will,
Anticipating wishes!—It is worship—
Altho' no lip be moved, no eye be strained,
No hands be clasp'd—like that which hath acceptance

* Sometime ago, we received, through a hand which, alas, has lost its cunning, a psychological speculation of one to us unknown, but of a kindred nature to that referred to by Sylvanus. It may be long before a more appropriate place occur, therefore we insert it here. Other considerations on the same class of phenomena, by our valued, but too frugal correspondent *Morcott*, occur in the Essay on the Life beyond the Cradle, *Banares Magazine*, Vol. iv. pp. 163-170.—EDITOR.

"I have often thought, and still believe, that a solution might be given to the origin of a number of impulses, pre-conceived opinions, and impressions, in the following way. The ~~sum~~ of humanity in this world is composed of two distinct and separate existences,—one, soul; the other, body; opposite in every respect, but united in this life by individuality, it is as impossible to endow the immateriality of an existence with its material attributes, as to endow materiality with immateriality. What then becomes of the soul when the body sleeps? To say that it sleeps likewise would be an absurdity. Can it not be influenced, then, by the spirits of another world, of good and evil? Yes, it can, *and is*; or why should dreams have sometimes so great and singular an effect on our actions; and why, or how, is the future sometimes foreshadowed in our sleep, we seeing, as it were, into futurity as through a glass darkly? May not this likewise sometimes account for the feeling that we are present and now acting what it is impossible we could have acted or been present at before, but that there is a lingering feeling, some faint impression that this present scene is not new to us? that we are now *performing* what was formerly *rehearsed*?"

Above—Oh, the soul! Oh, how I love my father!
 To say "before my life" is to say nothing—
 That's his, and 'tis a gasp and over! but
 To slave, beg, starve for him—forego possession
 Of mine own dearest earthly wishes—havings—
 I'd do it, Esther, in a moment! Yes!
 Not give't a second thought! Remember'st thou
 I once was froward with thee? I was then
 A girl not ten years old—dost not remember?
 I had found a hair of his—a long white hair,
 And I had coil'd it up to keep for treasure;
 But thou didst flout me for't and take't away
 And cast into the fire—whence all your might
 It took to hold me. Yes, I would have thrust
 My hand into the fire to save that hair!
 That is to love a father!

Esther. If it is,

Then know I not what is the love of one.

Meeta. You never knew one, said I not before?

But mine was twice a parent—that is, Esther,
 He was my father and my mother too.
 I never knew my mother, but I am sure
 I should have loved her—dearly loved her, Esther;
 But my father,—nurse was he to me, instructor,
 Playmate, companion, father altogether!
 Think of that Esther! Playmate! Such a man
 To dwindle into a child for my sake! There
 I half believe I find the root of love
 Which has struck deepest. He to play the child
 With his white hairs! There is not one of them
 But has a heart and soul in't—to me, Esther!—
 Don't smile—You know you own you cannot tell
 What 'tis to love a father.

To one further specimen of this noble play we must confine ourselves.

AN INTERVIEW.

Muhl. What kind of death,

Am I to suffer?

Gent. Kle. Sir?

Muhl. I merely ask,

Because there's something in the form of death

To poor humanity, however brave

To meet it, I would know it ere it comes,—

Look at it—meet it with accustomed eye,—

Not to be startled by it at the time.

I should be all myself—not that I trust

In my own strength—I have a firmer stay.

What death am I to die? Is't by the sword?

Gent. Kle. It is!

Muhl. I'm sorry, sir, to give you pain.

Gent. Kle. Sir, I can fight! I love to fight. I think
 The blast of a trumpet music! Beat a drum
 In concert with the shrill throat of a fife,
 And my head dances!—It is mirth to me

To hear the running roar of musquetry
 From wing to wing, along the blazing line!
 And when the cannon thunders clap on clap,
 So thick there's not a breath of pause between,
 I tower as I myself did hurl the bolts!
 I have seen death on every side of me,
 And given it not a thought! I have ta'en wounds,
 And never felt them in the battle's heat!
 But I can't bear to look upon a man
 About to die, and in cold blood! I own
 I am a coward there. Forgive me, sir!
 Have you a friend, sir, whom you wish to see?

Muhl. Is there one near me? You're a merciful
 Considerate man—you'd know when you would raise
 A hope—You would not raise one but to kill it!
 Sir, I had learn'd to think a boundary,
 'Twixt me and all things living 'neath the sun,
 Was drawn, and no more to be crossed by me
 Than the dark frontier of the grave once passed!
 But you have breathed a word, and it is gone!
 I have a child, sir!—If she knows my plight.
 She's here in Prague—she's at my prison door!
 Is she?—Is it of her you speak? That sob—
 In the next room! Is it my daughter's heart
 That's bursting there?—Is it?—My Meeta!—come!—
 Thou know'st thy father!—Fear not for him—come!
 He has strength enough to bear the sight of thee;
 But not to want it longer, when he thinks
 Thou'rt near him!—come to him!—come—come! my child!

[*MEETA enters, rushing into her father's arms; ADOLPHA and
 IDENSTEIN following.*]

Meeta. You bear it father!—See!—and so do I!
 Oh, I was right!—No door that man can shut,
 But Heaven can open! Day did follow day!
 Chance pass'd away, and chance! Yet, spite of all,
 I look'd at hope, and would not see it dwindled;
 And 'tis fulfilled! I have passed your prison door!—
 I see you!—hear you!—I am in your arms!

To quote any detached passages from such well-known plays as *Virginius*, *William Tell*, and the *Hunchback*, would be a work of superfluity; and to quote any from *John of Procida*, especially from the second and third acts, would be little better than to exhibit a stone of Saint Peter's as a specimen of the mighty building. We have not the heart to be so unjust to an author whom we so much love and admire, and our readers must therefore be content with the following extracts from "Love."

LOVE.

Fred. What? What were strange?
 What said'st thou now, apostrophising love?
Ulrick. I said it was a wilful wayward thing,

And so it is—fantastic and perverse !
 Which makes its sport of persons and of seasons,
 Takes its own way, no matter right or wrong.
 It is the bee that finds the honey out,
 Where least you'd dream 'twould seek the nectarous store.
 And 'tis an arrant masquer—this same love—
 That most outlandish, freakish faces wears
 To hide its own ! Looks a proud Spaniard now ;
 Now a grave Turk ; hot Ethiopian next ;
 And then phlegmatic Englishman ; and then
 Gay Frenchman ; by and by, Italian, at
 All things a song ; and in another skip
 Gruff Dutchman ;—still is love behind the masque !
 It is a hypocrite !—Looks every way
 But that where lie its thoughts !—Will openly
 Frown at the thing it smiles in secret on ;
 Shows most like hate, e'en when it most is love ;
 Would fain convince you it is very rock
 When it is water ! ice when it is fire !
 Is oft its own dupe,—like a thorough cheat ;
 Persuades itself 'tis not the thing it is ;
 Holds up its head, purses its brows, and looks
 Askant, with scornful lip, hugging itself
 That it is high disdain—till suddenly
 It falls on its knees, making most piteous suit
 With hail of tears, and hurricane of sighs,
 Calling on heaven and earth for witnesses
 That it is love, true love, nothing but love !

Fred. You would not say the Lady loves the serf ?

SLAVERY.—THE RIGHTS OF A SLAVE.

Duke. Huon !

Huon. My Lord ?

Duke. I have been thinking of thee.

Huon. My Lord is ever good.

Duke. I have a notion

"Twould profit thee to marry.

Huon. Marry !

Duke. Yes.

Huon. I first must love.

Duke. And hast thou never loved ?

Why art thou silent ? Wherefore holds thy tongue
 Its peace, and not thy cheek ?

Huon. My cheek !

Duke. It talks !

A flush pass'd o'er it as I spoke to thee :
 And now it talks again—and on the ground
 Thou cast'st thine eye. "Thou first must love"—my friend,
 Thou art in love already. Art thou not ?
 Art thou not, Huon ?—Never mind, but keep
 Thy secret.—I have fix'd that thou shalt marry.

Huon. My Lord—

Duke. (*Interrupting him.*) I know it will advantage thee,
 And I have looked around my court to find
 A partner for thee, and have lit on one.

Huon. (*More earnestly.*) My Lord—

Duke. (*Interrupting him again.*) She has beauty, Huon, she has wealth;

And what doth qualify her better still—
As of unequal matches discords grow—
She's of thy own class,—Huon, she is a serf.

Huon. (*Impetuously.*) My Lord—

Duke. (*Interrupting indignantly.*) My serf! How now? Wouldst thou rebel?

Huon. Rebel, my Lord!

Duke. I trust I was deceived!

Did I not see defiance in thine eye
And hear it on thy tongue? Thou wouldst not dare
So much as harbour wish to thwart thy lord,
Much less intent? Thou know'st him! know'st thyself!
Thou may'st have scruples—that thou canst not help;
But thou canst help indulging them in the face
Of thy lord's will. And so, as 'tis my will
Thou marry straight and I have found thy match,
I'll draw a paper up, where thou shalt make
The proffer of thy hand to Catherine,
And thou shalt sign it, Huon. (*writes.*)

Huon. That I were dead!

O, what is death, compared to slavery!
Brutes may bear bondage—they were made for it,
When Heaven set man above them; but no mark,
Definite and indelible, it put
Upon one man to mark him from another,
That he should live his slave. O heavy curse!
To have thought, reason, judgment, feelings, tastes,
Passions, and conscience, like another man,
And not have equal liberty to use them,
But call his mood their master! Why was I born
With passion to be free—with faculties
To use enlargement—with desires that cleave
To high achievements—and with sympathies
Attracting me to objects fair and noble,—
And yet with power over myself as little
As any beast of burden? Why should I live?
There are of brutes themselves that will not tame,
So high in them is nature;—whom the spur
And lash, instead of curbing, only chafe
Into prouder mettle;—that will let you kill them
Ere they will suffer you to master them—
I am a man, and live!

Duke. Here, Huon, sign.

And Catherine is your wife.

Huon. I will not sign.

Duke. How now, my serf!

Huon. My lord, I am a man!

And, as a man, owe duty higher far
Than that I owe to thee, which Heaven expects
That I discharge. Didst thou command me murder,
Steal, commit perjury, or even lie,—
Should I do it, though thy serf? No! To espouse lier,

Not loving her, were murder of her peace.
 I will not sign for that! With like default,
 To compass mastery of her effects,
 Were robbery. I will not sign for that!
 To swear what I must swear to make her mine,
 Were perjury at the very altar. Therefore
 I will not sign! To put forth plea of love,
 Which not a touch of love bears witness to.
 Were uttering a lie. And so, my lord,
 I will not sign at all!—O, good my liege,
 My lord, my master, ask me not to sign!
 My sweat, my blood, use without sparing; but
 Leave me my heart—a miserable one
 Although it be! Coerce me not in that.
 To make me do the thing my heart abhors!
 I beg no more!

*(The Duke draws his sword, and resolutely approaches Huon.
 At the same minute the Countess enters, unperceived, and stops short.)*

Duke. Huon, I love thee,
 And would not do thee harm, unless compelled.
 Thou shouldst not play with me, and shalt not. Take
 Therefore thy choice—death, or the paper.

Huon. Death!

Duke. Thou makest thy mind up quickly, in a strait.

Huon. I do not wish to live.

*(Opens his rest, takes the point of the Duke's sword, and
 places it opposite his heart.)*

Set nere thy point;
 'Tis right against my heart! press firm and straight;
 The more, the kinder!—*(A pause.)*

What follows is still better—but if we go on in this way
 we shall never know where to stop. Let us turn to some
 other page.

SYLVAN SPORT.

Enter FALCONER with hawk.

Countess. My falconer! So
 An hour I'll fly my hawk.

Fal. A noble bird,
 My lady, knows his bells, is proud of them.

Countess. They are no portion of his excellence;
 It is his own! 'Tis not by them he makes
 His ample wheel; mounts up, and up, and up
 In spiry rings, piercing the firmament
 Till he o'ertops his prey; then gives his stoop
 More fleet and sure than ever arrow sped!
 How nature fashioned him for his bold trade!
 Gave him his stars of eyes to range abroad,
 His wings of glorious spread to mow the air,
 And breast of might to use them! I delight
 To fly my hawk. The hawk's a glorious bird:
 Obedient—yet a daring, dauntless bird.

As an actor Knowles almost equals his power as a dramatist. His performance,—if the part suits him, is said to make an impression like that which eloquent preachers effect on a congregation. The audience gasp, and labour, and are so affected, that they can hardly quit their seats when the evening's entertainment closes. We have never seen him act, but we can well believe that he is capable of this. No one who has seen Macready in Jaffiere, Macbeth, or King John, we venture to say, will deny that great histrionic powers may produce sensations on the minds of a crowd similar—nay stronger—than those produced by the discussion of the most momentous topics.

As a private individual Knowles is said to be very sociable,—full of innocent fun and unassumed frankness. In conversation he frequently gives rise to little pleasantries among his friends by genuine Hibernian blunders. Dr. Maginn, well known as the "Sir Morgan O'Doherty" of *Blackwood's Magazine*, used to relate that when Knowles was introduced to an actor of the name of O. Smith, who, with another named T. P. Cooke, used very frequently to figure in the theatrical placards as representatives of certain melo-dramatic characters, bravoës, pirates, brigands and the like, he accosted him thus: "Mr. Smith, I have not the honour of knowing you, but I know your name—sake Mr. Cooke very well." His love of sylvan sports amounts almost to a passion. Angling is his most favourite amusement; and, it is stated, he sometimes spends whole days on the borders of some pleasant lake or river with a fishing rod in his hand. While living with his hospitable friend Robert Dick, the beautiful Loch Ard and its appropriate neighbours the Dhu Lochan and Loch Kolm were his favourite haunts; and his kind host had frequent occasion to make a "tyrannical use of authority," in order to compel him to stick to his desk, for he was ever too apt to play the truant even in hours which he had set apart for dramatic composition.

Here, for the present, we must pause. We shall probably return to the subject of the modern drama again on an early opportunity, for we have done, as every reader will be ready to admit, but indifferent justice to Knowles, and none whatsoever to his illustrious compeers Talfourd, and Bulwer, and Taylor, and Lovell, and the rest whom we had occasion briefly to name, but to whose merits, we have not yet paid our tribute of admiration.

IV.

THE "TWENTY-SEVENTH" AT GHUZZI.

ASTYMACHUS and Lacon, pleaders for Plataea, could not avert the merciless fore-judgment which Thebes had dictated to the commissioners of Lacedæmon. They argued ably and consistently; they answered sufficiently to satisfy *friends*, of their clients' claim to consideration and amity on the score of the old and faithful allegiance of their city to the Hellenic compact; and *enemies*, that if, in the present war, they had done no good, they had also done no harm. But they surrendered in the last extreme of famine and exhaustion to be taunted by their calumniators, and sacrificed by their judges; and the gallant two hundred were arraigned and slaughtered on pretence of lack of service for which they were really impotent. Still posterity has learned a sympathy for their sufferings from the touching record which Thucydides has left of the appeal of their advocates, in a speech which, being perhaps unrivalled for pathetic eloquence, discovers a feature in the genius of its great substantiator of which we should otherwise have been deficient.

It will hardly be supposed that we entertain the ambitious idea to be as a Thucydides to the little force at Ghuzni in the disastrous winter of 1841-42. It has been doubted whether the oration which he has recorded approximates at all to the pleadings really delivered; but we ourselves believe, with Mr. Grote, that having considerable and satisfactory means of informing himself of what was said on the occasion, he has embodied that in his harangue "*so far as the substance goes*," though beyond dispute the Plataean cause has been greatly advantaged by his most admirable management. Ours, however, is a much humbler design. Ghuzni has had its Astymachus and has had its Lacon, the one, Lieut. A. Crawford, of the 3rd Bombay N. I., whose interesting, but too succinct narrative has been reprinted from the *Bombay Courier* in the Appendix to Eyre's "*Journal of an Afghanistan Prisoner*;" the other, also a captive officer at Ghuzni, who has obligingly placed his larger detail at our disposal with a view to the construction of a more ample defence of the surrender of the garrison than has yet, as far as we know, been made public. We engage to use these faithfully—as indeed we must do, if we would succeed at all, for the very last thing of which our pen is capable is a military memoir. But still, though years have elapsed since the Duke of Wellington (*quem tibi nos esse Spartiatem dixi-*

mus) asserted from his place in the House of Lords that, "the late Government did *every thing in their power* to collect troops, and to take measures to ensure the safety of the garrison, which by its own bravery and good conduct had established itself at Jellalabad, *and likewise to protect and save the other garrisons and troops which were still in the Affghan country*;"—and, moreover, that the "force at Ghuzni" was "sufficient;"—and again, that "there a capitulation was agreed upon *without any cause, without any pressure upon the officers who made it*;"* it may yet be worth an enquiry whether the gallant Duke's panegyric on the wise measures of that noble Theban (ἄγγελος εἰδώς εὖ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων)—who, "in less than six months from the period when he arrived in India and issued his first order on these transactions, accomplished every thing, which the most sanguine mind could have formed an expectation of, for the remedy of previous evils and misfortunes,"—may not have been pronounced simultaneously with an undeserved and illiberal depreciation of the hardships and exigencies incurred by the capitulating officers. For it should be ascertained, if possible, whether he whose administration opened with so brilliant reparation of the Affghan reverses;—and who could discern, with such consummate clearness, their future successes must turn upon the amplitude of provision and forage during the whole march upon Ghuzni, Kabul, and Jellalabad;—and who laid it down that the destruction of our Kabul army was the result, not of the superior courage of the Affghans, but of want and the inclemency of the season;—and who determined so decisively the true causes of our disasters of the previous year in the celebrated "Simlah Proclamation;"—may not have too far yielded to an opinion formed upon the strength of Ghuzni at its capture by Sir John Keane; and have allowed too little weight to its subsequent circumstances, when the small garrison who held it were beleaguered by an overwhelming enemy, and were, in the severest weather which a native regiment has ever had the misfortune to endure, reduced to most incompetent supplies of water, fuel, and provisions. It is to examine these several points that we avail ourselves of the manuscript confided to us, and, combining its details with those which have previously transpired, endeavour to render a somewhat fuller publication of the real position of the Ghuzni capitulators; for though, as has been said, we may lose the *right* of com-

* *Vide Debates. House of Lords. February 20th, 1843.*

plaining by lengthened forbearance, yet we often treble the force.

The 27th Bengal Native Infantry marched from Kabul to Ghuzni on the eighth of June 1841, where it arrived on the nineteenth of the same month, in company with the 5th Light Cavalry, a detail of guns, and some newly enlisted recruits from the force of Kilat-i-Ghiljace, then the 3rd Regiment of Shah Shooja's Infantry. It entered the fortress next day, relieving the 16th Bengal N. I.—and the latter Regiment encamped with the cavalry corps, and the whole remainder of the detachment, on the Kandahar road. The relieved Regiment, cavalry, detail, and recruits, retired upon the mountains of Takkatoo to reduce some refractory tribes of Afghans; after which service the 16th N. I., with the detail of guns, marched to Kandahar, the cavalry to Kabul *via* Ghuzni, the remainder of the force to Kilat-i-Ghiljace.

With the 27th was about a squadron of the Shah's Irregular Cavalry. The Regiment must have mustered near a thousand fighting men. Its European officers, however, could not be said to be numerous. They comprized one Lieut.-Colonel, commanding; five Lieutenants (including Staff); three Ensigns, and one Assistant Surgeon; whose names and fates are recorded in the note below.*

The defences of Ghuzni consist of a lower fortress, skirting the city, and of an upper fortress or Bala Hissar. In both these ranges of works the artillery amounted to some half-a-dozen iron and brass guns, 4 and 6-pounders, of native workmanship; one iron 8-pounder; and, on the lower fort, an unwieldy 65 or 68-pounder, traditionally asserted to have been brought by Nadir Shah from Persia, and called by the Natives the Zabar Zang. Of this gun a large part of

* Lieut.-Col. Palmer. Commanding the Regiment and Garrison, and Political Agent at Ghuzni.

Lieut. Alston. Adjutant.

Lieut. Poett. Wounded in Action, March, 1842.

Lieut. Lumsden. Killed in Action, 9th March, 1842.

Lieut. Laing. Killed in Action at Kabul, 23rd Nov., 1841.

Lieut. Harris. Quarter-Master and Interpreter.

Ensign Williams. Wounded in Action, Dec. 16, 1841.

Ensign Nicholson.

Ensign Davis. Died of sickness at Ghuzni, 19th June, 1842.

Non-Commissioned Staff.

Serjeant-Major Moyet. Killed in Action at Ghuzni, 17th Dec., 1841.

Quarter-Master Serjeant Craven. Killed in Action at Ghuzni, 7th March, 1842.

Medical Staff.

Assistant Surgeon Thomson. In medical charge.

the muzzle had been sawn off by order of Shah Shooja; its carriage, though tolerably strong, was rude and clumsy; so that though it might throw shot to the distance of two or perhaps three miles, it was deemed too lumbering, and expensive of force in its levelling and working, to be of any real service in the siege. Save that of the iron 8-pounder, the carriages of all the smaller guns were very rickety and unserviceable, breaking down after but a few discharges:—a short period before the surrender, however, they were put well together by the regimental armourer. These guns were worked by about a hundred of the Infantry, after brief instruction by the Quarter-Master Serjeant, who had received a training formerly in the Artillery branch of the service. As no artillery-men had been garrisoned upon the fortress, it seems probable that no operations against an enemy had been contemplated by the Military Authorities when the 27th went into quarters. Indeed, up to the period of the Kabul outbreak, on the second November, 1841, so quiet and peaceable was the vicinity of Ghuzni, that scarce the gloomiest forebodings could have conceived that its occupants would be beleaguered in the fortress in a few short months.

From Lieut. Laing, who was on leave to Kabul, and whose gallantry was subsequently recorded in Elphinstone's Dispatch from Buddeabad, his comrades at Ghuzni learned of Genl. Sale's inability to clear the road to Jellalabad of insurgent Affghans; and shortly after, it was communicated that the Kandahar Ghiljaees, who had been invited by the chiefs at Kabul to come to their assistance, had avoided Ghuzni on their forward march. A letter, too, was intercepted to the address of the Ghiljaees at Ghuzni, inciting them "for the sake of God and of Mohammed to join in the war of Islam, and to concede no foot of ground in Khorasan to the English dogs." The contents of this, and of a second intercepted letter of a similar character, did not transpire beyond the commanding officer and his interpreter, lest their inflammatory expressions might terrify the Garrison, which still preserved its confidence in the "iqbal" of the British name. Even the arrival of a few hurried lines from the Post Master of Kabul, Captain Dodgin, of H. M. 44th Regiment, did not greatly disturb this, though communicating that "all the country was in arms, and the enemy instructed to try and surround Ghuzni." The men, relying upon reinforcements from Kandahar of strength enough to baffle the enemy's aspirations, rather ridiculed than apprehended any serious reverse.

However, for some time the arrival of the letter-bags from Kabul had been less and less frequent, and the carriers were afraid to travel by night; and that the enemy was up and in the neighbourhood was manifest towards the end of October, by the plunder of some Lohanee merchants *en route* to the capital. At once the Ghuzni garrison applied itself to strengthening its defences against attack or siege. A long loop-holed wall was built at the base of the Bala Hissar, for the protection of the only available well. At its further end, and overlooking the city, two sentry-boxes were constructed of masonry. A new gate guarded the avenue to some barracks which were erected in the lower fort for the accommodation of the garrison. The wall skirting the road to the Bala Hissar was raised several feet. Houses for the Serjeant-Major and Quarter-Master Serjeant were completed in the rear of the loop-holed wall; and large heaps of stones were collected near the ramparts to be employed against any force which might attack the upper or the lower fort by escalade.

So far all looked comparatively well. The supplies were daily increasing in the citadel granary—flour, ghee, salt, pulse, and large provisions of unground corn; all of which, added to the previously stocked, and never exactly estimated quantity, might hold out, it was computed, for several months. Of food, then, for any calculable duration of emergency, it was conceived that there could be no deficiency; for though the store of flour was only scanty, and there were no means of grinding the *whole* grain, that was cheerfully consumed raw or parched as long as any chance of succour existed. But the stint supply of water was a hardship which no valour or fortitude could bear up against—the single well in the fortress, which must sustain a garrison of some four-teen hundred men, had in it but a cubit's depth of water! For the fatal impression of security by which Lord Auckland had been so far blinded as to deem himself the conqueror and tranquillizer of Afghanistan had also so lulled the senses of his generals to the dangers which might be in prospect, as to impose on them to neglect every ordinary precaution for defence and preservation, from the time when Ghuzni was first occupied. Anticipating a permanent peace establishment, and that the water-courses would always be open to the troops in garrison, they strangely overlooked that they must perish under any less propitious event.

On the fifth of November three wounded men retreated upon Ghuzni with tidings of the fall of the gallant Woodburn; whose ill-fated band had halted there from Kandahar

en route to Kabul only four or five days previously. Himself of Shah Shooja's force, Woodburn commanded about a hundred and fifty men of the 3rd Infantry, who were to have been transferred to the Invalid Establishment and allowed to visit their homes in India. They had proceeded as far as Syadabad, about half-way between Ghuzni and Kabul, and were there induced to take refuge and shelter during the night within one of those numerous forts which stud the road to the capital, the proprietor of which was a Tajikh, by name Gool Mohammed. Soon after his occupation of these quarters, Woodburn's alarm had been excited by the refusal of its proprietor to allow his sentries to keep watch in the turrets which breast the angles of all Affghan forts; but, still not fully aware of the foul treachery which awaited him, he closed the gates strongly upon notice of the approach of a large body of men at dead of night. It appears probable that these may have endeavoured to persuade him that they were his friends, sent to escort him to Kabul. But when, from discredit of their protestations, and too well-founded suspicions that they were Affghan marauders, he refused under any circumstances to unbar to them, he found that the towers were held by the Tajikh's followers, who let down ropes for the ascent of numbers of the enemy, too soon to make their entry on the protected enclosure. Suddenly they opened a most murderous fire upon its invigiled occupants, so that Woodburn thought it advisable to rush forward and maintain the fight in the open plain. He led the sally, sword in hand, his remnant of Hindustanis sticking bravely by him, and repulsing the enemy from the gateway, though they were in overpowering force. They returned a hot fire, in which Woodburn was mortally wounded, valorously felling his assailants with his broad sword, which snapped short as he fell, bedded in the gash of a wounded foe. Two Affghans now rushed upon him—at one he flung the hilt, the other he shot dead with the pistol in his girdle, and then receiving another bullet, himself expired. His fierce executioners instantly hacked him to pieces and tore his limbs from his body. Twenty-three of his valiant little company, after various intervals, made their way back to Ghuzni,—among them one who had been shot through both his legs, and thus miserably crippled, had crawled some five and forty miles. When General Nott, advancing to those brilliant successes which, as has been well recorded, though in, were not of, Lord Ellenborough's administration," reached Syadabad, in the September of the following

year, he found in Gool Mohammed's fort, of which he destroyed every vestige, the will and other documents belonging to poor Woodburn. And except for the immediate necessity of pressing on to Kabul, the traitorous behaviour of the Affghan insurgents there might perhaps have been more fully avenged by him.

But though sad the tale, it is not impossible that other and more embracing plots were defeated by Woodburn's massacre. Certain it is that Lieutenants Alston and Harris, and Assistant Surgeon Thomson, were deterred from accepting an invitation to spend a few days at the fort of a petty chieftain in the neighbourhood of the Bund-i-Sultan, with a view of inspecting that famous work,* merely from intelligence of the slaughter at Syadabad.

The Ghuzni force was joined early in the month of November, when the last stragglers of Woodburn's devoted band had come in, by Captain R. Lee Burnett, of the 54th N. I., who arrived full speed from Kandahar with the purpose of proceeding to his Regiment's Head-Quarters at the capital. On nearing Oba, between Mookoor and Ghuzni, he had been hotly pursued, and his baggage and servants taken, himself with great difficulty distancing his followers, who chased him to within a few miles of his retreat. On the eighth the garrison received the further accession of Lieut. A. Crawford, of the 3rd Bombay N. I., attached to Christie's Horse. He had left Kandahar on the thirtieth of the previous month, in escort of three state prisoners and some hostages for Kabul, and was accompanied by a troop of his own corps, and about fifty Affghan Horse, under a chief named Guddoo Khan. They had reached Oba on the previous day, and while there, received an exaggerated account of the disaster at Kabul on the second instant from the Urz Beggie,

* The Bund-i-Sultan, the work of the celebrated Mahmood of Ghuzni, is one of those immense reservoirs which he constructed in the mountains near his birth-place and the seat of his Government for the irrigation of the land. It is about fifteen miles north of Ghuzni. Three of its sides are built up in a cleft of the Hazara Mountains, the fourth is of extremely thick and lofty masonry, strengthened by buttresses. The Bund intercepts the current of the melting snows; and when the water has reached the level of the outer wall, it rushes in a small cataract over its top, and fertilizes the plains below. In the dry season, when all the snow has disappeared, two channels are opened in the basement of the outer wall, through which the water is conducted gradually to the valley below. Though of an antiquity of nearly eight centuries, and consequently much dilapidated where the water rushes over, the other parts of the Bund are still in excellent condition.

a native official, who strongly pressed their return to Kilat-i-Ghiljaee, as to proceed to Ghuzni in the face of some twenty thousand belligerents would be to incur certain death. The providential advance of Crawford's detachment by a forced march of fifty-four miles, their warm reception in the environs of Ghuzni, and their escape to the fortress, chased by the hostile cavalry, is already well known through the pages of Eyre. A traitorous massacre had been the fate of all under his command, had the persuasions of the Urz Beggie prevailed on him to retrace his march.

Guddoo Khan had incurred the enmity of all his countrymen for the singular fidelity which he displayed towards the British arms. A few days after his arrival at Ghuzni, he obtained permission to return with his party to Kandahar. But he had not reached Mookoor when he fell in with adversaries who attacked his little band. Such odds it was impossible to withstand—in a savage and unequal affray the enemy, having cut up all Guddoo Khan's party, save one man, his pipe-bearer, hewed the chief's body into pieces.

Though, from an unaccountable oversight on the part of the Military Authorities, all repairs and alterations of the Ghuzni fortresses, and even the amassment of provisions in the citadel, was still unsanctioned, the Commanding Officer, Palmer, on his own responsibility, had already engaged his force in making all available preparation for resistance. The defences of the citadel were entrusted to Lieutenant Alston, assisted by the Serjeant Major, who had been brought up as a bricklayer. Under their direction, the whole of the works already mentioned,—the barracks in the lower fort, the new gate, the loop-holed wall, the guard-house, had been successively completed. But all to little purpose, in the excessive dearth of water, their resource in which necessary was limited to the supply of a hundred men a day on half rations; and now to sink another well the garrison had neither time nor means. A contrast has sometimes been drawn to the disparagement of the Ghuzni establishment at this period, between it and the Kilat-i-Ghiljaee garrison; but we have not yet seen it distinctly stated that, whereas the latter fortress possessed good guns, sufficient of the artillery arm, water in abundance on the very summit of the works, and a position impervious to the reconnoitring of the enemy, in the former there was no one of these advantages, it being, in addition to all other inconveniences, quite open to inspection from Buhloul Hill, a commanding eminence just without the Kabul gate of the city.

The cold became intense early in November. In the winter months, the thermometer frequently sank to 14° below zero, the lowest point to which it had been graduated. The snow lay thick upon the ground, its accumulation in a single night being sometimes of a couple of feet in depth. Simultaneously with these rigours, the enemy advanced their attack. Pouring in from all sides under different banners, but still remaining at such distance as that the guns could not be brought to bear upon them, their rapidly augmenting numbers were apparent by the telescope, while their advanced companies covered behind rocks and walls and water-courses, from whence to fire with impunity upon any stragglers beyond the outworks. These were thus invested for above a week, the enemy then retiring on report that Maclaren's brigade had arrived at Mookoor, and would soon advance to the rescue of their beleaguered comrades in arms.

Thus cheered by the prospect of speedy relief, the spirits of the little force again beat high, for hope had infused new vigour and courage, and had revived the sounds of purposed retribution, and the anticipations of restored peace and security. Again the country appeared free from Affghans:—they had gone, it was conjectured, to encounter the advancing force; and with the characteristic *renaissance* of Englishmen, the officers now skated on the city ditch, and now led their men against such buildings as, being within musket range of the works, might form a future cover for the enemy. But their hope soon drooped; for whether for want of carriage, or for a recall, or for the increasing depth of snow near the hills, Maclaren's brigade never reached Ghuzni, which, ere a week, was beleaguered anew, and the troops once more confined within the walls.

It is still a matter for conjecture why this interval of quiet was not employed in expelling its Parsewan and Affghan inhabitants from the city. Certain it must have been that their friendship could not be relied upon, before that point had been more amply proved by resultant disasters. Some conceive that positive prohibition from dislodging them had been received from the Envoy; and others that, in the inclemency of the season, humanity prevailed over policy. But whatever the reason for the line adopted, it must now be owned to have been unfortunate, and that the clearance made by Sale in the earlier stages of the siege of Jellalabad was a much wiser proceeding, considering the enemies which each force had to deal

with. For a time, however, the townspeople were observant of Palmer's proclamations, which, rendered into Persian and Pushtoo, were duly posted in the bazaars; and, so far, his over-weening confidence in their fidelity was confirmed. Still was there warning enough of the expediency of more vigorous measures. On one occasion a Moolah was detected in the *musjid*, exciting a large congregation of the inhabitants to rise and massacre all the English. Of this man and his family the city was cleared before many hours; but, beyond this, no precautions were adopted.

In the respite afforded by the enemy's pursuit of MacLaren's brigade, one of those Hindoo Khutrees who formed a considerable part of the population of Ghuzni, gave notice of suspicious doings in the city by the Parsewans. He stated that an attack would be led against the new, or South-East Bastion, the creation of Lieutenant Pigott of the Bengal Engineers; and he, moreover, hinted that the enemy without would be assisted by the inhabitants of that (the S. E.) quarter of the city. But the value of his testimony was never fully appreciated till a Parsewan was heard to boast his instrumentality in the capture of the town, by assisting Ghazees over the walls by scaling-ladders led down from within.

It was on the twenty-first of November, that MacLaren's brigade commenced its retreat towards Kandahar. On that same day the enemy re-appeared. The guns of the citadel and the lower fort were at once brought to bear upon them; the cannonade was repeated as often as a body ventured near enough; and the practice with wall-matchlocks (*juzails*) of tremendous length and metal, effective within a range of some four or five hundred yards, was constant. The most exact vigilance was henceforward maintained, every man in the garrison, with the exception of the Commanding Officer, the Adjutant, and the Assistant Surgeon, being placed on severe and harassing watches of eight hours in every twenty-four. A perpetual guard had from the commencement been set at each of the three gates of the city, (the *Kabul*, North-East—the *Kandahar*, East by South—and the *Water-Gate*, South). A jemadar's party of twenty rank and file was now mounted upon the South-East Bastion; and the detail of cavalry (Anderson's Horse) occupied a house near the *Kandahar* gate. No armed native was on any account allowed to enter the city; and the gates were invariably closed at night-fall. But *malgré* all precautions, there is strong reason to suspect that arms and

equipments were brought in clandestinely under the long veils of the Ghuzni women. The wood-work of the Kabul gateway was one night fired by the enemy without, probably as a signal to their allies in the city to muster and join in an attempt to overpower the guard. The *ruse* did not succeed; indeed, the invitation was not accepted; and next day the timber of all the gateways was most effectually replaced with brick, a small wicket being left open at the Water-gate for the draft of water from the river side.

It was on the night of the sixteenth of December that the South-East Bastion was attacked. Snow had fallen for a day or two previous, which rendered all the trampled paths upon the ramparts slippery and insecure. That upon the South-East Bastion was so narrow as to admit of only two men abreast. It had, on the inner side, a perpendicular fall of some thirty feet into the city.

Early in the afternoon the enemy were observed to be drawing nearer and nearer, and the toscin of their drums and the shrill music of their fifes to be encouraging more and more impetuously. Towards evening the discharge of shot grew frequent, and Poett, Harris, and the ill-fated Lumsden and his wife, who occupied the Dewán Khàna, a building in the extreme north-east of the city, could hear the whiz of bullets, and their crash against the barrack-wall a few feet over their heads. The clangour of martial instruments still approached—the city seemed to be rising—camp-followers and sutlers fled into the fortress, terrified at prospect of murder by the excited Ghuzniees. At night-fall, the musket-volleys were furious and incessant—no doubt remained that the *inside* people had risen *en-masse* in concert with their friends without, and that the men upon the southern and south-eastern works were imperilled by a galling cross-fire. The Water-gate was the scene of the enemy's first assault; it was in charge of Lieutenant Nicholson and his Company, who gallantly repulsed them. Finding that another large body was occupied against the South-East Bastion, (the defence of which had been committed to Lieutenant Williams and his Company,) and moreover, that the foe without was assisted by traitors within the walls, Nicholson's troop joined the party on the Bastion, that all efforts might be concentrated upon that quarter; but by their multitudinous assailants, and by heavy volleys in front and rear, the hardly-pressed men were driven into retreat. Scaling-ropes were now let down by the townsmen, and the Bastion made over to the foe from without. Meanwhile other

Affghans in the city were busied in butchering any unfortunate camp-followers who might not already have sought refuge within the citadel, to which many escaped cruelly wounded, they having been so unsuspicious of a rise as to be sleeping unconcernedly at the very moment of attack. It has been ascertained that a regimental Moulavi, having endured agonies from his mutilations to which he felt death to be preferable, after a night or two threw himself down an immensely deep but dry well, from which his body was subsequently hauled up dead.

The fourth Company, under Lieutenant Davis, was ordered down from the upper fort to retake the lost Bastion. But by this time it was discovered that the harboured Affghans had mined the city, and were admitting the enemy by hundreds to its very centre. Other Companies advanced to strengthen Davis—from the citadel, the second Company, under Crawford; and from the lower fort, where Captain R. Lee Burnett commanded, the first Company under Poett. But for all the most soldierly exertions, the recapture was impracticable. The strength of the force employed in the city had been reduced, from sickness and casualties, to from sixteen to eighteen files per Company—the odds were at least a hundred to one—a charge of bayonets was impracticable, as from the nature of the ground the troops could not move in sections or advance otherwise than in file—in a few hours from thirty to forty of the engaged British had fallen upon the ramparts. The night was bleak and dark; the narrow pathways frozen and hard to hold; the repulsed force, unable to keep in body, offered marks distinct enough to aim at from the torch-lit houses in their neighbourhood, the shot from which told upon it with frightful frequency. Poett received a ball—happily on the peak of his cap—but in the rebound it slightly wounded his forehead. Crawford, though unwounded, was knocked over by a ball on the leg. Williams, having been struck on the belly, possibly by a spent charge, was shot during the night-fighting through the flesh of the thigh and carried *hors de combat* to the citadel. Davis was stunned by a stone, thrown, it was said, by a woman from a house-top, and he too was conveyed senseless up the mount. Of all the engaged officers, only Nicholson escaped unscathed.

All ranks were at their posts on that eventful night. On a fighting was incessant with musket and with match—~~was~~ in Not till break of day did a blue-light, the concerted ~~the~~ senior the return of Nicholson, burn from the rampart

tower, and then, after traversing streets more or less beleaguered, he providentially brought in all his men, only two of whom subsequently died of their injuries. The party thus withdrawn would have been eminently useful, had Palmer contemplated a recapture of the town before the enemy had time to establish themselves in the fortified houses. Poett's Company was not withdrawn till later in the day: he had maintained his post with much difficulty since midnight, and fell back to the post at Anderson's house, near the Kandahar Gate, at six A.M. Here he remained fighting till two P.M., with immense suffering to his troop; and at that hour being recalled to the citadel, and the streets being thronged with the enemy, and the houses opposite him loop-holed, he dug his way with bayonets through a wall abutting on the ramparts, and escaped, leaving all his dead and dying where they had fallen. The Affghan loss was variously computed. It probably was not under two hundred fighting men.

Notwithstanding a manifest inclination on the part of all ranks to attempt a recapture at the bayonet's point, by a sortie from the citadel, on the morning of the 17th, (a movement which, seconded by a cannonade from the ramparts, the Zabar Zang playing its due part,* would almost assuredly have been crowned with success,) the Commanding Officer gave up all as lost. But some houses east of the Kabul Gate must be recovered as an outpost, if a thought of the existence of the garrison even for a single week, were to be entertained. Lumsden, with the Seventh Company, was detached upon this duty. He led his men with fixed bayonets in the teeth of a sharp fire, and the Affghans, having discharged their volley, sheered off and left him in triumphant possession of the post. Some twenty of them were shot and bayoneted, among the rest a Chief, whose body was granted for sepulture. The outpost so bravely won was a most important position, commanding as it did the only available well in the fortress, near the new gate, without which the British force must have capitulated immediately.

Towards the afternoon of this day, the Serjeant-Major of the 27th was shot down, as he watched from an embrasure of the citadel the effect of a cannonade into the town. The Quarter-Master Serjeant burned to avenge his comrade's fall, and was preparing to pour some further shot upon the

* The enemy contrived to send some half dozen or more balls from the Zabar Zang into General Nott's camp, on the arrival of that force at Ghuzni.

houses, when, for what occasion no one could conjecture, it was ordered that the firing cease. Now began the most incessant duty and harassing exhaustion for all ranks. The care of the sick and wounded occupied the Assistant Surgeon unintermittingly. The Regiment, with the cavalry detail, and all the others who had joined it, was told off into three watches for the upper and lower fort duties; in addition to all their ordinary routine of exertion, three officers were each night appointed to take charge of the barracks and the loop-holed wall in the lower fort; three others nightly garrisoned the open square in front of the Dewán Khāna; one was daily relieved at the outpost.

The aged, the women, the children, and the laded cattle were now observed to leave the city, in which the hostile ranks were recruited by thousands from without, impetuous for what they boasted a religious warfare. There could not be less, it was computed, than sixteen thousand fighting Affghans in Ghuzni at the height of the disturbances—all champions for the cause of Islam, and prepared for any desperation against the infidel. Their practice, however, was somewhat milder—nothing could have saved the works, had they rallied to their assault, as, the hospital being crowded with sepoy, sick from long exposure to the drift and sleet, or whose frost-bitten feet had broken into ulcers, the effective British can hardly have numbered above six hundred bayonets. But the enemy limited their operation to a smart rifle-fire, which, though it shortened the garrison of three or four men a day, was rather annoying than injurious, its main effect being to preclude the besieged from observation and activity.

Before Christmas the surrounding country presented one uniform snow-landscape. The weather had set in with dreadful severity, and so continued during the whole after-time of the occupation. Such rigours must have worn out the hardiest battalion of Europeans—how much more then the denizens of the torrid plains of Central India! The most trying and even paralysing duties fell equally upon officers and men, all maintaining a hopeless warfare against vastly superior numbers of acclimated troops for months together. The sentries were relieved hourly, lest they should freeze to death at their posts, or be excoriated by the piercing wind which raged and roared as soon as ever the snow abated. The rush upon the well increased as suffering grew more intense—it was expedient to guard it strictly, and to limit each man's ration to a single *lota* once

a day—at such times, that is to say, as even *so* much was procurable, for it soon appeared that the springs which fed it were inadequate even for this stinted consumption. Melted snow therefore was resorted to, while snow lay and fuel lasted; but that was found rather to excite thirst than to allay it, besides having other unpleasant effects upon the constitution. Moreover, it was expedient from the very commencement of hostilities that wood be served with an exact economy; and therefore the portion of fuel consumed in the process of liquefaction must needs be abstracted from a bare sufficiency for culinary purposes. Still—and be it said to the honour of the debilitated troops—all held to their duties firmly and cheerfully, as long as the remotest prospect of relief remained.

A few days after Christmas a letter from Captain J. B. Conolly, to the Commanding Officer's address, advised the corps of the assassination of the Envoy and of Trevor on the twenty-third of December. It was added, that the evacuation of Ghuzni had been agreed on by previous Treaty—disheartening news enough for a regiment encompassed by merciless barbarians—and yet the only intimation on the Kabul tragedies which ever reached Ghuzni during the siege. To entertain the idea of immediate evacuation was manifestly impossible by troops who were snow-bound and hemmed in by assassins. The same day brought announcement of the fate of the gallant Henry Loring at Beynaroo. He fell while pelting stones at the enemy, who had crept up some hillocks commanding the position of the British skirmishers.

The official direction to evacuate Ghuzni arrived on the ninth of January 1842. The autograph letter seems to have been lost; but it is believed that the rescript below,* which

* *SIR*.—It having been found necessary to conclude a treaty founded on that entered into by the late Sir W. Macnaghten for the evacuation of Afghanistan by our Troops, I have therefore the honour to request that you will proceed with the Regiment under your command to Kabul, leaving behind all such stores as you cannot conveniently carry with you. Sultan Jan, and Mirza Mullick Mohammed—who have been appointed Governors of Ghuzni, under the existing Government,—will render you every assistance in their power; and your arrival at the Killa Kazeo, you will report to the British Authorities who may be left at Kabul, (but who have not yet been determined on,) who will make arrangements for your safe conduct to Peshawar.

We have, &c.,

(Sd.) ELDRED POTTINGER, 1st Asst.

in Charge of the Mission.

E. K. ELPHINSTONE, *M. General.*

To Lieut.-Col. PALMER,

Commandg. 27th Regt. N.I., Ghuzni.

was recalled some months after the capitulation by Alston, and was satisfactory to Palmer, conveys the exact purport of the original document. It will be observed that, *other* names are substituted in the second Postscript for those designated as the appointed Governors of Ghuzni in the letter of the day previous;—a circumstance which has been thought to demonstrate that the whole was dictated to Elphinstone and Pottinger by the chiefs themselves. It should be noticed too, that the removal of *any* stores out of Ghuzni must have been known to be impracticable by the British authorities at Kabul; as, to say nothing of the depth of snow, every camel and other beast of burden, (except a few gun-bullocks which were of course lost in the town) had been withdrawn by them long before.

On the fifteenth of January there was some cessation of hostilities, a truce having been agreed on, for consideration of a certain sum of money to be received daily from the Political Agent (Palmer). This stipend was first settled at seven hundred Rupees, but was afterwards increased to nine hundred. The payment was regularly transacted, notwithstanding some chance losses in the while from the juzail-practice of the Ghazees. Oomar Khan, a regimental sepoy, who was afterwards promoted to the next grade for his services, was constituted Agent for the payment. He went daily for that purpose to the city, returning laden with some small comforts for the garrison, procured at exorbitant rates, which were shared equally by all ranks. So matters continued till the twenty-seventh of February, on which day Harris was deputed as hostage to the Chiefs. For some days previous, the citadel granary being nearly emptied, it became necessary to draw up a return of the numerical strength, and the consumption daily necessary to preserve

P. S., 26th December, 1841.—You can have either of the Governors you like for your Escort, and are recommended to proceed by the route of Logur: but you have your choice.

(Signed) ELDRED, POTTINGER, *1st Assistant.*
E. K. ELPHINSTONE, *M. General.*

P. S., 29th December, 1841.—Naib Roohoolah Khan, son of Umeen-collah Khan, and Mihtar Moosa Khan, proceed to Ghuzni. On their arrival you will be pleased to evacuate the Citadel and City of Ghuzni, and proceed with the above-mentioned by the Logur route.

(Signed) ELDRED POTTINGER, *1st Assistant.*
E. K. ELPHINSTONE, *M. General.*

[Received this letter about
4 P.M. on the 9th January, 1842.

[(Signed) T. PALMER.]

the men in marching order, which will be found in the appended Schedules.* On the receipt of these, rendered into Persian, the Affghans declared that if the evacuation were further delayed, the Ghazees should be urged to a relentless attack on all quarters; which, if the British Troops might even resist it for a time, must eventually starve them into surrender. Moreover, the snow near the outpost had by this time been entirely consumed; and as, in the event of an attack, any communication with the citadel would have been impracticable to the men there, every one of them must have necessarily perished of drought.

Thus no other resource remained but to make the best practicable terms with the enemy. Shams-oo-Deen, a nephew of Dost Mohammed Khan, arrived as Governor of the Fortress; and with him and his Naib or Deputy, Rooh-Oollah, son of the Logur Chief Umeen-Oollah, Articles of Treaty were considered. These were constructed by Palmer, and submitted in Persian for the concurrence of the chiefs on

* Numerical Return of the Garrison at Ghuzní, 23rd February, 1842.

27th Regiment Bengal N. I.										Shah's Force.	Establishment	Camel Drivers.	Camp-Followers.	Grand Total.			
European Officers.	European Non-commissioned.	Subadars.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Native Non-Comm.	Drummers.	Sepoys.	Tent-Fitchers.	Water-Carriers.	3rd Infantry.	Christie's Horse.				Anderson's Horse.	Hospital.	Quarter-Master and Forge.
11	1	6	7	46	51	17	736	19	8	22	72	55	22	14	17	325	1,330

N.B.—This includes all the sick and wounded in Garrison.

Statement showing the quantity of Provisions, &c. calculated at Government Commissariat Rate required per diem for the use of the Garrison at Ghuzní on its march to Indíc, as per foregoing Numerical Return. 23rd February, 1842.

	Government Standard.			Equivalent to	Ghuzní Standard.		
	Mauud.	Seers.	Chilks.		Kharwan.	Ser.	Charak.
Wheat-flour, ..	30	17	8	Equivalent to	4	0	1
Dál or Pulse, ..	3	32	3		0	22	0
Ghee, ..	1	29	4		0	10	3½
Salt, ..	0	27	11		0	4	1
Wood, ..	35	0	0		5	20	0

their first arrival in the district by his agent Oomar Khan, who bore a khilât or dress of honour for each of them. The British force was the more affected by the sight of these officials, as their vast and motley concourse of followers were dressed in cocked hats, scarlet coats, and other articles of military equipage, plundered from the dismarshalled Kabul army. On entering quarters in the city, the Sirdars became importunate for every article of price or of munition which could be collected in the fortress—watches and telescopes—guns, swords and pistols—for which they brawled and worried, on the payment of each day's tribute. At length, on the twenty-seventh of February, the Treaty which had been presented for consideration, and duly commented on and settled, was sealed, signed, and delivered. We draw up our detail of its constitutions from a translation by the regimental Interpreter, the accuracy of which is beyond all question.

Treaty between Lieut.-Colonel Palmer on the one part, and the Sirdars Shams-oo-Deen and Naib Rooh-Oollah Khan, and there associated Ghazee Chief on the other part,—all making oath and promising to be observant thereof. Dated this fourteenth day of the month Moolharram-al-Haram, A.H. 1258, corresponding to the twenty-first day of February, A.D. 1842.

On the part of the Colonel.

On the part of the Chiefs.

ARTICLE I.

It is agreed to evacuate the fortress of Ghuzni; and proposed that ten days be allowed the British Garrison to remove their property, and afterwards themselves to march into the city.

The Sirdars allow but five days, during which the Garrison must bring their property down from the Citadel; labourers to assist in removing which are promised by the Sirdars. On the sixth day the Garrison will march to the town and select dwellings.

ARTICLE II.

The Garrison ask permission to occupy that part of the Citadel which faces Buhlood, and is commonly called by them the Dewân Khâna;—and the city buildings from the Kabul Gate to the large Musjid and the Musjid of Abd-ool-haq;—and there to remain until the snow has melted. They further request that no Afghans be permitted within these rules, and that the houses therein be emptied by the Juzailchees and the inhabitants.

The Sirdars propose themselves to occupy the Dewân Khâna. They advise that the European officers occupy the house of Mohammed Khan, and that the soldiers be quartered in that portion of the city for which the Colonel stipulates. They declare themselves solicitous for the preservation of the lives and property of the British force.

ARTICLE III.

The Garrison request that all treasure, arms, ammunition, food, tents and other chattels possessed by them be taken down to the city;—but that they leave for India under arms only, in marching order.

The Sirdars allow to each soldier a musket, a hundred rounds of ball ammunition, and rations for the time computed for his residence in the city. But all spare arms, with tents and treasure, must be left in the Citadel, under charge of an officer of the Sirdars' Government.

ARTICLE IV.

The Garrison ask that from the day of evacuation, a Jemadar's party of janzilchees be stationed near the large Musjid for the protection of the British force from Affghan molestation.

The Sirdars agree to grant two hundred men, more or less, for this duty.

ARTICLE V.

The Garrison stipulate that food be provided for them till their departure, they paying for the same.

Granted.

ARTICLE VI.

The Garrison ask that the Kabul Gate be left with them; and that the water-courses be opened; and that all the wells in the quarter which they occupy be assigned for their use; and that no Ghazee be permitted to approach them; but that Mussalmans be allowed water, if necessary, from the well near the stables under the Bala Hissar.

The Chiefs concede every thing required except the opening of the water-courses. That they cannot do on account of the snow and ice.

ARTICLE VII.

The Garrison request that the Ghazee Chiefs ascertain, five days before the evacuation, the sum which will be demanded by all their men in consideration of their quitting the city for their homes, and entering into a sealed ratification of their satisfaction, previous to their departure.

The Chiefs promise to send the agreement (*razanámah*) of the Ghazees, who had consigned the settlement of their business to the Sirdars' hands. They would be dismissed from the city, and such solicitude for the British welfare be displayed as must dispel all anxiety.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Garrison stipulate that Naib Rooh-Oollah Khan, Mirza Mullick Mohammed Khan, and Akram Khan, with eight hundred men (including cavalry), accompany their march.

Granted.

ARTICLE IX.

The Garrison stipulate for as much carriage as they may require;—its hire to be paid to Mir Alam Lohanee at Peshawur.

The Chiefs will provide carriage as far as Kabul, they being paid accordingly.

ARTICLE X.

The Garrison agree that no man on departure be allowed to carry more than three or four Rupees ;— and that all in excess be deposited at Ghuzni ;—and that Mirza Mullick Mohammed be paid in advance for all articles of consumption to be purchased by him *en route* to the capital.

Agreed

ARTICLE XI.

The Garrison request the Naib to escort them *via* Logur and Khoord-Kabul ; or by such other route to Peshawur as leaves Kabul to the left. They further request the Naib to forward information of the present proceedings, and their letters to British subjects, under cover, to the Chiefs at Kabul, as that may best ensure their delivery. Lastly, they ask that he provide carriage from Kabul to meet them at Logur.

The Sirdars intimate that whether the route of the British force be to Peshawur *via* Logur will be settled according to the pleasure of the King and his Wuzzer Ameen-ood-Dowla. To any such arrangements, therefore, they can be no party, but swear, by the grace of God, to conduct the British force to the capital with safety, honour, and security ; and there to leave them in the hands of the King and his Wuzzer, who must determine all the rest.

ARTICLE XII.

The Garrison request that Mirza Mullick Mohammed take charge of their sick and wounded in his own fort, so that they be assured of their safe and salutary custody.

The Chiefs intimate that as to any measures in regard to the sick and wounded, the Colonel is his own master. They swear to take care of them if they be left behind, and to provide carriage, that those who recover may rejoin the party which shall precede them.

ARTICLE XIII.

The Garrison stipulate that the Chiefs do swear solemnly, by placing their hands on the Quran, that these Articles be duly observed, and that they will by no means act contrary thereto ;—deposition to be made in presence of Moonshee Walee Oolah Fatiyal Khan, and Ammoo Khan, persons confided in by the British.

Agreed.

ARTICLE XIV.

The Garrison stipulate that if the British force be escorted with safety, honour, and security to Peshawur, the sum of Forty Thousand Rupees shall be paid from that Treasury ; and that exertions shall be made to prevail on Government to increase the award.

On this Article the Chiefs remark nothing ; as they can provide conveyance no further than Kabul.

Additional Article on the part of the Chiefs.

From the day of the evacuation of the Bala Hissar, as long as British soldiers remain at Ghuzni, they shall be protected here;—and afterwards upon their road, in the name of God Almighty; and they shall be conveyed, by the grace of God, to the capital, with honour and safety. If you send us either Captain Burnett, or Lieut. Alston, or Lieut. Harris, one or the other of them, it will be agreeable to the minds of the Chief Sirdar and the Naib, and it will be an earnest of your real intention to leave the Citadel. The which on the day the Colonel leaves, Lieut. Harris shall be brought back to him, and all shall be well.

Sworn and sealed with the seals of Shams-oo-Deen Khan and Rooh-Oollah Khan; and signed by Lieut.-Colonel Palmer, Political Agent and Commanding at Ghuzni, this twenty-seventh day of February, 1842.

The Commanding Officer, deeming it adviseable to comply with this suggestion of the Sirdars, appointed Lieutenant Harris as hostage for his observance of the Articles of Treaty; assuring him at the same time, that he believed him more secure of honourable treatment than any one else in the Garrison—an impression, it must be owned, in which the recently announced treachery towards the Envoy and Trevor might have somewhat shaken his confidence. He advised Harris to be very circumspect in his behaviour, to report frequently on all which might be going on around him, and that rather in any European language than in English, which it was believed that several of Shams-oo-Deen's followers could read. Next morning the hostage was received on the ascent to the New Gate by Mirza Mullick Mohammed and Habeeb Khan, attended by several inconsiderable chiefs. Mirza Mullick was the appointed Agent or Lieutenant of Shams-oo-Deen; and Habeeb Khan of Rooh-Oollah. These presented him to Gool Mohammed Khan, the brother of the Chief Sirdar; and he, after the usual friendly greeting, escorted him to the presence of Shams-oo-Deen, who welcomed him with apparent frankness and cordiality. As he pledged all honour and courtesy to his hostage, a venerable Moollah recited from the Quran a verse expressive of the duty from host to guest.

Harris's assurance was nevertheless shaken by the immense number of the Ghazees who still paraded the city, notwithstanding the provisions of the seventh Article of Treaty. The Sirdars professed that their utmost efforts had been used to precipitate their departure:—still thousands were yet within the walls, whose strict vows to exterminate all infidels to their faith must needs have cast suspicion on the disinterestedness of somewhat fulsome gratulations.

As well from courtesy as for convenience, the hostage, on retiring to the room assigned him, adopted the Kizl-bash costume,—loose red drawers and doublet, with a flowing robe of Russian chintz, confined round the waist with the blue and red-edged *loongee* or cotton cloth of Peshawur :—white muslin turban, and red slippers. Various Affghans of consideration soon after visited him in his changed habiliments ; and with well-sustained compliments and unbounded expressions of good-will they re-assured him of their appreciation of the honourable capacity in which he had been deputed to them, and lulled every presentiment of covert ill design.

But soon the sad day came—the sixth of March—on which it had been stipulated that the hostage should be restored. The troops of the citadel, having drawn the charges from their cannon, marched to their assigned quarters ; Palmer occupying the house of Mohammed Khan, and his Regiment, (officers and men) that portion of the city which had been evacuated for them. The Chiefs with numerous followers, soldiers and Ghazees, hurried to assume possession of the unoccupied citadel. His hosts parried their hostage's solicitation to join his own ranks at the time agreed on, and bade him wait till next morning.

That morning was greeted with the harsh discord of the *Salât*, or prayer of the Ghazees preparatory to battle, a prelude to hostilities unintermitting, fierce, and cruel. The Affghans, who had now command of the batteries, opened fire upon Mohammed Khan's house, while in the city the musket and the matchlock played heavily upon the British lines. The alleged ground of this second outbreak was the defence of those wells which had been conceded by Treaty against the pillage of the perfidious Ghazees. Ere now the enemy had carried many of the houses appropriated to the ill-appointed capitulators—the charge of these was expended—room was fired after room—the dead and dying lay thick around. Then the hostage received advice to intercede with the Chiefs that they stay this cold-blooded massacre ; but his solicitations were cast aside by Shams-oo-Deen with the contempt which he had now the power to exhibit. He alleged himself to possess no influence with the Ghazees—men, he said, without a chief and under no responsibilities—they were hogs and dogs, quincuseminate and devils incarnate. To the hostage's remonstrances it was answered that he was an uncompromising exactor (*zorâwar*) ; but he could distinguish in an undertone of Shams-oo-Deen the more honest sentiment

"did they expect us to keep faith with infidels?" And then again he protested, with a fiendish dissimulation of concern, that he was utterly impotent to arrest the Ghazees' fury. The discouraged hostage now rose to retire, when another, and a yet more pressing dispatch was presented from Palmer, whose agent, Oomar Khan, warmly seconded all representations and entreaties. Shams-oo-Deen only vociferated "*Then surrender*;" and every Chief and Moollah took up his note. The hostage, in the dismay and tumult of a scene in which he stood alone, could but write as he was dictated to and direct that the issue of his intercessions be communicated with all dispatch to the officers in the city. Palmer's reply was as prompt and brief and decisive as was desirable;—that the proposal of the Sirdars could not be entertained for an instant—that the gallows would be the portion and desert of any British soldier who should thus disgrace his colours—and that his sole alternative, therefore, was an indignant rejection of the measure suggested. On the announcement of this decision at nightfall, Shams-oo-Deen shrugged his shoulders and smirked at his attendant Chiefs. And the firing ceased awhile.

With the earliest dawn, however, similar scenes were re-enacted. The hostage was removed to the Bala Hissar after a peremptory refusal of a restoration to his Regiment. Here, during the commotion, a dispatch reached him from Palmer. In the excitement of the occasion it was torn and frayed, and can therefore now be rendered only imperfectly. It was probably written during the evening of the 7th of March.

Extract.—"It is impossible to separate ourselves from the men:—can you not impress this upon Shams-oo-Deen and his officers? I have no objection to make any honourable sacrifice, as we are so far from our own country. It is in the power of the Nawab and the Naib, putting a stop to these cruelties, for I have seen the declaration of the Ghazees that they will obey their orders having confided.....
..... in the Naib Rooh-Oollah Khan.

"As I before said, our fate must seriously affect that of Ameer Dost Mohammed; and it is in the power of Shams-oo-Deen..... as if so inclined, and to insure.....

"You appear to have forgotten that the Juzailchees and guns fired on us from the Bala Hissar from 3 o'clock; so what hope can we expect?

"I must repeat we are ready to make any honourable sacrifice; but cannot separate ourselves from our Sepoys.

"Pray make some arrangement..... we can't get water, for we have had none to-day;..... but don't appear to be too anxious about it. Adieu.

Your's sincerely,

7th March, 1842.

(Signed) T. PALMER."

• To Lieut. HARRIS, Hostage with Shams-oo-Deen.

Later in the day the following additional communication reached the Bala Hissar:—

"7 A. M., 8th March, 1842.

"*In presence of some of the Ghazie Chiefs* I wish you to state to the Nawab and the Najb that I have collected the money from the Sepoys, and will give it to the Ghazie Chiefs, provided they will withdraw their men, and leave us to the mercy of the Sirdars, to whom we have virtually surrendered on the terms of the Treaty when we left the Fort and made it over to them. If the Ghazie Chiefs agree, let them withdraw their men, so that we may have the use of the wells as stipulated, and the money shall be paid to any one or more of the Ghazie Chiefs on their satisfying the Sirdars that they will leave the Town. From the hurry in collecting the money I know not the sum; but it is about 12,000 Rs.—not less. Should any other proposition have been made, you can suppress this till we learn the nature of it. We cannot separate ourselves from the men, let the consequences be what they may. Honor and Faith forbid such an act on our parts;—explain this to the Sirdars and Chiefs.

"PRIVATE.—We shall be greatly distressed during the day unless the wells are opened to us; but they must be aware of this.

"Do whatever you can for us; we are willing to give up all our property, bedding and arms, a lotah and towah excepted: of the latter we promise to make no offensive use. God be with us, and His will be done!

Your's, &c.

(Signed) T. PALMER."

"P. S.—If any other proposition is preparing, keep this back."

To Lieut. HARRIS, &c. &c.

The cupidity of Shams-oo-Deen and his creatures was excited by the mention of so large a sum as twelve thousand Rupees. They moreover took umbrage at the possession of such a residue by the capitulating force, after the surrender of the Treasure while that force still held the Bala Hissar; and they declared themselves unfairly treated, as all Treasure should have been previously made over. To Palmer's determination not to give in, they remarked that he was merely prolonging a useless resistance. During this conversation, a sharp action was proceeding in the city with terrible loss to the British ranks. The hostage, in his next advice to his Commanding Officer, was unable to make any definite communication on the Chiefs' readiness, or indisposition, to withdraw their men and concede the use of the wells as a consideration for the sum collected, and he therefore deferred all reference to that topic. Next morning the following communication reached him.

"As you say nothing about the sum of 12,000 Rs. which I offered to give to the Ghazie Chiefs if they would spare my men, I am at a loss to know whether, when you write you '*received my letter this morning*,' the letter was that which contained the offer in my reply

last night. Regarding this point I am most desirous to receive information, as the offer is a considerable one. I trust it will have its due effect.

"I have no person to interpret Persian, and am consequently at a very great loss.

"I enquired for Omer Khan, and was given to understand he would not come down unless sent for. You must, I fear, have forgotten Mrs. Lumsden, who certainly should immediately place herself under your care; and Omer Khan is the only person Lumsden could venture to send her with. I say this, for it is impossible to comply with the request of the Nawab to commit what I must ever consider a disgraceful breach of faith and honour with our soldiers, who have followed us to a distant land, and are solely dependent on and guided by us. Surely the Ghazies themselves would think so of their Chiefs, if under similar circumstances they deserted them. If you put this to them in a proper light, it may have its effect.

"We are willing to give up every thing, excepting our arms, bedding, the clothes we require, a lotah, a towah—and trust the Ghazies will spare the men and ourselves a few rupees to subsist us to Peshawur. If the Sirdars or Ghazies will not permit us to take all the arms, allow one to two sepoys, as we have to pass through the Punjab, and know not how we may be received. If we have by any act incurred the anger of the Sirdars which has occasioned the fire from the Fort, we are totally ignorant of it.

"Supposing that offence has been taken at our bringing down the spare ammunition authorized by the Treaty, I purposely abandoned it last night in the Kabool Gateway; which I hope you will explain to the Chiefs.

"All the "Faithful" are deserting;—the Moonshee, Tindal, and many others are off, and all the kitmutgars go to-night. Poor Burnett is wounded, and I regret to say has lost an eye. Pray inform the Nawab that if I could with any degree of credit accede to his request of abandoning the men to-night, I would do so; but the act would entail eternal disgrace on the British character.

"PRIVATE.—Pray forget not to acquaint the Ghazie Chiefs with my offer. It was *the Fort* that was firing guns and matchlocks all day. To-day the Ghazies give us little trouble. How is this to be accounted for? Adieu. God be with you.

Your's, &c.

(Signed) T. PALMER."

"POSTSCRIPT, 11. P. M. 8th March.—Pray beg the Nawab and Ghazies to grant us time to make arrangements for giving up the arms, if they will not allow us to keep any part of them. I cannot get a person to convey a letter to any one detached—so what can I do? Crawford has urged me for a reply, but I can get no one to take my orders. You have not said where the men are to be collected. If they leave the property in the houses they now occupy, the Ghazies will not get it; it will be plundered by the people of Ghuzni, and *they* will be enraged.

"We will give up every thing—but time must be allowed us, for it cannot be collected under fire. We must not be separated from our men. Arrange this for us, and may God preserve us. Adieu.

Your's, &c.

To Lieut. HARRIS,

(Signed) T. PALMER.

Bala Hissar.

1 A. M. 9th March."

Burnett, Crawford and Nicholson were at this time living together:—the command of two companies of the 27th which had been assigned to the first named of these officers devolved upon Crawford after *he* was wounded. By midnight on the 9th inst. their house was "nearly burned in halves," and they had been totally without food or water since the morning of the 7th. The only entrance, in front of their quarters, was surrounded by the enemy; and their last resource for security was to break a way through a back wall with their bayonets, and retreat to Mohammed Khan's house. Here they arrived on the morning of the 9th, the foe advancing to take possession of the abandoned post, and shortly afterwards attacking and carrying the next house. The hostage in the meantime stood imploring and deprecating these horrible cruelties, but he was met only with the one answer, "*Then surrender,*" and questioned whether *he* could suggest any other alternative, or devise how his comrades might prolong resistance for many days without food or water. Conscious that further efforts would be only too hopeless, and that a sustained show of determination would probably so exasperate the barbarous malignants, as that utter annihilation of the surviving remnant must be the consequence, he advanced to his Commanding Officer the following letter, with a Treaty, in Persian,* on the part of the Ghazee Chiefs.

* We attach a copy of the Treaty mentioned.

درین وقت مقرر برآن شد در مابین مردم اهل اسلام و طایفه
غلجای و مردم انگریز که تنازع و مناقشه در مابین موقوف
از جانب طایفه علما و مردم غلجای و دردک و خوکانی و
تاجیک عهد بنام حق سبحانه تعالی برین است که مردم
انگریز را در کابل رها نیده باحدی ضرر و قتل و جراحت
فرسانند و در قبضه قبله عالم شاهنشاه سالم برسانند و از
جانب مردم انگریز مقرر چنانست که آنچه مال و منال
از جنس و نقدی و اسباب جبه خانه و جمع یراق مقاتله
داشته باشند بتمام و کمال تسلیم مردم اهل اسلام نمایند و
بر دو جانبین برقرار و عهد و پیمان ثابت و قایم باشند

"MY DEAR COLONEL,—A great many Sirdars have their seals appended to the accompanying document, which I have read. Two go down to receive from your hands the muskets, pouches, the bedding, and the 12,000 Rs. adverted to in your letter of yesterday's date, which you have agreed to leave in the hands of the Ghazee Chiefs for the Ghazees. The document states that the Sirdars, (eleven of them have their seals appended,) will convey you all, and our men, into the barracks of the lower fort; and that whenever it is your wish to leave this—say in one, two, or five days—for Kabul, that they have taken their solemn oaths on the Quran to put a stop to any further hostilities on the part of the enemy here, and secondly, to have you conveyed in safety and honour to the Capital;—but that afterwards Shah Shooja must decide for us as to our leaving that place for Peshawar. We shall be unmolested on our road to Kabul.

"This being according to your approbation, will you lose no time in coming up to the Bala Hissar?

"The Sipahs take their lotahs and tawahs, and their short postens; but nothing else. God be with you.

Your's, &c.

March 9th, 1842.

(Signed) C. HARRIS."

"POSTSCRIPT.—The two Sirdars who present this to you go with Oomar Khan; and their names are Abou Khan and Meer Khan. I believe the Persian document to be all correct."

True Copy.

(Signed) J. S. ALSTON, Lieut.,

Adjt. 27th Regt. N. I.

Immediately after Palmer's interview with the Deputation bearing these documents, he addressed the hostage thus:—

"I should have complied with the request your note contained to come up immediately to the lower" (*Ed.*) "fort, but you know I am not my

در آمین امورات مسطور احدى تخلف نورزند از هر طرف
که مخالف بظهور آید ملامت دین متین محمدی علیه
الصلوة والسلام و دین عیسوی که عبارت از طریقه
نصاری است بوده باشند تحریر فی التاریخ بست و ششم ماه
محرم سنه ۱۲۵۸ هجری

العبد

ملا زینک و میرخان و شادی خان و
دلبر محمدخان و خیروخان و فتح الله
و محمد آمین خان و ملا کلینخان و
سراندل خان و حبیب الله خان و غیره

own master, and the Ghazie Chiefs insist that we remain here till to-morrow morning, as they will receive nothing but the money to-night, and attend at sunrise to receive the arms, &c. of the men. I sincerely hope the Treaty will be more faithfully observed than that with the Chiefs.

"I am grieved to say poor Lumsden and his wife are slain.

"Our loss has been great. Poor Burnett has lost his eye, but is doing well. God bless you.

Your's, &c.

(Signed) T. PALMER."

Thirty sepoys, and all servants and attendants in the house, shared the fate of Lieutenant and Mrs. Lumsden. A prescience of his miserable end was suggested to the hostage by the entrance into his ward of an Affghan servant, who brandished a sword and pistol which he recognized as those of his murdered comrade. The fierce vociferation of a crowd of villains at the heels of that Affghan afforded only too sure a presage of the confession which he unhesitatingly made, that they were of the force who attacked Lumsden's post in the city, and that the lady had been cut in pieces as she was escaping in her husband's garments.

It was now generally understood among the Ghazees that a surrender must take place. The firing consequently, became less furious; but not until the posts of Poett and Davis had been attacked and carried, and the whole of the survivors—officers—sepoys—camp-followers—women—children—all tortured with hunger and with thirst—had been compelled to retreat within the *two* houses which formed the Head-Quarters of the British corps. Their haggard, woe-bested visages it is impossible for the pen to depict. For days had they been reduced to grope for lumps of miry ice to stay their terrific parchings. No sooner had they crowded within Head-Quarters than the batteries opened and the round shot reaved the walls. With the first lull of battle, Shams-oo-Deen took measures to secure for his own behoof what property remained in the hand of the capitulators, sending a Ghazuichee⁶ servant, Soolimán, to receive it ere it might fall into the hands of the Ghazee Chiefs. The regimental colours had been previously burned to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The following letter of Palmer on this occasion closes his correspondence with the hostage.

⁶ All your notes have been brought in, together (with) the replies to Alston and to Crawford. The Chiefs Aboo and Meer Khan have not arrived; and we have been left in such a state of excitement by the

firing this morning, that the men still apprehend an attack, and the arms have not been collected, from that idea.

"The Ghazie Chiefs last night, on being asked 'What officers might keep their horses,' said that they could not answer the question without ascertaining the point from the other Chiefs, and ended by saying—'KUBBUDAH,* that no property leaves this until we come and see it.' Under these circumstances we are not at liberty, I am sorry to say, to send any thing away. We could not do so without its being immediately known, as the Ghazies are close to us, and have made holes in the roofs of the houses between Nicholson's† and the Balla Hissar; and I fully expect they will sally upon us from that direction, which is another reason for not collecting the arms, which cannot be done until the Chiefs Meer and Abboo arrive.

"I should with pleasure have complied with the request for guns, watches, horses, &c. could it have been done without endangering the whole Detachment. Pray send Omer Khan, as I cannot communicate with Soolyman, or any other person.

Your's, &c.

(Signed) T. PALMER"

"P. S.—No Chiefs have made their appearance yet."

To Lieut. HARRIS, &c.

This letter was written apparently on March 10th, probably at the time of the reduction of Poett's Troop. On that day the enemy prepared to bring the Zabar Zang to bear upon the British Head-Quarters, which were about fifty yards from its position on the lower parapet. It was found frozen hard to the ground; but was loosened by the vigorous efforts of some two hundred Affghans, the while others cut a gap in the parapet wall from which to project its muzzle upon the devoted outpost. The shouts, yells, and savage exclamations of the miscreants who rolled it forward on its ponderous wheels, and the mad excitement of their countenances as they snuffed the incense of its scaling-prime, were witnessed by the hostage from the tower of his captivity. Its report, however, did not greet his ears again; for about midnight, nine British Officers,‡ harassed both in body and mind by protracted fastings, by peril imminent, by the swarming of the enemy, by the threatened defection of their own—who, now recusant of all discipline and authority, entertained the mad idea of a forced march to Peshawur through the mountain defiles)—marched up to the citadel; laid down their swords,

* Khabar-dar—Take care.

† Mahommed Khan's House—the "Outpost."

‡ Palmer; Burnett (led by Alston and Thomson); Poett (severely wounded in the left hand by a bullet which had traversed across his palm); Crawford; Williams; Nicholson; Davis.

and joined the hostage in his anxious prisonment, under reinstituted pledges of a short and lenient durance, and safe and honourable escort to the Shah at Kabul. The hostage, nevertheless, was cheered, for all the sickening sorrow of the scene. He had been told that Palmer's head had been seen impaled upon the Kabul Gate; and that Burnett, Alston and Thomson *certainly*, and probably others, whom he had now to greet, had fallen in action; and that such as had escaped that scathe had been captured by a truculent Ghazee named Sirdar Khan, whose very features wore the impress of brutality and ferocity. The most heart-rending details were communicated of the unseparated remains of hundreds of their fallen comrades, *ἐλώρα κύνεσσιν ὀιωνοῖσι δε πᾶσι*.

Shams-oo-Deen's force now remained at the outpost, to protect the sepoy from the fury of the Ghazees. But notwithstanding that they were strictly watched, a large party of these sepoy made their exit in the night; and being shortly after overtaken by a snow-storm and bewildered in their route, they were cut up at day-break within a mile or two of the city.

The ten captives were removed next day to another part of the fortress, the Sarācha, where they remained till the thirteenth. On that day the yellings of the Affghans in the city rose high, as they disarmed, stripped, and in some cases scourged, and in others slew, the sepoy who refused to embrace the religion of Islam. Hundreds, probably, were victimized, whose heroism would have graced a martyrdom for a nobler faith than theirs. Under the inspiring addresses of their brave Drill Havildar, Kanya Singh, who had been, by common consent, advanced to the post of honour on the surrender of the Commandant, as an acknowledgment of his soldier-like courage and fidelity, their sustained determination to magnify their zeal, though that might cost them their lives, adds another to the long line of testimonies to the extraordinary thralldom of the Hindoo superstitions.

On the fourteenth, the prisoners were quartered in the Haram Serai, from whence, some days after, Palmer addressed the Political Assistant to the Envoy, Captain J. B. Conolly, as under; but it is uncertain if the dispatch ever reached its destination, as Conolly was a hostage to Mohammed Akbar from Decr. 21, 1841.

"SIR,—I state for your information that this Garrison left the Balla Hissar under a Treaty on the 5th and 6th inst., and occupied the north-east corner of the city of Ghuznee.

"After an unequal contest of some days without a drop of water, and seeing no prospect of aid being afforded us, I was obliged to surrender. On the night of the 10th inst. the officers were removed to the Balla Hissar, and the Garrison was to have been brought into the lower fort the following morning. This, however, did not take place; but on the 13th instant, they were taken out by the Ghazess, stript, and carried off in parties (of) from five to twenty to the forts in different parts of the country. The sufferings of the Garrison I need not describe; but intreat you to use your best endeavours with the authorities at the Capital to ensure the Native officers and sepoys being re-assembled at some place, and duly taken care of. The Officers are prisoners in the Balla Hissar, under Nawab Shams-oo-Deen; and are well treated.

"I regret to say Lieut. and Mrs. Lumsden have been killed; also Quarter-Master Serjeant Craven;—and Captain Burnett and Lieutenant Poett wounded.

(Signed) T. PALMER, *Lieut.-Colonel,*

March 24th, 1842.

Late Commdy. at Ghuznee."

The hours now lagged lazily enough. True, for the first few days no great severities were enacted; and even the rigid espionage which evidently instigated the frequent visits of Shams-oo-Deen, were made endurable by the more human-heartedness of his brother, Gool Mohammed Khan. Certainly this man was, of all his race, "*vir et contra audaciam fortissimus, et ab innocentia elementissimus.*" His easily-worn, though still most mitigating influence on his harsher relative encouraged for awhile a tolerably righteous observance of the terms of surrender; but soon, either for expediency or by strategy, he was dispatched to Kabul; and then the rigours of imprisonment reached their acme. Khan Mohammed Khan, a Barukzye, and cousin of Shams-oo-Deen, became the confidential councillor of the Nawab, a monster of inhuman cruelty and unparalleled finesse. With a view, most likely, to terrify their captives, they opened an immense enlistment of every wild and truculent class, arrayed in the most sombre and intimidating equipments, within the very enclosure of the Harám Serai. One tribe from which they drew, the Zadaranee of Ghiljaee, rejoiced in the imputation of cannibalism. Occasionally the captives' ears were startled by the roar of cannon and the musket volley—salutes—they were told—for the several Afghan successes in the recent campaign. Their woes were often aggravated by tales of feigned or imaginary disaster, and declarations that not a man of theirs survived on that side the Indus, save themselves and the few hostages, their partakers in suffering at Kabul. The most menial duties devolved upon each of them; only two, and at length only one servant, and he of the class esteemed the most contami-

nate, being allowed for all the offices of the prison. Soon after the arrival of Khan Mohammed Khan from his fort of Killa Maroof, on the Kandahar road, the captives were, apparently for the mere luxury of torture, informed of an order for their escort to the Capital under guard of from four to five hundred Affghans, to start whom three toomans of twenty Rupees each, per man, were demanded: and on Palmer's declaration that it was quite impossible for him to master such a sum at Ghuzni, or to transact it at Kabul, Khan Mohammed Khan, whose uncompromising barbarity was equalled only by his imperturbable *sang froid*; declared, as he whistled and wheeled upon his heel, that it must be furnished quickly, or all be blown away from guns. Annoyances and insults were aggravated daily. Khan Mohammed, of whom the Nawab in reality was but the myrmidon, promoted an impression among the Affghans that large quantities of treasure had been buried by their prisoners; and accordingly, clamours for money became incessant. Believing Palmer to be extremely rich, and that his wealth was buried within the very walls of Ghuzni, they set over him a most penetrating espionage, to mitigate the severities of which his solemn assurance that he had delivered all his personal effects to Shams-oo-Deen on the day of surrender availed nothing whatever. For some days there had been, to judge from the sketch before us, a tolerably spacious passage for the admission of light and air to their miserable dungeon, an apartment eighteen feet by thirteen, whose floor was of dimensions barely adequate for them all to stretch their limbs on in the night; but on the seventh of April news of Shah Shooja's murder reached Ghuzni, and the window was pent up on pretence of information of that event obtained by the prisoners from the Affghans outside, and the wretched inmates, few of whom had a change of linen,* and who swarmed with vermin, were almost suffocated in their darkened den. Thus they continued for a fortnight, the door being hardly ever open, and the pent atmosphere perfectly pestiferous. On the twenty-first of April the monotony of that gloomy room was broken by the forcible intrusion of Khan Mohammed Khan and his abettors, laden with stakes and ropes. Having driven one of these stakes hard into the ground, and split the protruding part of

* Once or twice, subsequently, Shams-oo-Deen gave his prisoners changes of garment of the Persian fashion, and allowed them the services of a wash-man.

it for the admission of wedges, they called on Palmer to place his right foot against it. This they tied with cruel tightness, and again commenced their importunities for the buried treasure. Vainly did the sufferer plead the custom of British officers to make *honourable* surrender, if ever exigency compelled it—vainly did he call his God to witness that nothing had been secreted by himself or any whom he commanded—the murderous miscreant beckoned to a confidant, Nazar Mohammed Barukzye, whom he had brought as executioner on the occasion, and a wedge, and a second, and a third, were driven deep into the stake, straining the tender bones and muscles of the foot with such frightful severity, that the sufferer fell upon his back with heavy groan. In this defenceless position Khan Mohammed Khan reviled him in language of the most offensive outrage, and in a voice so savage, that it seemed comparatively human that he limited his corporeal violence to kicks upon the breast and smittings with his sheathed sword. Then, turning savagely upon the gazers at the tortured man, he threatened the same infliction upon all except four lacs of Rupees, which he averred they had buried, were promptly yielded, and if torture should fail to extort them, then the guns should be balled with the Feringhis' heads. Palmer, in whom just strength enough remained for the effort, implored for a reprieve from this needless inhumanity on condition of his writing to Kabul for a ransom. The wedges and the ropes were then by order loosened, and writing materials brought. An English letter, and a Persian rescript, detailing the whole exigencies of the occasion, was addressed to Captain J. B. Connolly, or whomsoever of the British officers at Kabul it might reach; but Khan Mohammed Khan strictly forbade all mention of incurred punishment, and commanded that the advice be limited to the expediency of an immediate replenishment of the British Treasury at Ghuzni. But on Palmer's declaration that a full rehearsal of their sufferings would be the more effectual method, the Khan conceded that *two* letters might be transmitted, and that in the event of unobservance of the milder one, the more urgent might be put in.

Two days after the torture with the wedges, Nazar Mohammed was ordered by the Nawab to bid the prisoners allay their fears, as no more severities were contemplated, and in a few days they would all be on their road to Kabul. The incentive to this more lenient treatment was the rumoured advance of a rescue from Jellalabad or Kandahar; and from the date we have now arrived at,

this comparative lenity had effect; but the dismissal was delayed; for, after a week's expectation, no reinforcements arriving, the Affghans taunted their captives with the imbecility of the Feringhi armies, which, if they should advance, they would annihilate. We must be permitted to record here, from the Journal at our disposal, another instance of the acknowledged consolations of religion to the imperilled officer. "I had contrived," writes our amiable Chronicler, after enumerating such other volumes as cheered their perilous vicissitudes, "to save a Bible and a Prayer Book from destruction, both of which proved most acceptable to us. Never was the Word of God found more consolatory than in those hours of unexpected suffering. And who," we find it added, "can venture to doubt that a Divine Providence watched over our lengthened captivity? It is wonderful that no more of us were attacked with serious sickness." Save poor Davis, none were beyond the sanation of fasting and sennaleaves. He sickened about the 12th of June, and all medicines being, from their refusal by the enemy, compulsorily foreborne, he sunk under typhus fever on the 19th, the anniversary of his arrival at the fortress of Ghuzni.

We should have mentioned however, that about the middle of June, Gool Mohammed Khan returned from Kabul and established, in some respects a change for the better. The prisoners' food improved, and three or four rooms were assigned to them in the Sarâcha, (for Gool Mohammed had escorted some ladies of Shams-oo-Deen's family, to whom the quarters in the Harâm Serai were appropriated); and they were allowed a little exercise in a court-yard—an indulgence how great none can appreciate save those who, like them, having been for two months stifled out of sight of Nature, again have hailed the return of verdure on the earth which they last looked on shrouded under snow. But the excess of vermin in the apartments to which they had been transferred compelled them to a refuge on the flat roof, where with the open sky as their canopy and exposed to the dews of night, a guard maintained a lazy watch upon their slumbers.

It was we believe a day or two previous to poor Davis's death that the return of Colonel Wymer's Brigade to Kandahar, after it had razed the walls of Kilat-i-Ghiljaee, gave new zest to the affrontery of Shams-oo-Deen. He himself brought tidings of their retreat to Palmer and his interpreter; at the same time bidding them make themselves quite happy, as, if ever Dost Mohammed were restored, they too

should have a safe mission to their friends. He added, that the Kandahar troops were already on their march to India, and that Sirdar Mohammed Akbar Khan was at that moment negotiating terms for the restoration of the Ameer; and that all would be well at last, through the kind intervention of the Sikhs, as the British army had agreed to evacuate the country and never again to enter it invasively.

The sequel of these communications was a still more rigorous espionage; a night-guard of from fifteen to twenty Affghans being mounted in the Saràcha, not a little to the disappointment of the prisoners, as they relieved some more communicative Kohistanis and their *chef*, whose fort was hard by Charikar, and who helped to while their tedious hours with panegyric on the fine qualities of poor Charles Rattray, whom, he said, he knew well, and esteemed highly as Assistant Political Agent at that Cantonment. Now no word could transpire between the captives and their watch, the gossip of these latter being in Pushtoo, to which *they* might listen all night and still not catch one gleam of consolation from any rumour which *might* be current of approaching relief. The movements of the Kandahar squadrons seemed to be paralysed. While the crops were ripening, a hope of their arrival *did* remain; for it *must* occur to them, thought their anxious expectants, that the necessary demand for agrestial labourers will at that time greatly reduce the numbers under the Nawab's standard. But the best time was allowed to pass—June wore away—and July came—and still was there no nearer prospect of amelioration than the mention by Shams-oo-Deen and his brother of an arrangement for an exchange of prisoners in progress between Lawrence, Pottinger, and Troup on the one part, and Mohammed Akbar Khan on the other. The detail of this arrangement may be found in the "Notes" of Eyre.

In the month of August the prisoners collected from some passing conversations that Shams-oo-Deen intended marching on Kandahar with an immense army of Ghiljaces, Andarrees, Zadaranees and other tribes of Affghans, some twenty thousand strong to engage Nott upon his advance to Kabul; and that Gool Mohammed was to be left in charge of Ghuzni. They had for some weeks observed a camp near the river, which they looked upon as an unquestionable corroboration that such a movement was contemplated. Thus were they the more startled, one night, just as they had lain them down on their cold quarters for repose, to see Shams-oo-Deen come up to the roof of the Saràcha. He

communicated that they were to start at once for Kabul; and ere half an hour they were ready with their light equipages to mount the Kavajahs.* But only to be countermanded—their capricious jailor having discovered within that brief interval that the Ghiljaees were abroad, and that it would be certain death to every one of them to persevere in their route just then. But at length Shams-oo-Deen did depart in reality. *Where* is not certain—to intercept Nott's advance, it was said; but preparations were evidently in progress to resist an expected siege at Ghuzni. The guards scowled, looked sanguinary, and spoke threateningly. The approach of a hostile armament, it was whispered, would be the signal for an instant assassination of the captives, or else for their dispatch to Toorkistan, as might be decided on. Beyond these dark allusions, all was mystery, though there was enough to strengthen the most ominous conjectures. The guard was all day busied in melting and recasting the metal of fifty boxes of surrendered ammunition, to furnish cartridges for their smaller-bored juzails.

On the night of the 19th of August Nazar Mohammed entered the enclosure, and, arousing the prisoners, bade them once again prepare immediately for despatch to Kabul. Palmer, who had been deceived into activity a few days before on a similar notice of dispatch, demurred, and demanded, that he might be confirmed of the reality of this expressed intention by the presence and witness of Gool Mohammed; without which, he would not advance the equipment of his subordinates. This being conceded, and the camels declared to be under harness and waiting outside the Kabul gate, in another half-hour the elated freedmen found themselves, a pair in each camel-pannier, upon their way to the Capital.

They were escorted by some sixty or eighty ferocious looking Ghiljaees, a few mounted, the rest on foot. Their painfully tedious journey was accomplished by the 23rd, on which day they entered Kabul under a *feu de joie* of blank cartridge, and fiendish shouts and yellings, from their guard, whose numbers gathered as they proceeded through the tortuous streets, and who launched at them as savage abuse and execrations as it has ever been the lot of British soldiers to endure.

Having traversed every purlieu of the city, which blazed with torches, and swarmed with all life most inimical to the English name, the procession wound up the Bala Hissar.

* Camel-Panniers.

Here they encountered increased demonstrations of ferocity: Nazar Mohammed drew rein—the camels halted—he would know the pleasure of the Wúzeer touching his charge. A personal servant of Mohammed Akbar then presented himself:—he saluted the fatigued officers, and shook hands with them all round. Bidding them follow him, he ushered them into the Wúzeer's presence, who welcomed them with abundant cordiality, and soon introduced them to Troup and Pottinger. Mohammed Akbar Khan expressed his indignation at the shameless torture to which Palmer had been put, and eulogized his own more becoming treatment of hostages, announcing that Lady Macnaghten still possessed a lac of jewels, and that his prisoners always enjoyed a freedom of exercise, walking about his gardens, when and as they pleased. Then a repast, luxurious in comparison with their recent fare, was served for all, and, next morning, horses furnished to convey the newly arrived to their fellow hostages. Striking off to the right from the Bala Hissar through cultivation of corn and rice, and crossing the Logur river, they skirted the base of the arid mountains beyond, and then galloped through a marsh redolent of fever and miasma to surprise and delight their comrades in arms at Shewakhee. Of the few sepoy left in Ghuzni, some, and it may be hoped several, escaped into Nott's camp, when he, having received, (to use Lord Clauricarde's expressions,) "*instructions* to retire," availed himself of his "*permission* to advance;" but the actual number saved we have not the means of ascertaining.

The future of the friends united at Shewakhee has been already ably told. We need not recapitulate, our sole and humble object being to set forth in its fair proportions this hitherto, we believe, imperfect link in the story of our Afghan disasters; and to claim such candid *amende* as we are persuaded that a knowledge of what their real position was *must* secure for a brave, a suffering, and an injured band of British Officers.

V.

DANTE.

" He saw thro' life and death, thro' good and ill,
 He saw thro' his own soul.
 The marvel of the everlasting will,
 An open scroll,
 Before him lay."

TENNYSON.

DANTE ALIGHIERI was born in the year 1265; the exact date is unknown, but judging from a passage in the *Divina Commedia* (*Paradiso Canto xxii.*) we may place it between the 21st May and the 21st of June.

His education was commenced under the auspices of his father; but on the death of this parent, while Dante was still a child, the young Poet, who is said to have given indications of the highest genius, was consigned to the care of Brunetto Latini, on whom Lionardo Aretino bestows great praise as well for his intellectual acquirements as for his moral virtues. Under this master Dante made great progress in all the branches of education usually taught in those days;—the logic of Aristotle, the physical science of Ptolemy, and the most orthodox Theology of the Church;—he became a learned man, in fact, as learned men then went. But of his youth little is recorded; it passed, as far as we know, undisturbed by any more grievous misfortunes than the temporary dejections of love. Fortune reserved her deadliest blows for the years of his manhood.

We first hear of him in public at the battle of Campaldino in 1289, where the Ghibellines were defeated and where Dante greatly distinguished himself; fighting in the foremost ranks of the Florentine Cavaliers, and exposed, say his biographers, to the greatest danger. Of this battle he gives an account and a plan in one of his letters, and the Ghibelline party having been in it, as he says himself, "*quasi al tutto morta e disfatta*," he returned to Florence to endure what we may safely call the most severe calamity of his life—the death of Beatrice.

His love for her, as is well known, commenced when he was in his ninth year, and she a year younger; it survived its object thirty-one years, and terminated only with his death forty-eight years after it began. A love so fervent and lasting must necessarily have had a great effect on Dante, and almost every line of his poems bears the stamp of his early affection and disappointment. He wrote, as he tells

Bonagiunta da Lucca,* as love inspired and as his heart dictated. Beatrice, the daughter of Folco Portinari, a Florentine nobleman, was well worthy, both from the beauty of her person and the purity and excellence of her mind, to be the source from whence so great a Poet drew his inspiration. He has left us very charming portraits of his mistress scattered among his smaller poems; from which we learn that she was tall and graceful—of a fair complexion, and with fair and curling hair. Men, he says in the 11th Sonnet, turn to gaze upon her as she passes—anger and pride depart at her coming, sweet thoughts and humility spring up in his breast who hears her speak—but what she seems, he exclaims in transport, when she softly smiles can neither be told nor imagined.

Si è nuovo miracolo e gentile!

The Poet returned, as we have said, from the battle of Campaldino in 1289; in the same year Folco Portinari died, and so intense was Beatrice's grief for his loss that she too died a few months afterwards at the age of twenty-four. Boccaccio relates that Dante's affliction at this heavy blow changed his appearance so much, that his nearest friends hardly knew him, and the Poet himself tells us that it almost deprived him of reason. The utterance of his grief however seems in some degree to have calmed its violence; and in one of his canzone he consoles himself by thinking that angels alone were meet companions for his Beatrice, since earth was unworthy of containing so fair and pure a being. Among the *Poesie della Vita Nuova* he gives a very tender and beautiful description of himself as he sat thinking of Beatrice on the anniversary of her death, and drawing unconsciously the figure of an angel on his Tablets—doubtless the first germ of her apotheosis in the Paradiso, the noblest tribute ever offered to love! In this portion of his great poem she appears surrounded by the most radiant glories, the centre to whom the other beatified spirits turn with admiration and love; through her almost maternal tenderness the Poet acquires his knowledge of the abodes of the blest; and he at length sees her shining with ineffable brightness,

Riflettendo da sè gli eterni rai,

and smiling on him from the dazzling splendour of the heaven of heavens.

* Purgatorio, xxiv. 52.

Beatrice had been dead only a year when Dante married Gemma, a daughter of Manetto Donati. It is difficult to reconcile this step with his almost inconsolable grief for Beatrice, but it seems probable that the marriage was planned by his relations, possibly as a means of alleviating his sorrow; though even such a supposition scarcely accounts for the readiness with which he appears to have consented to it. But however this may be, it is very certain that he bitterly repented his infidelity to his first love. Gemma was far from being a fit person to succeed the angelic Beatrice in the Poet's affections; her violent temper would, of itself have been sufficient to make him miserable, and when we add to this (as Mrs. Jameson has observed) Dante's "obstinate regret for his first love," and his peculiar temper and disposition, it is no wonder that such an unsuitable marriage was a most unhappy one. We are inclined, however, to think that Gemma may have been hardly dealt with, for with regard to her, Boccaccio's evidence is somewhat unworthy of credence;* and whatever her faults may have been, we at any rate owe her gratitude for the preservation of the first seven Cantos of the *Inferno*, which had been written prior to 1302 (the year in which Dante was exiled), and were saved by her when his house was pillaged by his enemies.

During his exile he fell in love with a beautiful girl of Lucca called Gentucca; and it has been conjectured that one of the passages in which Beatrice reproaches him for his infidelity (*Purgatorio* xxxi. 58) alludes to her. We suspect however, that Gemma is again the subject of Beatrice's censure; for Dante's chronology is invariably correct, and as his poetical journey is supposed to have taken place in 1300—two years before his exile, and perhaps five times as many before he saw Gentucca—it is not likely that he would have committed such an anachronism as to speak of his attachment to her as of a thing that was past.† But, at once to settle this not very important point, we find Gentucca foretold in the 24th canto of the same book, where the Poet is told by Bonagiunta da Lucca "A woman is born

* It is amusing to read the different opinions of the Poet's biographers on his marriage. L. Arctino is as loud in its praise as Boccaccio is averse to it; and the former, in proof of his assertions, produces a long string of philosophers who have been blessed with wives—none of them very fortunate examples. See the passage in a note to the "Prophecy of Dante."

† Observe the minuteness in the next canto. He gazes fixedly on Beatrice "*A disbramarsi la decenne seta*." Beatrice died, as we have seen, in 1290.

.. who will make my city pleasing to thee." This we think is conclusive; and, to dismiss Gentucca, we may mention that beyond her name little or nothing is known of her.

Dante was elected one of the Priori or Chief Magistrates of Florence in the year 1300. To this unhappy elevation he ascribed all his subsequent misfortunes; "All my ills," he says in one of his letters, "and all my distresses had their cause and origin in the unhappy events of my Priorship." But in order to understand this portion of his history, it is necessary to glance at the contemporary events with which his life is inseparably connected. In the year 1300 arose the two great factions of Bianchi and Neri; their origin is sufficiently well known, and we need not fatigue our readers with a repetition of it; suffice it to say, that after Pistoja had been almost ruined by their incessant tumults, both parties went to Florence, either to have their dispute settled by arbitration, or, if that could not be done, to strengthen their respective factions. At Florence the cause of the Neri was espoused by Corso Donati, while the Bianchi sought the assistance of Veri, the head of the rival family of Cerchi. Florence, like Pistoja, was soon divided against itself, and similar scenes of violence were again enacted there. At length the Neri sent to Boniface VIII.,* entreating him to use his influence to put matters to right; and Cardinal Matteo d' Acquasparta was accordingly sent from Rome, who, after doing more harm than good, at last placed the city under an interdict and went his way. Many riots, embassies to Rome, and much confusion—not very easy to elucidate—followed; until the Priori, wearied of such disgraceful scenes, and apprehensive for the safety of the city, banished both parties from Florence.† This measure was executed by Dante's advice, and, notwithstanding its impartiality, much odium fell upon the Poet in consequence. He was now sent as Ambassador to Rome—upon what particular errand is not very clear; and during his absence the Bianchi were permitted to return while the Neri were still kept at a distance. In the midst of these conflicting events, Charles of Valois, (brother of Philip the Fair) arrived in Florence, having been sent by the Pope to settle the disputes. His

* Machiavelli and L. Aretino tell this portion of Florentine history somewhat differently. The former says that the Priori at this time sent to the Pope.

† Aretino says that Corso Donati and his party were *confined* in the Castella della Pieve, on the borders of Perugia. Machiavelli declares they went to Rome.

first step was to recall Corso Donati and his faction, and to banish the Bianchi; but his reasons for so doing are very obscure;* certain it is however, that no sooner had the Donati—Neri—or Guefs returned to Florence than they took vengeance on the Priori and on all whom they imagined to be hostile to them. Dante did not escape; his house was pillaged—his property—what remained of it at least—confiscated, and himself banished; his absence fortunately preserved his life.

On hearing of what had happened at Florence, Dante hastily left Rome, and went to Sienna, where he first learned the full extent of his misfortunes; and seeing no other remedy, he determined to join his fellow exiles of the Bianchi faction, who had assembled, first at Gorgonzola, and afterwards at Arezzo; where they formed a camp and organized measures for the recovery of their rights; Count Alessandro da Romana was chosen leader, and twelve councillors, one of whom was Dante, were elected to assist him. Thus, as Aretino expresses it, "*di speranza in speranza*" the exiles remained until the year 1304; when, having assembled their forces for one vigorous blow, they entered the Florentine territory; overran a great part of it, and even seized one of the gates of Florence; but their efforts were unavailing, and they were at last compelled to retire. This failure dispirited Dante; he left the army and went to Verona, where he was courteously received by Can Grande della Scala.

Force having failed, the Poet now tried his powers of persuasion to induce his countrymen to recall him. He wrote letters innumerable to the principal citizens as well as to the people themselves; and, notwithstanding the fierce decrees which had been passed against him, even since his banishment,—condemning him to be burned, and fined, and what not,—it is probable that his solicitations would have been successful;—when, just at this period, Henry of Luxembourg was elected Emperor of Germany. This event raised the depressed Ghibelline spirits in Italy; and Dante, abruptly breaking off his petitions to his countrymen, began to abuse their rulers, denouncing them as wicked and infamous, and menacing them with the Imperial vengeance. At this time the Florentines re-admitted many of the Ghibelline exiles, but Dante and others were especially excluded; and Henry

* Aretino ascribes it to an unsuccessful attempt of the Cerchi to influence Charles by bribing his attendants. Machiavelli to the influence of the Donati. It is probable that both are correct.

—after having marched against Florence and encamped under its walls—dying shortly afterwards at Buonconvento, the Poet's hopes of ever returning to his native city seem to have expired.

Certainly we cannot wonder at the Florentines refusing to admit a man who could now sue for permission to return with a "*Popule mi, quid feci tibi?*"—and the next day launch a bitter invective against the deaf adders who stopped their ears to his charming. He seems however to have despaired of obtaining redress by supplication; and human nature could scarcely resist hailing the new light which shone on the Ghibelline cause at the accession of Henry to the Imperial crown. But be this as it may, he never again retracted, and when told that he might return to Florence, if he would only confess himself guilty, he answered: never! *nunquam revertar!* He now appears to have regarded his native city at times with pity and even affection, at others, with the bitterest hatred; he says in one place, after bewailing his unjust punishment: "It pleased the citizens of Florence—the most famous and most beautiful daughter of Rome—to expel me from her sweet bosom, in which I was born and nourished even to the apex of my life; and in which, with her good-will, I desire with my whole heart to repose my wearied spirit and to finish the time that is allotted to me."* We may contrast this tender wish with the withering scorn and sarcasm of many passages in the *Divina Commedia*. In his prose he seems to have occasionally softened towards the city of his birth; in his poetry, never; the very name of Florence, even in Heaven is sufficient to call forth a bitter invective against her or her rulers. When he meets his ancestor Cacciaguida in Paradise, he hears from him a glowing account of the *former* virtues and glories of Florence;† and in the sixth Canto of the *Inferno*, where he meets the person he calls Ciacco (a hog), he asks "Is there *one* just man in that divided city?" "*Two*" is the reply, and commentators have supposed these two to be Guido Cavalcanti and Dante himself! We need not multiply instances.

The Poet's hope of returning to Florence died, as we have said, with the Emperor Henry; and from that time till his

* Il Convito.

† *Stava in pace, sobria e pudica.*

Non avea catenella, non corona,

Non donne contigiate, non cintura

Che fosse a veder più che la persona, &c., &c.

Paradiso xv.

death Dante wandered about through the various states in Tuscany, Lombardy and Romagna, "seeking rest and finding none;" entirely dependant on the bounty of others. How bitterly he felt this degradation he has expressed in those fine lines now become almost proverbial, where Cacciaguida tells him, "Thou shalt know how bitter the bread of others tastes, and how hard a path it is to ascend and to descend another's stairs."*

At length, after many wanderings, he found an asylum with Guidoda Polenta, Lord of Ravenna, and the father of Francesca of Rimini. There he died in 1321 at the age of fifty-six.

The tale of cities quarrelling for the honour of containing his ashes is well known; and even "ungrateful Florence" awoke to a sense of the glory of her exiled son; but never did his remains lie where, as we have seen, he wished to lay them, and he is buried at Ravenna under a sumptuous monument erected by his last protector. His great poem made all Italy "own the prophet in his tomb;" Professorships were established for the sole purpose of explaining it, and nothing was left undone to compensate for former neglect. We can almost forgive the Florentines their hard usage of the Poet for the earnestness with which they admired him after his death; installing Boccaccio as their first expounder of the mysteries of the *Divina Commedia*.

Dante, writes Aretino, was "a man of courteous manners, of the middle size, and of a handsome but grave countenance; speaking rarely and slowly, but subtle in his replies;" going to the root of the matter at once, and with a caustic wit in him better left unawakened! Honest Aretino further informs us that the Poet was a beautiful penman, using thin, long, and well-shaped letters; no doubt a more important fact than his love for Beatrice which the old historian treats with the most profound contempt, sneering at Boccaccio for making mention "of the nine years' love, and similar frivolities which he relates of so great a man." Our thanks we imagine are due to Boccaccio for not considering the love of Dante a trifle.* Aretino's portrait without it is hard and dry; we see the furrowed and care-worn countenance of the Poet, and all the bitterness of that scornful mouth, but without a single spark of tenderness or love lighting up those

* Tu proverrai sì come sa di sale
Lo pane altrui, e com'è duro calle
Lo scendere e'l salir per l'altrui scale.

sad dark eyes ; just the man in fact who *could* have fallen in love with Theology and written sonnets in its praise, but a very different person, we imagine, from the author of the *Divina Commedia*.

But now let us glance for a moment at the *meaning* of Dante's life, at the *soul* of it, for the sad imperfect *body* we have been looking at tells us little of the Poet.

He was a melancholy man ; how could he be otherwise ? suffering grievous wrong—no Beatrice near to console and support him—no friend to confide in, he fed on himself—became a “cannibal of his own heart,” as Bacon says. He found deep things there however,—deeper than he had before seen, and he would utter no more vain words, not even another syllable in praise of his Beatrice, till he had *learned* to praise her as “never yet had been written of woman ;” Hell, Purgatory and Heaven were in that man's breast and not lightly to be given to the world. Little wonder that he wasted away and grew pale before the shadows which haunted him, for to him they were all true, and, as Carlyle says, “he no more doubted of that malebolge pool, that it lay there with all its gloomy circles—with its *alli guai*—and that he himself should see it, than we doubt that we should see Constantinople if we went thither.” He meditated on this malebolge pool ; meditated on his Beatrice, ascended in all her purity and beauty to everlasting happiness ; turned his mind, as he says himself, to review the past,

Che non lasciò giammai persona viva ;

and asked, in the bitterness of his soul, if justice was but a name and no reality. But the answer came : There *is* a God that judgeth the world ; and he felt it to be true. Deeper then, still deeper did he go into the mystery of the universe, and from its deepest depths, its highest heights, produced the *Divina Commedia*. A comedy ; why so called seems to have puzzled all the commentators ; a comedy of Heaven, Hell and Purgatory ; a very mournful comedy indeed we think ; yet not without a certain grim humour even in the *Inferno* ; and the *Paradiso* is all light, and love, and beauty.

Dante, a poor homeless wanderer, subsisting on the bounty of others and writing the *Divina Commedia* ! These words alone tell his tale of sorrow and suffering ; intense suffering to that high, proud spirit, living in another world, and holding converse with the dead ; so that the very women in the streets knew him to be the man who visited Hell, from his

face, scarred with fire and blackened with smoke! Who dares say that the Divine Comedy is a mere libel on his enemies? Would a libeller have placed Francesca in hell? We may imagine the struggles that it cost him to consign her, erring as she was, to eternal misery. What tenderness there is in that scene!—but we will not descant on this; take rather Brunetto Latini, the master whom Dante loved and revered. The Poet need not have placed *him* in torment surely? but Brunetto's crimes deserved it, and Dante's severe justice would not exclude him though his heart had broken in the doing of it. "Are *you* here Sir Brunetto?" he says when he meets him.* Would a savage revengeful spirit have placed him—a sinner it is true, but no sinner against Dante,—among those

'Who go bewailing their eternal pains?'

No—whatever it may be—Revenge is most clearly not the meaning of the Divina Commedia.

Volumes upon volumes of commentaries, annotations, notes, illustrations, considerations—what not—for the most part very uninteresting, have been written on this Divine Comedy, and its manifold allegories; but the minute explanations which have been given appear to us to be the offspring of misplaced and useless labour. Rosetti, one of the most learned and industrious of the allegory hunters, has no doubt discovered many very curious meanings in ambiguous passages: but his interpretations are frequently strained, and in some cases do not even answer the required conditions. Not a line, not a word, is allowed to mean simply what it expresses; there is always something below, difficult to find, and not very intelligible when found. Why should we trouble ourselves about the hidden meaning of this or that personage or place in the Divina Commedia? Can we not accept the city of Dis as it is, without knowing that it represents Florence? May not the Inferno be to us verily Hell, by itself Hell, without standing for Italy? or the last circle of the malebolge be *actually so*, and *nothing else*? And saddest of all: are we to give up Beatrice, and receive in her stead an abstract Theology?—Let who will, call her so; to us Beatrice shall be Beatrice, the beatified spirit of her whom Dante loved.

* ——— Chinando la mia alla sua faccia
Risposi: Siete voi qui, Ser Brunetto?

Inferno, xv. 30.

It is utterly inconceivable that the Poet could have sat down to write an *involved* and *complex* allegory, such as those who have most attentively studied the *Divina Commedia* have discovered in it; and not only that he could have had such an intention, but that he could have elaborated it with such precision, without a blot or a blunder, through an infinite variety of scenes and events, and an endless succession of characters. Even Spenser, whose avowed allegory, formidable as it is, is mere child's play compared to what has been discovered in Dante, is constantly forgetting it—returning to himself, and becoming human; and we must own that we have a higher opinion of the Tuscan Poet than to believe that he could have been guilty of such elaborate minuteness as his commentators ascribe to him. The fine spirit of Spenser, with every intention of shackling itself, burst its bonds in all the better passages of the *Faery Queen*; and was Dante to be tied down and hemmed in at every step he took with the necessity of attending to an almost impossible allegory?

The *Divine Comedy*, as a whole, is an allegory, but an allegory of the Poet's soul, not of foolish Theologies and Cardinal virtues. What great poem is not thus allegorical? The deepest, truest thoughts of the deepest, truest hearts, which must, to a certain extent, be unspeakable, become allegorical when clothed in words; and a deep, true idea becomes likewise in its expression allegorical; but at the same time it is incumbent on every man to say what he has to say in as simple a form as he can devise and have done with it; no blessings on him who first introduced such a rage for minute and frivolous allegory that Tasso had to invent one to fit the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, and our own Spenser was constrained to vex our souls with allegorical men and women, and lions and lambs, and Heaven knows what besides! Most true it is that he is the greatest Poet who can express the highest thought in the most intelligible form; and equally true that the best poetry is metaphorical in its expression; or, as we may say, allegorical; for the two words have, to a very considerable extent, the same signification. The deepest beauties, which are in reality the deepest truths, can only be told to us symbolically; as, for instance, Shakspeare tells us that thought of almost unfathomable depth;

We are such stuff
As dreams are made of, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep;

symbolically—allegorically in fact—by means of dreams and sleep; the simplest way doubtless of expressing it; but even now we will venture to say there are not a dozen men living who can thoroughly understand it; so true is it, that an idea may be expressed in as simple a form as it is possible to be in, and yet not be altogether intelligible. To this Wordsworth alludes when he speaks of the

Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears,

much more for words. The Divine Comedy is full of hidden meanings; but why?—because, in most cases, no words could completely unfold them; as indeed Dante tells us himself: "Who can," he says, "with mere words tell of the blood, &c. &c.,"* and elsewhere he desires us to ponder the doctrine which lies concealed in his verses.† It is true then, we think, that the highest truths must be told allegorically or not at all; for they verily are, of themselves, inexpressible;—The Divina Commedia has been compared to a forest, in which every commentator cuts a new path, and so far the comparison is true enough; but for the most part they are paths which lead no whither. To our thinking these labour-loving and ingenious individuals are like the old fashioned gardeners, who would not allow a tree to stand simply for what it was—a tree; but it must also be a griffin, or a pyramid, or a peacock, or any other natural or supernatural object, that beholders might admire the artist's skill in improving nature. So with Dante's great poem. It is a forest "which was traversed by no path,"

Che da nessun sentiero era segnato;

the commentators have cut their way through it in Alexandro-Gordian style, and now every twig, every leaf, every rustle in the branches is big with unutterable things.

As much of the allegory as is needful for us to know lies on the surface perceptible to any man who chooses to look; and, simply as we understand it, the main import of the Divine Comedy is this. To Dante, afflicted and in trouble, Love (which in very truth is "Divine Wisdom," as the commentators have called Beatrice) sends Poetry—(naturally personified in Virgil, the Poet whom Dante most esteemed)—to

* Inferno, xxviii.

† O voi, che avete gl' intelletti sani,
Mirate la dottrina che s'asconde
Sotto 'l velame delli versi strani.

Inferno, ix. 61.

comfort and succour him. He is first freed from various sins, which, after the fashion of the times, he represents under the forms of animals, and then, by means of Love and Poetry, he is enabled to see into the deep, half-hidden secrets of his existence; which is, of itself, a great truth; for these will, and do, show us deeper things than are dreamt of in our philosophy. He sees Hell; and Heaven, and Purgatory—he must tell the world of them—that they do really exist, and are no mere words; a prophet was he, to tell men that sin is hateful to God as Hell itself—that virtue is pleasing to Him and Heaven its reward—that repentance—purification—Purgatory as he called it—is the one thing needful for those who desire to see Paradise. His whole soul burns to tell this tale of *Divine Justice*, a justice which he found not on earth; and he translates it into a vision that it may be somewhat intelligible to those who read it with attention.

So far an allegory, and a necessary one; but the accursed spirit of the age had bitten even him too, and he must needs have his puerilities, his *concetti*-conceits (and very lamentable conceits they often are), and many other things which we do not approve of in these enlightened times. But granting all this, we merely debit his age with such faults and acquit him altogether; we debit his age with them for they do in truth belong to it, but the *good* which “belongs to all ages and is peculiar to none,” is Dante’s own. We might as well (it was one of Byron’s few true remarks) expect the midnight heaven to be *all stars* as a long poem to be *all* perfect.

Having then, as we say, to tell the world of Heaven and of Hell—of all that in them is, and all that lies between them—he must do so in as few words as possible; he has no time for little adornments; no time to waste on giving a Dutch-finish to his pictures; the intensity—the earnestness of his mind reproduces itself in words, and three lines perhaps depict a scene which it requires some degree of intensity in the reader even to comprehend. His verses are aptly described by two words which he applies to the human forest in the Inferno (Canto xiii.), “*nodosi e’nvolti*”—knotty and involved; the consequence is, that he is so concise as to be somewhat obscure even to his countrymen, and to a foreigner a paraphrase is absolutely necessary for nine-tenths of the poem. Yet with all this there is nothing lost which it imports us to know. The Theology is no doubt tiresome, and the explanations of physical phenomena uninteresting, because our advancement in science has shown them, gene-

rally, to be untrue; but these are altogether minor points, they have at any rate the advantage of compression, and—are in no wise allegorical.

Divine Justice then is the idea—the soul of this great poem; explained in a rather remarkable manner it may be; allegorical, having *polysensum**—many meanings; but it has yet another note-worthy signification—the allegory of the Poet's sufferings, and triumph over suffering; which is however but another form of the same Divine Justice, that compensation which mysteriously affects all earthly things. But what now do we derive from this glance at the true meaning, as it appears to us, of the *Divina Commedia*?

This at least, (and it is most important,) that Dante was in earnest in what he did—believed in it—told his vision to his fellow-men as a great truth; which indeed it is; told how he struggled in the depths of Hell—wandered purifying himself in Purgatory, and at last saw Heaven opened to his glance! His sufferings were now over and his wanderings at an end; eternal rest was at hand; death and the grave “where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.” Fittest home for the heart-broken exile! Fame won by sorrow! Truly did he “learn by suffering what he taught in song.” The History of his soul is contained in the

* Dante has himself told us thus much of the *Divina Commedia*, in the Latin Dedictory Preface, addressed to Can Grande. “In sense,” he says, “this work is not simple, but multiple; for there is first the sense *literal*, and then the sense *allegorical* or *moral*. This may be thus illustrated:—‘When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a strange people; Judah was his sanctuary and Israel his dominion.’ In the sense *literal*, these words signify nothing more than the exodus of Israel from Egypt in the days of Moses. In the sense *allegorical*, they mean the redemption which Christ has purchased. In the sense *moral*, the conversion of the soul from sorrow, suffering, and sin, to the state of grace. And in the sense *anagogical*, the exodus of the emancipated spirit from the bondage of corruption to the liberty of everlasting glory.” Further on, he adds, of the poem specifically—“in the sense *literal*, its subject is merely the state of the soul after death; but in the sense *allegorical*, the Poet discourses of that Hell where, as men wander like travellers, they may have good or had desert;—and of Man, as a Free Agent, obnoxious to the rewards and punishments of Justice.” In this passage Dante seems, as in the former, to bring the allegorical and the moral interpretation of the *Commedia* under one head, and to exclude the anagogical meaning. He gives not the smallest index to any one of these divers typical interpretations of the characters of Virgil and Beatrice, which the commentators have devised.

The word *anagogical* has been used by our Reformers and other Church writers in a sense very similar to that adopted by Dante. Thus Tyndall—“The allegory is appropriate to faith, and the anagogical to hope and things above.”—and Field, (*of the Church*, B. III. c. 26), “the anagogicall sense is, when the things literally expressed unto us do signifie something in the state of heaven’s happiness.”—EDITOR.

Divine Comedy—*therefore* do we prize it. *His* Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven have no existence for *us*; though the eternal truth of the idea which lies beneath remains unalterable; but we read of them to see that great proud soul—stern, and yet tender as a woman's—"glass itself" in the sublimest subject that can occupy the mind of man.

We would fain say a few words more on this Divine Comedy; though we can scarcely dare hope to say much that is new on a subject which has already exercised so many minds.

Poetry has been called, and truly, "musical thought," but Dante's are, for the most part, either wild wailing cadences, or grave celestial melodies. The very smiles of Beatrice are sad, and we know not whether Heaven, with all its light and love, is not every whit as affecting as the malebolge or the circles of Purgatory. What happiness there is is grave and subdued—tinged with the melancholy of the Poet's mind;—of cheerfulness there is none in all that long poem. But there is hope and bravery there—hope in Purgatory, and bravery throughout the whole; even in Hell where

No hope of rest—not even of lessened pain
E'er comforted them,

there is endurance and brave contempt of pain. Farinata degli Uberti rises from his burning sepulchre in Dis—that city of woe—"as if he despised Hell."

¶ Come avesse l' inferno in gran dispetto.

And Capaneus, in the midst of that fire which showered down on him "like snow on the Alps when there is no wind," though he knows well that for him there is no hope, is as proud and defiant as Milton's Satan. Satan, conscious of his fallen state and "waiting revenge," has hope; but Capaneus acknowledges no fall;

Such as I was alive, such am I dead.

The fiery shower does not soften him, lying disdainfully there and defying Jove to fill up the measure of his revenge.

But it is not all thus. Elsewhere there are no sounds save of the deep sighs, "which make the eternal air to tremble,"

Che l'aura eterna faceran tremare;

and in another place "sighs, lamentations, and piercing cries resounded through the starless air."

— Sospiri, pienti, et alti gnai
Risonavan per l' aere senza stelle.

Let us here glance for a moment at Milton as compared with Dante.* Milton's Hell is the *abode* of Devils—their *home*; punishment is but a secondary consideration in it; but Dante's is emphatically *the place of punishment*, alike for wicked men and for evil spirits. Beyond the mere name there is no similarity between them. On the whole we give the preference to Dante's as being truer—sincerer than the other. Milton no more believed in Pandemonium than we do, but the Italian believed literally in his Inferno; consequently Milton's—grand and awful as it is—does not affect us as Dante's does. In reading Milton we can see plainly that he is drawing entirely on his imagination; but we believe that Dante did really see what he declares he saw, and the simple earnestness of the man has a *vraisemblance* about it that is wonderfully convincing. "I saw this," he says, "I do not expect you to believe it but *I saw it*," and we take him at his word and do not doubt for a moment that he did see it.† The very simplicity and straight-forwardness of his narrative preserves its truthfulness; a man who had seen what he saw was not likely to think much of the elaborate ornament and magnificent diction with which an amateur Milton could afford to grace his poem. Dante's Inferno we may call matter-of-fact, a perfect historical truth; Milton's Hell is matter of romance, and has not a word of truth in it. We have more faith in the Faery-land of Spenser even, than in Milton's supernatural scenery and characters—Spenser too has the *vraisemblance* which delights us in Dante. This truthfulness arises from minute, and, as far as is to the eye apparent, accidental touches; not obtruded upon us, but felt rather than seen; giving an air of reality to the narrative without exhibiting any desire of doing so. Two very remarkable instances of it occur in these two Poets. "Let none them read," says Spenser on one occasion speaking of some books of magic and sorcery,‡ giving us the advice as gravely as if we had the volumes at our

* We are aware that in drawing this comparison, when it has been already so often done by Macaulay, we lay ourselves open to a charge of presumption; but for the development of that intensity—the most striking characteristic of Dante's mind,—a comparison of some sort is absolutely necessary, and we hope our readers will acquit us of plagiarism.

† In one place he declares that he can scarcely believe it himself.

Se tu sei or, Lettore, a creder lento

Ciò ch' io dirò, non sarà meraviglia;

Chè io, che l' vidi, appena il mi consento.

Inferno, xxv. 46.

‡ Faery Queen. B. i. C. l. xxxvii.

elbow ; and Dante in relating what Virgil told him of the city of Dis continues ; " He said other things but I do not remember them, for I was engrossed in looking at the lofty tower burning to its summit."* Remark, however, that this is quite distinct from that particularity of description which in many cases weakens the sublimity of the conception. Take for example Milton's Hell and Dante's. The former is far away, we know not where, within " the reign of Chaos and old Night ;" The latter is here, under our feet ; dig deep enough and you will find it. Viewed in this way, we must unquestionably give the preference to Milton ; *distance*—and well did he know its power—always affects our imaginations most forcibly. Again—Dante's Hell is bounded—divided—laid out with as much minute carefulness as a Dutch flower-garden, we descend from circle to circle with the same regularity that we would from the garret of a house to the kitchen ; but Milton's is " measureless to man,"—

A dark

Illimitable ocean without bound

Without dimension, where length, breadth and height

And time and space are lost ;

and every thing in it is as vague and indistinct as itself. On the whole the difference appears to be this ; that we *see* Dante's Hell—we *imagine* Milton's. Mr. Ruskin (Modern Painters, Vol. ii. Pt. iii) has very ably pointed out that Milton's *flames* " however they may overwhelm us with horror, fail of making us thoroughly, unendurably *hot*," whereas Dante takes " our breath away and leaves us gasping." " Such," he continues, " is always the mode in which the highest imaginative faculty seizes its materials. It never stops at crust or ashes, or outward images of any kind ; it ploughs them all aside and plunges into the very central fiery heart ; nothing else will content its spirituality." This we think will be very apparent to any one who compares the red hot walls of the city of Dis† with the gates of Milton's Hell,

impaired with circling fire

Yet unconsumed.

There is an indescribable lurid *glow* about the former, which we look for in vain in the latter. But independent of such dissimilarities, there are other very important differences. Dante's Hell has no Satan, unless we choose to call his hor-

* Inferno, ix. 34.

† — Maestro, già le sue meschite
Là entro certo nella valle cerno

rible vision of Lucifer by that name. The Poet indeed styles him

L' imperador del doloroso regno,

but he has no power over it, and suffers torment in its very centre, fixed there without the power of moving hand or foot. A huge inanimate monster, upon which Dante and Virgil climb, turning themselves round as they reach his waist; for half of his body is in one hemisphere, half in the other! He is merely the chief of the rebellious angels, not like Milton's Satan, the powerful Spirit of evil and arch enemy of the human race. The demons of the *Inferno* are altogether very subordinate characters; mere tormentors—hideous spirits who aid in carrying out the punishments inflicted on the damned. Cerberus is represented barking at them with his three mouths; Charon *bulks* (it is the best expression we can find for it) the souls whom he has to ferry over the sad river Acheron: "Woe to you, wicked spirits!" he shouts, and beats them with his oar. Seducers of women are flogged by horned demons armed with immense whips; and swindlers are prevented from issuing out of the pitchy lake by fierce devils who cast curious eyes upon Dante himself as he passes through them. But horrible as the actual torments of the *Inferno* are, they are far from being the most striking or even the most horrible part of it. It is the hideous moral degradation which is so fearful to contemplate; we see spirits wallowing in the lake of pitch, bending their backs out of it like dolphins in the sea, and diving, as the demons approach, like frogs in a pond; while one sinner still remains with his face on a level with the foul fluid, just as we may see one solitary frog remain after his companions have dived to the bottom. Then to think that these were once men like ourselves!—A very mournful comedy.

The sadness of Purgatory is relieved by hope, but it is yet full of sorrow, though subdued, and comparatively silent.

Vermiglie, come se di fuoco uscite

Fossero.

* * * * *

La mura mi parean che ferro fosse.

Inferno, viii.

Again, within the city he sees

— l' alta torre alla cima rovente :—

And the tombs so glowing

Che ferro più non chiede veran' arte.

Inferno, ix.

Sighs so deep mingle with the words of repentance that scarcely can the accents be distinguished.

Che le parole appena s' intendea.

The Inferno is terrible in its misery; the Purgatorio is overwhelmed with the anguish, not of pain, but of remorse. There are no "*alti gnaï*" in it, rather "*tristi lai*"—sad, soul-affecting lamentations for sin. But, as we say, there is hope—nay, security—of bliss; for Dante addresses the suffering spirits,

O anime sicure
D' aver, quando che sia, di pace stato.

Secure, but alas! *when?* Through how many years—for here years are reckoned—for how long are their torments to last? But there is no question of that—no repinings at their lot; we deserved this, they all cry, and more than this—God has been merciful to us. Repentance,—in that one word lies the whole meaning and spirit of Purgatory; of those slippery stairs, and sculptures, and human caryatides bowed down with the weight of their sins. Repentance is the work that goes on in that furnace for refining and purifying the soul.*

It is very, very sad; less intelligible we think than either the Inferno or the Paradiso; for on it the sun shines, and the moon and the stars;—day and night hold their course as on earth, and the tired wanderers lie down to rest and to sleep as they proceed on their melancholy journey. They meet others too, wandering there, and Dante is known to be still in the body by the shadow he casts on the ground! It is something "between Heaven and Hell;" not on earth, though it is said to be so; altogether mysterious and inexplicable; half an allegory we think of earth and its inhabitants. Dante enters Purgatory, as into life, afflicted with sins, anger, pride, avarice, and so on; he purifies himself of these by help of the angels who wipe the Cain-like marks from his brow; Lethe blots out all sin from his remembrance, and Paradise is gained.

Repentance, we say then, is the meaning of this Poem of Purgatory; but Divine Justice is still the Polar Star to guide the Poet in the composition of it; for the faculty of repentance

* ——— O creatura, che ti mondi
Per tornar bella a colui che ti fece. •

is but one phase of the justice—the mercy—of God; Divine Justice still, and always; but no longer severe—merciful rather, for now, says the Poet, ye are certain of seeing “the high light, who thinks only of your wishes.”

It is less intelligible than the other two parts; fuller of meaning, but not so easily elucidated; for the meaning lies, not in surface-allegories, but in the deep soul of it. It approaches somewhat more nearly to ourselves, and to our own life; contains more of the mystery of our existence, and deep and clear-souled must he be who can expound this most mystical, most melancholy strain.

There is no part of the poem which pleases us more than the concluding cantos of the *Purgatorio*, where Dante and his guide enter the Terrestrial Paradise by the banks of the river Lethe. The earth is covered with bright flowers; the air breathes fragrance; and the clear stream murmurs on, shaded by the overhanging trees in which the birds are warbling, while a gentle wind among the boughs holds the bass to their songs.* How beautiful it is! Like one of the

Summer isles of Eden lying in dark purple spheres of sea;—

a bright dream encircled by an obscure ocean of sleep! For scenes like this seize on our imaginations so forcibly that they seem to stand alone—to be solitary in their beauty—and to have no connection with ought else that we read of in tale or history. The loveliness of the scenery here reminds us of the magic beauty of Ariosto's Garden of Alcina, or Spenser's Bowler of Bliss; many touches indeed are almost the same, showing how perfect was the appreciation of beauty by these great poets.†

But in an Eden like this there must be an Eve; and accordingly Matilda appears, singing to herself, and plucking the bright flowers which bestrew her path. All this is very beautiful, and the compliment the Poet pays her (comparing her to Proserpine in the fields of Sicily when she won the heart of Pluto) is as poetical as it is appropriate; very different from the buckram compliments of Milton's Adam and Eve, bowing and curtsying to the very ground—“the gallantries of Paradise,” as Addison was pleased to call them.

* *Purgatorio*, xxviii.

† Compare more especially *Purgatorio*, xxviii. 16. *Orlando Furioso*, vi. xxi. and *Faery Queen*, II. xii. lxxi.

Compare also Spenser's well known description of an almond tree (*Faery Queen*, I. vii. xxxii. the last two lines) with the 10th line of the same Canto of the *Purgatorio*.

But we may not linger here; Beatrice has descended and led her mortal lover up to the Celestial Heaven, where we will follow them. It is still to a certain degree sad; Divine Justice broods over Heaven too, as over Hell and Purgatory, and diffuses a solemn gloom even while it enlightens it, like a lofty window of coloured glass in some old cathedral—beautiful in itself, and beautiful in the light it gives, which yet is but a “dim religious light,” staining “the white radiance of eternity.”

To us there is something very beautiful in the maternal tenderness and care of Beatrice; and in the noble allegory of her leading the Poet up to Heaven. Virgil might guide his steps in Purgatory; Beatrice alone could show him the highest secret; the purest love alone was capable of the transcendent task of elucidating the mystery of eternal happiness—that highest phase of Divine Justice. The meaning of the *Paradiso* is open to us in its name; it is in reality nothing more than an attempt to depict the glories of Heaven and the splendid reward of Beatrice. The earnestness of the Poet is very visible here too. Heaven, as he has described it, was an eternal truth to him; it was *verily so and no otherwise*; so *had he seen it* in vision, and so he hoped to see it when death had released him from the sufferings of mortality—“If ever I return again,” he says, “to that holy triumph, for which I constantly bewail my sins, and beat my breast.”* Think how intensely he must have longed for this, and how, brooding over his lost Beatrice, the desire to rejoin her shaped itself in this concluding melody! This ardent hope cheers him throughout the dismal journey in Hell, and through the wailings of Purgatory. The sole desire and longing of his life is shown to us allegorically in these two Poems, but the *Paradise* is the consummation of this hope, a foregone conclusion, which is, of itself, the best proof of the Poet’s sincerity—Death could have no terrors for him who expected to join his Beatrice in that “holy triumph,” freed for ever from the earth which had treated him so harshly.

Punishment—Repentance—Reward; these then are the three *facts* which constitute Divine Justice. These are the subjects of the Divine Comedy.

There is much confusion in this great Poem of Christian doctrine and Pagan superstition; of things earthly and

* S'io torni mai, Lettore, a quel devoto
Trionfo, per lo quale io piango spesso
Le mie peccata, e'l petto mi percuoto.

things heavenly; sins which may be freely pardoned; they are the faults of Dante's age as we have before observed. But there is also in it a noble abhorrence of tyranny and of vice in every shape; a bold exposure of Papal crime and monkish degenerateness; both of which we pass over—somewhat unwillingly we confess—for the Anti-papal spirit which prevails in Dante, and which tinges also the works of Petrarch and Boccaccio, is one of the most remarkable characteristics they possess. Had Dante lived two hundred years later than he did, Italy might have had her Luther, and might have regained the proud position of her early days; but the labours of that great soul were thrown away on a people who thought more of frivolous allegories than of truth; and who founded Professorships for the explanation of frivolous minutiae, instead of *acting* the Epic which their noblest man had sung to them.

THE SHUNAMMITE.

BY SYLVANUS SWANQUILL.

1.

"My head, my head!" was all the child could say
 In answer to his father's anxious look,
 But in those two half-uttered words, there lay
 A world of anguish. Then, the red forsook
 His little cheeks, and slow they bore him thence,
 Like a lamb stricken in its innocence.

2.

They held the sheaves above him as they past
 Through the green fields, to shield him from the sun,
 And when they reached his dwelling-place at last
 They laid him down his mother's lap upon,
 And she bent o'er him with an earnest eye
 Pale, pale and speechless in her agony.

3.

Thus she thus bent—to watch the flickering breath
 And the sweet gleam of faint intelligence,
 Which through his glance proclaimed that e'en in death
 The love of each for other was intense
 And from his forehead the rich locks to part,
 And kiss that forehead with a throbbing heart.

4.

At length his breathing ceased ; and o'er his face
 A pallor settled, deep, and deeper still,
 And though each lineament retained its grace
 The lips that met her lips were cold and chill :
 And through the windows of his eyes was seen
 The empty throne where late the soul had been.

5.

And there he lay through all the summer noon,
 His small hands folded cross-wise on his breast,
 Like a fair flowret which the rains too soon
 Have beaten down. And o'er his dreamless rest
 Still—still she bent, as patient as the dove,
 With breaking heart and yearning looks of love.

6.

Still—still she bent, and gazed, and gazed upon
 The form late animate with life ; now clay—
 And when the wind his ringlets one by one
 Raised from his brow serene, in mockful play,
 She fainted by him with a stifled groan,
 For all beside was still and stiff as stone.

7.

Hark ! from yon chamber steals the voice of prayer,
 An aged man with hair all silver white,
 Kneels by the bedside of a dead child there,
 And o'er his face from heaven streams down the light,
 And as his winged words to God arise,
 Lo ! Life rekindles in its vacant eyes.

8.

He lifts him up, and opens wide the door,
 The mother rushes in to see her boy,
 And clasps him on her breast, and o'er and o'er
 Kisses his cheeks in her delirious joy.
 Oh ! who can paint her transports—who can say
 What feelings shook her, as she knelt to pray !

VI.

THE THREAD OF GAUTAMA'S APHORISMS.

It is curious that the Sanscrit word which is most conveniently rendered 'Aphorism'—i. e. a sentence with marked limits—"totus, teres, atque rotundus"—should mean literally a 'thread.' The Aphorisms of Hindú Philosophy offer at first sight much more the appearance of distinct beads, placed in rows indeed, but with no very obvious thread of connection. That there *is* a thread of connection we propose to show in the case of the first Book of GAUTAMA'S Aphorisms, the groundwork of the Nyáya Philosophy. The Aphorisms, it will be seen, form a well-arranged and well-connected string of texts; but this cannot be the reason why the name of 'thread' was given to each one of them separately. The name would, on that view, have belonged, more properly, in the singular, to the entire aggregate. Possibly the Aphorisms were called threads because with these the teacher wove the rich web of his philosophical exposition. If the name was an after-thought, it may have been given when commentators began to string comment after comment on each text of the master; but the relation of the threads to the web is more probably the one contemplated.

Of the five books into which the Aphorisms of GAUTAMA are divided, the first is a complete work in itself,—embracing, as it does, the whole range of topics which furnish matter for discussion in the remaining Books. Of this we propose now to give our version,—with a sprinkling of gloss within brackets. The 'general reader,' if he has not been repelled by the title of the article, had better skip the translation, and refer back to it in order to verify the estimate of GAUTAMA'S method which we append to it.

SECTION I.

The end of the proposed Enquiry.

Aph. 1.—Proof—[i. e. the instrument of right notion];—that which —[as having a proof]—is the object of right notion; doubt; motive; instance; demonstrated truth; confutation; ascertainment; disquisition; controversy; objection; semblance of a reason; perversion; ~~quality~~; and occasion for putting down;—from knowing the truth in regard to these [sixteen things], there is the attainment of Beatitude (*anālayasa*.)

Aph. 2.—Pain (*duḥkha*), birth (*janman*), activity (*pravṛtti*), fault (*doṣa*), false notions (*mithyā-jñāna*),—since, on the successive annihilation of these in turn, there is the annihilation of the one next it, there is Beatitude (*apavārya*).

[The remembering of the order of the steps towards Beatitude, in *Aph.* 2, may be facilitated, to some readers, by availing one's self of the distributively cumulative form of exposition employed in the nursery tale of "The House that Jack built." Thus—

DŪ'KHA.

This is the '*pain*' that the man had.

JANMAN.

This is the '*birth*'—again renewed—
That gave room for the '*pain*' that the man had.

PRAVRITTI.

This is '*activity*'—requiring reward—
That led to the '*birth*' (again renewed)
That gave room for the '*pain*' that the man had.

DOSHA.

This is the '*fault*'—of '*desire*' or '*dislike*'—
Alike to be shunned—or '*stupidity*'—which,
In the man who, if wise, had done nothing at all,
Begot the '*activity*' (requiring reward)
That led to the '*birth*' (again renewed)
That gave room for the '*pain*' that the man had.

MITHYA'-JNA'NA.

This means the '*wrong-notions*' (of that man unversed
In the truth-teaching Nyāya Philosophy) which,
Since the man knew no better, gave rise to the '*fault*'
Of '*desire*' or '*dislike*' or '*stupidity*,' which,
In the man who, if wise, had done nothing at all,
Begot the '*activity*' (requiring reward)
That led to the '*birth*' (again renewed)
That gave room for the '*pain*' that the man had.

APAVARGA.

This last is '*beatitude*'—promised as fruit
Of the truth-teaching Nyāya Philosophy, which
Gives us *right* ones instead of the '*wrong notions*,' which
Gave rise to what GAUTAMA styles a '*fault*'
Inasmuch as it mischievously begot
The '*activity*' carefully shunned by the wise;—
For '*activity*'—shaping itself in acts
That are good or bad, and require reward
Of a like description, occasions a man
To be born again,—and 'twas this same fault
That gave room for the '*pain*' that the man had.]*

* Mr. Colebrooke, in his celebrated Essay on the Nyāya, (see Essays, vol. 1) stating concisely the Nyāya view of the attainment of beatitude, describes (at p. 299) soul as "not earning fresh merit or demerit by deeds done with desire." Here he makes, as GAUTAMA does, the '*desire*' (which is one of the three meant by the technical word *dosha* '*fault*':—see the Essay, p. 299, I. 1,) to be the producer of acts, from which acts, in turn, arise merit or

SECTION. II.

The Instruments available in prosecuting the Enquiry.

Aph. 3.—Proofs—[i. e. see §1—instruments of right notion]—are (1) the deliverances of sense; (2) the recognition of signs; (3) the recognition of likeness; and (4) words.

Aph. 4.—By a deliverance of sense is meant knowledge which has arisen from the contact of a sense with its object—[and this knowledge may be] indeterminate—[as when one in consequence perceives 'this is something'—we know not, or think not, what;—but] not erroneous—[for, if erroneous, it would be no 'instrument of right notion:—'—or it may be] determinate—[such a degree of attention having been exerted as to determine that 'this is so and so' and not any thing else.]

Aph. 5.—Now the recognition of a sign, which is preceded thereby—[i. e. is preceded by a deliverance of sense—else the recognition of the sign were impossible]—is of three kinds—(1) having [as the sign] the *prior*, or (2) having [as the sign] the *posterior*, or else (3) [consisting in] the *perception of homogeneousness*.

[By 'prior'—the author means a '*cause*,'—from which, when recognised, its effect may be inferred as about to follow. So again, by 'posterior' he means an '*effect*'—from which, when recognised, one can infer that such and such a cause has been at work. By the 'perception of homogeneousness' he means the recognition of the subject as being referable to some class, and as being thence liable to have predicated of it whatever may be predicable of the class. The three 'signs' belong to the three arguments '*à priori*,' '*à posteriori*,' and 'from analogy.']

Aph. 6.—The 'recognition of likeness' is the instrument [in the ascertaining] of that which is to be ascertained through its similarity to something [previously] well known.

Aph. 7.—A 'word' [*kar' éçoxny*] is the precept [or instructive assertion] of one worthy [to have his words implicitly accepted as an authority].

Aph. 8.—It [i. e. a 'word'] is of two kinds, in respect that it may be that 'whereof the matter is seen,' or that 'whereof the matter is unseen'—[i. e. it may be susceptible of verification or not susceptible of verification].

demerit. But, at p. 289, when he says "From acts proceed faults (*doshá*) ; including under the designation, passion or extreme desire ; aversion or loathing ; and error or delusion (*móha*)," he adopts an order the reverse of that enjoined in GAUTAMA'S 18th Aphorism. If the passage in the Essay be correctly edited, it would seem as if Mr. Colebrooke, when giving to his Essay a final revision after having laid it aside for a time, had been struck with the force of the expression that "from faults proceed acts," and had reversed it. Without adverting to the technical definition of 'faults,' in the sense, as the passions which give rise to action. GAUTAMA, the founder of Quietism, gives to the passions the name of 'faults' with a significance akin to that which the word bore in the remark of Talleyrand on the murder of the Duc D'Enghien—"ce n'était pas une crime—c'était une faute ;"—it was an absolute blunder. The wise man, according to GAUTAMA, is he who avoids the three mistakes of having a liking for a thing, and acting accordingly ; or of having a dislike for a thing, and acting accordingly ; or of being stupidly indifferent, and thereupon acting ; instead of being intelligently indifferent, and not acting at all.

SECTION III.

The Objects about which the Enquiry is concerned.

Aph. 9.—But soul, body, sense, sense-object, knowledge, the mind, activity, fault, transmigration, fruit, pain, and beatitude, are what we ought to get right notions regarding.

Aph. 10.—Desire, Aversion, Volition (*prayatna*), Pleasure, Pain, and Knowledge, are the sign [i. e. the characteristics] of the Soul.

Aph. 11.—The body is the site of [muscular] action (*cheshtā*), of the organs of sensation (*indriya*), and of the sentiments [of pain or pleasure experienced by the soul].

Aph. 12.—The organs of sensation [originating, or not differing], from the Elements, are Smell, Taste, Sight, Touch, and Hearing.

Aph. 13.—Earth, Water, Light (*tejas*), Air, Ether,—these are the Elements (*bhūta*).

Aph. 14.—Their 'objects' (*artha*) are the qualities of Earth, &c. viz., odour, savour, colour, tangibility, and sound.

Aph. 15.—Understanding (*buddhi*), apprehension (*uplabadhi*), knowledge (*jñāna*)—these are not different in meaning.

Aph. 16.—The sign [i. e. the characteristic] of the Mind (*manas*) is [that habit in virtue of which] it does not give rise simultaneously to notions [more than one].

Aph. 17.—Activity is that which originates the [utterances of the] voice (*vāk*), the [cognitions of the] understanding, and the [gestures of the] body.

Aph. 18.—Faults [or failings] have the characteristic that they cause Activity.*

Aph. 19.—'Transmigration' [or mortal life] means the being produced again [and again].†

Aph. 20.—'Fruit' is that thing which is produced by Activity and by [the originator of Activity—viz. our constitutional faults or] Failings.—[see §18.]

Aph. 21.—'Pain' is that which is in the shape of Vexation.

[The word 'pain,' (according to the commentator) in a secondary sense‡ of the term, is employed to denote the body, the senses and their objects, since these are the instruments of pain, and to denote pleasure, because of its being ever closely connected with pain. And only

* Mr. Colebrooke appears to have viewed these 'producers of Activity' as 'the products of Activity,'—for, with reference to this, GAUTAMA'S definition of 'fault' (*doshā*), he says—(see Essays, vol. I, p. 289).—"From acts proceed faults (*doshā*): including under this designation, passion," &c. See further in our note on *Aph. 2*.

† Mr. Colebrooke's definition of *pretyakhāva* as "the condition of the soul after death"—(see Essays, vol. I, p. 290)—while it is literally correct, may mislead the reader if he does not bear it in mind that this, according to Hindu notions, is the condition of every man now alive—for, as we are all supposed to have lived and died no one knows how often, we are each of us always in the condition "after death."

‡ This is what is to be understood by the varieties of evil which Mr. Colebrooke (Essays vol. I, p. 290) mentions as "primary or secondary." It is not degrees of evil that are to be understood as thus referred to; but, the author, we are told, chooses to employ the word 'pain' technically—in a 'transferred sense'—to denote the causes of pain also, as well as pain itself.*

therefore (i. e. since the one term 'pain' implies the *whole* of these) is 'pain' referred to, in the aphorism following, by the term 'that.']

Aph. 22.—Absolute deliverance from that [i. e. from pain as understood in its widest acceptance] is 'Emancipation.'

SECTION IV.

Completing the Topic of the Pre-requisites of Reasoning.

Aph. 23.—Doubt is a conflicting judgment [in regard to one and the same object] respecting its distinction [or precise character;—this conflicting judgment arising] from unsteadiness in the recognition [of some mark which, if we could make sure of it, would determine the object to be so and so] or [from unsteadiness] in the non-recognition [of some mark which, were we sure of its absence, would determine the object to be *not* so and so;—this state of things, moreover, resulting] from the recognition [in the object] of [only such] properties [as are] common [to a variety of things, and therefore not distinctive,] or of several properties [such as cannot really belong to one and the same thing,] or from conflicting testimony.

Aph. 24.—What thing having set before one, one proceeds to act—that [thing] is the 'Motive' [of the action].

Aph. 25.—In regard to [some fact respecting] what thing both the ordinary man and the acute investigator entertain a sameness of opinion, that [thing] is called a 'familiar case' [of the fact in question].

SECTION V.

Of Positions, not familiar, that may be employed in reasoning without requiring to be each time demonstrated.

Aph. 26.—A 'Tenet' [*siddhānta*] is that, the steadiness of the acceptance of which rests on a treatise [of weight and authority].

Aph. 27.—['Tenets' are divided into the species that are described in the succeeding aphorisms] through the difference between a 'Dogma of all the schools,' a 'Dogma peculiar to some school,' a 'Hypothetical Dogma,' and an 'Implied Dogma.'

Aph. 28.—That [position or tenet] which is not in opposition to any of the schools, and which is claimed [as a tenet] by [at least] some one school, is [what we mean by] a 'Dogma of all the schools.'

Aph. 29.—That [position] which is [held] established in the same school, and which in another school [is regarded as] not established, is [what we mean by] a 'Dogma peculiar to some school.'

Aph. 30.—That, if which be [held] established, there is the establishing of another point, is [what we mean by] a 'Hypothetical Dogma.'

Aph. 31.—An 'Implied Dogma' is determined by the mention of a particular fact in regard to any thing, not expressly declared in an aphorism, [our knowledge of the fact coming so immediately] from what is recognised, [by the maker of the aphorisms, as to render a demonstration superfluous—the fact being thus entitled to rank not as a deduction but as a dogma].

SECTION VI.

The Method of Argumentative Exposition.

Aph. 32.—The members [of a demonstration] are (1) the Proposition, (2) the Reason, (3) the Example, (4) the Application, and (5) the Conclusion.

Aph. 33.—The 'Proposition' is the declaration of what is to be established.

Aph. 34.—The 'Reason' is the means for the establishing of what is to be established; [and this force it may derive either] from the Example's having a character which involves another, or through the Example's wanting a character the want of which involves the absence of another.

Aph. 35.—The 'Example' is some [undisputed] 'familiar case of a fact' [see *Aph. 25*], which, through its having a character which is invariably attended by what is to be established, establishes [in conjunction with the Reason] the existence of that character which is to be established.

Aph. 36.—Or the 'Example,' on the other hand, wanting some character the want of which involves the absence of some given character, [may co-operate in establishing what is to be established] by a process the converse of that [declared in the preceding aphorism].

[As when we argue that the vapour seen rising from a lake is *not* smoke, because a lake is invariably devoid of fire.]

Aph. 37.—The 'Application' is the re-statement of that in respect of which something is to be established,—this re-statement declaring it to be *so* or *not so* as regards the 'Example.'

Aph. 38.—The 'Conclusion' is the re-statement of the 'Proposition' [as being now authorized] by the mention of the 'Reason.'

SECTION VII.

Concluding the Topic of Demonstration.

Aph. 39.—'Confutation' [which is intended] for the ascertaining of the truth in regard to a question, the truth in regard to which is not accurately apprehended—is reasoning from the supposition of [the cessation of] the cause [to the cessation of the effect—for, on the admitted cessation of the cause, the observed resulting phenomenon ought of course to cease also].

Aph. 40.—'Ascertainment' is the determination of a question by [hearing] both what is to be said for and against it, after having been in doubt.

SECTION VIII.

The Topic of Controversy.

Aph. 41.—'Discussion' is the undertaking—[by two parties respectively]—of the one side and the other in regard to what [conclusion] has been arrived at by means of the five-membered [process of demonstration already explained—see §32;—this procedure] consisting in the defending [of the proposition] by proofs [on the part of the one disputant] and the assailing it by objections [on the part of the other,—the discussion being conducted on both sides] without discordance in respect of the tenets [or principles on which the conclusion is to depend].

Aph. 42.—'Wrangling,' consisting in the defence or attack [of a proposition] by means of frauds [see §50], futilities [see §56], and what procedure deserves [nothing but an indignant] rebuke [see §59], is what takes place after the procedure aforesaid—[that is to say, after a fair course of argumentation,—supposing this to have failed to bring the disputants to an agreement].

Aph. 43.—That—[viz. Wrangling, §42,]—when devoid of [any attempt made for] the establishing of the opposite side of the question. is Cavilling.

SECTION IX.

Of Fallacies, or what only look like reasons, by means of which a man may deceive himself or another.

Aph. 44.—The Semblances of a reason are (1) the Erratic, (2) the Contradictory, (3) the Equally available on both sides, (4) that which is in the same case with what is to be proved, and (5) the Mistimed.

Aph. 45.—That [semblance of a reason] is Erratic which arrives at more ends than the one [required].

Aph. 46.—That [semblance of a reason] is the Contradictory which is repugnant to what is proposed as that which is to be established.

Aph. 47.—That from which a question may arise as to whether the case stands this way or the other way, if employed with the view of determining the state of the case, is [a mere semblance of a reason—being] equally available for both sides [of the dispute].

Aph. 48.—And it [the alleged reason] is in the same case with what is to be proved, if, in standing itself in need of proof, it does not differ from that which is to be proved.

Aph. 49.—That [semblance of a reason] is Mistimed which is adduced when the time is not [that when it might have availed].

SECTION X.

Of the Tricks employed by the dishonest disputant to thwart the other party.

Aph. 50.—'Unfairness' [in disputation] is the opposing of what is propounded by means of assuming a different sense [from that which the objector well knows the propounder intended his terms to convey].

Aph. 51.—It is of three kinds, (1) Fraud in respect of a term, (2) Fraud in respect of a genus, and (3) Fraud in respect of a trope.

Aph. 52.—'Fraud in respect of a term' is the assuming a meaning other than [the objector well knows] was intended by the speaker when he named the thing by a term that happened to be ambiguous.

Aph. 53.—'Fraud in respect of a genus' is the assuming that something is spoken of in respect whereof the thing asserted is impossible, because [forsooth] this happens to be the same in kind with that of which the thing asserted is possible.

Aph. 54.—'Fraud in respect of a trope' is the denial of the truth of the matter, when the assertion was made in one or other of the modes, [viz. literal or metaphorical,—which it suits the purpose of the objector to invert].

Aph. 55.—Fraud in respect of a trope—[§54—some one may fancy at first sight]—is just Fraud in respect of a term [§52], for it does not differ therefrom.

Aph. 56.—It is not so—[as supposed in §55]—because they do differ [although, it may be, agreeing in the respect just mentioned].

Aph. 57.—Or if there were no distinction where there is any similarity of character, we should have but one kind of Fraud.

SECTION XI.

Of futile Objections and hopeless Stupidity.

Aph. 58.—'Futility' consists in the offering of objections founded on [some mere] similarity or difference of character—[without regard to the question whether the fact asserted bears any invariable relation to that character].

Aph. 59.—'Unfitness to be argued with' consists in one's [stupidly] misunderstanding, or *not* understanding at all.

[The term here rendered 'Unfitness to be argued with' signifies literally the place, i. e. the suggester, of censure or rebuke;—for if a man stupidly misunderstands you, or does not understand you at all, and yet still persists in trying to make a show of opposition, then the matter has come to that point where there is nothing left for it but to rebuke him as a blockhead, and to turn him out or quit his company.]

Aph. 60.—Since there are various kinds, there are many sorts of 'Futility' and of 'Unfitness to be reasoned with'—[but, as other questions are more pressing, their subdivision is not made here].

Let us bestow a retrospective glance on this Lecture in which GAUTAMA lays down the plan of the whole Nyāya system; and let us enquire whether GAUTAMA's exposition is obnoxious to such a charge as is brought against it, for example, by Dr. Ritter, who says, (at p. 366, Vol. iv. of the English version of his History of Philosophy,) "In its exposition the Nyāya is tedious, loose, and unmethodical. Indeed the whole form of this Philosophy is a proof of the incapacity of its expositors to enter into the intrinsic development of ideas, whatever knowledge they may have possessed of the external laws of composition." Setting aside the latter of these sentences, which has possibly been mis-translated, we venture to say that the Nyāya—up to the point that we have here reached in GAUTAMA's exposition of it—can be tedious only to him who does not understand it or who has no taste for philosophical enquiries; that it can appear loose to any one only as the chain-cable heaped upon the deck of a man-of-war appears loose in the eyes of the landsman who never saw it stretched; and that it can appear unmethodical only to him who has failed to discern its method. We blame no one for having failed to discern its method, but we do blame those, including Dr. Ritter, who, having failed to discern it, take upon them to deny its existence. The method in GAUTAMA's exposition is, one might think, sufficiently clear. Let us try to make it if possible clearer. Aiming at this, we shall now give our Synopsis of GAUTAMA's method, noting, in each instance, as we go along, the Aphorism to which our statements have reference.

GAUTAMA starts with the grand question of all questions—the enquiry as to how we shall attain the *summum bonum*,—the chief end of man, as the Westminster Catechism literally represents the Sanscrit *paramapurushārtha*. The general answer to this he states in his first aphorism—where he lays down further the position that deliverance from evil can be reached only through knowledge of the truth. [see §1.]

Few are likely to dispute this first position—[those few being such as are to be remitted to the category noticed under §59,]—and the next question is,—have we *instruments* adapted to the acquisition of a knowledge of the truth? According to GAUTAMA we are furnished with four instruments adapted to this purpose. [These he enumerates in §3, and describes severally in §4—8.]

But, if we have instruments, let us know what are the *objects*, in regard to which it is worth while obtaining a correct knowledge by means of the appropriate instruments. [These he enumerates in §9, and he defines them severally in §10—22.]

But the bare enunciation and definition of these Objects does not ensure a correct and believing knowledge of them. [The state intermediate between hearing and believing, viz. Doubt, he defines in §23.]

But how is a man to get out of doubt? He will be content to remain in doubt if there be no *motive* for enquiring further. [Here—§24—he takes occasion to explain what constitutes a Motive.]

But, in every enquiry, to reach the unknown we must start from the *known*;—there must be *data*. The knowledge which, in any enquiry, we may treat as requiring no demonstration, is either popular—being that on which the unlearned and the learned are at one—the only ground available in dealing with the unlearned [see §25]; or it is scientific—belonging to the schools [see §26]. This latter, again, is divisible into four—viz., tenets received in every school [§27]; tenets peculiar to particular schools, and furnishing the grounds of *argumenta ad hominem* only [§20]; tenets postulated, and available only where the hypothesis is conceded [§30]; and tenets which, though not expressly laid down by the founders of the schools, are yet so clearly implied as to require no special demonstration, being inevitable Corollaries [§31].

The data being determined, it is proper to determine the order of procedure in demonstrating thereby something not granted. [This order of procedure is intimated in §32 and explicated in §33—38.]

But, thus far, we have been shown an arrangement for hearing only one side of the question,* and how can we be sure that the opposite side is not the right one? [Before making up our minds we must hear both sides—§39—40.]

* Prov. xviii. 17.

But an honest enquirer may have heard both sides and still be in perplexity. Is he to be turned adrift? Not at all. Honest discussion, with one who holds the same first principles, is open to him [§41].

There are yet others, besides honest enquirers, that are not utterly to be rejected. A person, not hopelessly irreclaimable, may shabbily *wrangle* for the sake of a seeming victory. [Here, therefore, he defines wrangling, §42.]

A person, not perhaps hopelessly irreclaimable, may descend to even a lower depth of shabbiness than the wrangler, and may carp at others without undertaking to settle any thing himself. [Here, therefore, he defines cavilling, §43.]

Wranglers and cavillers, in default of good reasons, must take up with bad ones—with what *look* like reasons; and even an honest enquirer may mislead himself by taking the semblance of a reason for a real one. [The various possible semblances of a reason he, therefore, defines and divides, §44—49.]

But, whilst there are fallacies by which a man may deceive himself as well as others, there are other frauds which are employed only dishonestly for the deception of others. [These frauds he defines and divides, §50—57.]

Descending a stage lower, an opponent may employ arguments so futile as to be capable of deceiving no one. It is well to know in what consists the futility of such objections. [This he shows, §58.]

Finally, an opponent, sinking even below the former one, (who *knew* what he was opposing though he could make none but a futile opposition), may be unable to understand the proposition [§59—60]. Here GAUTAMA's patience is exhausted, *but not before*. Against every thing but that invincible combination of the spirit of contradiction with stupidity he seeks to arm himself at all points. An objection the most frivolous—or even futile—provided it be tendered by one who understands the proposition—he does not refuse to deal with. The objection might perplex some honest enquirer, and therefore GAUTAMA, or the follower who has imbibed his spirit, does not consider himself entitled to consult his own ease by scouting it, though he himself may see its futility plainly enough. It is fair to remember this when we meet with ludicrously frivolous objections gravely treated in a Nyāya work. The author is not to be supposed to have *invented* the objection. It was offered to him—offered very possibly for the purpose of vexatiously puzzling and perplexing,—and the Naiyāyika will not allow himself to be puzzled

and perplexed. The most cavilling opponent is not to be allowed the semblance of a victory; he shall not be allowed to boast even of having put the philosopher out of temper. This single triumph—such as it is—is reserved for the absolute blockhead.

Now, we should like to learn from the undervaluers of the *method* of the Nyāya, how could that method be much improved? You are not to imagine that you have answered this question when you have shown that there are some important matters not here noticed by GAUTAMA. You must be able to show either that there are important matters for which his system provides no place, or that he misarranges the order of procedure. We have explained his order of procedure, according to our own view of it. The question whether there is any thing within the range of conception, for which his system does not furnish its appropriate place, we have already discussed, after a fashion, in an article in a former number "on the Nyāya system of philosophy, and the correspondence of its divisions with those of modern science." On some of the points considered in that and in some subsequent papers we have seen reason to modify our opinion, and with a hasty notice of one of these points we shall conclude the present paper. Our corrections belong chiefly to the section of Inference, which the strictures of an anonymous critic constrained us to look into with more attention than we had done at the time of penning our first article on the subject.

At page 280, Vol. I. of the Magazine we remarked that we did not find in Mr. Colebrooke's Essay any reference to the condensed form of the syllogism exhibited in our text-book. It is not referred to by Mr. Colebrooke; and the reason is sufficiently obvious—viz., that Mr. Colebrooke was engaged in giving a summary of the fundamental Aphorisms of GAUTAMA—of those Aphorisms that we have just presented to the reader,—and the consideration of the condensed syllogism did not fall in his way. It is in the works of the commentators that the condensed syllogism makes its appearance; and, when treating of these works, we may have occasion to say something more about it. From the Halls of Oxford, of Edinburgh, and of Germany, queries have reached us that have been elicited by our papers—all too crude as we admit our papers to have been. To these queries we shall strive to give, in due time, satisfactory replies. Meantime we shall not encroach upon the space of the present number of the Magazine further than to revoke our expla-

nation of the terms concerned in Inference—wherever we may have spoken of the term *anumāna* as signifying the act of inferring. It signifies—we now find—no such thing. It signifies, not the process but, the instrument employed in the process. This instrument, as explained by our authorities, is ‘the consideration of a Sign’ :—it is, in other words, such knowledge as, when expressed in words, constitutes a *Universal Proposition* embodying the result of a process of Induction. The truths which embody themselves in such propositions may be looked upon as deposited in the memory, like the instruments of a man’s trade in his workshop ; and as looms produce webs, so do these (Major Premises *in posse*) produce inferences, only when they are brought into *operation*. The operation is, by the Naiyáyikas, technically named *parámarsa*—which signifies the application of a general principle to a particular case, or the recognition of a particular case as falling under some general principle—in short, syllogizing. If the *anumāna* had signified the process, instead of the instrument, the additional step of the *parámarsa* would have been an absurdity ; and we apologize to the Naiyáyikas for having been so far misled by the familiar—and familiarly unobjectionable—use of the term *anumāna* as to fall, for the time, into the error of supposing them open to the charge of holding any absurdity of the kind.

STANZAS.

How oft thro’ life doth Memory wake
The sleep of time—(that sleep how brief!)
And bid the heart once more to break,
Already broken with its grief.

I need not mine own autograph
To tell my tale of sorrow o’er ;
I know the cup these lips did quaff,
And know that cup is mine no more.

VII.

OUR COLONIAL EPISCOPATE.

I.—THE DIOCESES IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE.

A deep and growing sensibility of duty to its colonial branches, and a disinterested purpose to meet the occasions of those branches by the largess of public and private munificence, has marked the present æra of the Church of England to an extent unexampled in its previous history. Even the great awakening which was led by the eminent Divines who acted on the Committees of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel during the first century of its existence, effectual as it was in organizing the Church system in our North American Colonies, will not bear a comparison to the more cumulative and better sustained exertions of our own days; and when we think of the strong motives upon which a substantive ecclesiastical government was *urged upon the state*, in the former case,—and in the latter, that in the absence of all immediately threatening constraints, the mere sense of what is ecclesiastically fit has opened the channels of beneficence in societies and in individuals, through which, within the last twelve years, with the smallest possible assistance from the state, and with scarcely any appeal to it, funds have flowed in for the erection of sixteen Bishoprics, it must be admitted that, relatively to this, all previous efforts dwindle into insignificance. We sometimes see it ascribed to the influence of a Whig Ministry that Episcopacy has received an extension which scarcely the most sanguine could have ventured to hope for, when the Bishop of London, in 1839, publicly addressed the late Archbishop Howley on the necessity there was for the occupation of more Colonial sees, and at the same time propounded means for the accomplishment of that object. But the fact is, that small thanks are due to the Colonial Office for any advocacy by which it has aided the project, or to any of the Crown advisers for any thing beyond an acceptance of the eminent and appropriate men who have been presented for consecration to the several Dioceses. The endowments have been strictly formed of the voluntary offerings of English Churchmen, either severally or as members of our great religious Societies; and therefore, we imagine, are quite beyond the reach of any local legislative interference whatsoever. Governments may ~~form~~ their resolutions of placing all ministers of religion on a footing of equality, and leaving the support of each who needs be so supported to the flock to which he ministers;

but they may not, without an infringement on private rights on which they will hardly venture, assume a control over funds vested for the maintenance of a presiding body over Protestant Episcopalians. And it is perfectly borne out by the facts of the case that in whatever Colony a Bishopric has been erected, there the influence of the Church has been immensely increased. It is to this circumstance that we invite especial attention in the present, and some future articles; in which we propose to shew, by reference to published and authenticated documents, that so far is the erection of sees in the principal Colonies in the Southern, or the Northern, hemisphere, from shewing unmistakeable signs of failure, that it is the one point of our interests abroad which exhibits undeniable marks of progress and prosperity; that it has resulted in the most signal extension of religious principle, feeling, and liberality, and fosters an already manifest and widely-extended dedication to good works in the distant dependencies of England. The *fact* which the Colonial history of recent years establishes, with a force exceeding all the expectations of the most sanguine promoters of our Episcopacy abroad, is that wherever a Bishop has been provided, there new energy and power have been infused, additional funds have been accumulated, the staff of clergy has been increased, new churches have been built, and "believers the more added to the Lord." Let us follow out, to what extent we may, the position which Lord Lyttleton has most truly put that "never yet has a Colonial Church thriven without its Bishop;" and "never yet has the appointment of one failed to be followed by the most marked improvement in the spiritual well-being of the settlers."

The Dioceses of the Southern Pacific are, on the whole, perhaps, the most remarkable instances of the invigorating effects of Episcopal superintendence. At these, then, we will first glance. But a very few years ago, not one of them existed, the see of the present Metropolitan Bishop of Sydney, being an Archdeaconry, nominally under the see of Calcutta. This territory is now parcelled into seven sees, (including the new Bishopric of Canterbury, New Zealand) all in the most efficient working order. Of the Diocese of Melbourne we learn from a recent publication of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, that

"In 1847, *three isolated clergymen*, overwhelmed with labour and discouragements, were the only channels by which the Church of England ministered the word and sacraments of Christ in the colony of Port Philip, covering 80,000 square miles, and numbering 50,000 scattered

souls. Now, after four years' watchful superintendence by a zealous bishop, the clergy have increased to *twenty*, churches and school-houses are rising, liberal contributions, according to their means, are supplied by the colonists, the Church is taking up a definite and prominent position in the colony, and the way of salvation is thus made plain and open to all within the land who will enter upon it."

Not the smallest of the religious blessings which have supervened upon these territorial arrangements is the constitution of the "Emigrants' Spiritual Aid Fund," by the Church at home, which provides for the spiritual wants of emigrants during their voyage, by furnishing the ships with a minister of religion, either ordained, or a superior trained schoolmaster. No less than eighteen such agents accompanied our countrymen, outward-bound to the Cape or to Australasia, between April 1849 and June 1850; above four thousand of whom were thus led to occupy their time in exercises of religion and general improvement during the weary months of the voyage with the happiest effects. That these beneficial influences are appreciated by the emigrants is evident from the letter of Mr. Platts,* the teacher who

* The Rev. C. J. Abraham, in a letter dated "The 'Lloyd's' Emigrant Ship, June 12, 1850," gives the following interesting account of his Society and labours on ship-board, in a letter to the Secretary, S.P.G.:

"I promised to let the Society know through you something of the moral and religious conduct of the emigrants on board this vessel. To my own surprise and regret, I found on my arrival at Plymouth that nearly all my charge consisted of Irish Roman Catholics. There were not more than five English families, and half a dozen single women, members of our communion. There were half a dozen Scotch young women, and a few others, married couples or single men, of the Wesleyan connexion. Of the 150 Irish, about twenty were Protestants, all the rest Roman Catholics. Hitherto throughout the voyage, we have only had one Sunday when the weather was too bad, and the congregation and myself too ill, to have service; and since Good Friday, we have always had it above, on deck. The Scotch Presbyterians, and the Welsh dissenters, have always availed themselves of our services; and as the former requested to be allowed to partake of our Holy Communion on Easter Day and Trinity Sunday, I gladly admitted them, debarred as they were from their own. A Highlander, of the clan and name of Cameron, is one of the grandest specimens of fearless integrity and piety I have ever met with. He could hardly speak English when he came on board; but he is the chief constable, and nothing can make him swerve from his duty. He has been a shepherd all his life, and will make an invaluable servant for the same purpose in his new home. I was talking to the people about their future prospects, and the temptations they would be exposed to in the bush, away from the ordinances of religion, the countenance of society, and other such advantages, and I was begging them to bind it on their consciences, scrupulously to pray in private, and read the Bible. John Cameron quietly said—'Ay, I have been a shepherd, alone on the heather, for the last twenty years, and my Bible has been my only companion, besides my sheep and dog; and I read it through and through, again and again, and it's too auld a friend to gie up now.'"

sailed from Plymouth for Adelaide in August 1849. He reports:

"The attendance of the emigrants very numerous, and their conduct very orderly and becoming. I am happy to say that we have begun to assemble for morning and evening prayers daily between decks. As soon as the ship had entered the Sound, and the emigrants had begun to recover from sea-sickness, they voluntarily expressed a wish to assemble for daily prayers. I trust it will not surprise you that nothing has yet been done towards the formation of classes. The Channel weather did not admit of its being attempted in the first instance, and the confusion and disorder, with sickness and death, still prevailing in the ship, are impediments of a very serious nature. I trust, however, weather permitting, that something may be done towards these objects during the present week."

In explanation of this extract it may be necessary to add that a severe form of cholera had broken out on board the ship between Gravesend and Plymouth.

On the hopefulness of these objects the Bishops of Sydney and of Melbourne have written in terms of unusual warmth. The former has appointed a Chaplain specially to carry on the work begun on ship-board, and to make his local experience available for the benefit of the emigrants; thus anticipating the desires of the zealous religious agent at Plymouth, who has devoted himself to the arduous task of visiting every emigrant ship which sails from, or touches at, that port.

"To put each family in possession of a copy of the Holy Scriptures; and to provide the emigrants with devotional and educational tracts, such as Family Prayers, Directions for leading a Holy Life, and for

Speaking of school-teaching on board, he said: "Imagine, in fine weather, thirty ragged Irish boys, sitting on the main-deck and under the poop-ladder, with the sea every now and then washing over the sides, and drenching them; the incessant passing to and fro of men and women from the hatches to the galley (i. e. kitchen), picking their way among their feet; sailors hauling ropes, and singing their incessant 'Ya hoy' and a tropical sun, in spite of the awnings and sails, darting upon their heads; nevertheless, these boys have learnt to write on slates, to read, and to sum; and any person who had not been used to see the powers a boy has of abstracting himself from the scene and noise around him, would wonder that any thing could be learnt. Then in bad and cold weather, the school is held below, in the fore part of the ship. Nevertheless, with all these drawbacks, we have managed to teach thirty boys, and keep occupied occasionally some eight or ten young men in reading, writing, or summing. Some lads of twenty have learnt to read, who did not know a letter when they came on board. Besides this, my wife has taken charge of the girls' school, which, as is usually the case in all parochial schools, is far superior to any thing I can boast of my boys, in respect of neatness, order, and diligence. There has been a general attendance of about twelve girls; and some half-dozen young Irish women have improved themselves considerably in writing and arithmetic."

educating children; catechisms, hymns, primers, spelling-books, &c.; so that if these people settle in the colony, far remote from any school, they may have the means of keeping alive a spirit of piety amongst themselves, and of training their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

This gentleman, prior to any knowledge of the Bishop of Sydney's appointment above alluded to, addressed a circular letter to the several Diocessans of the Southern colonies, in which the one heart and one mind of the remote branches of the English Church is thus beautifully developed.

"It has been the desire of my heart to send over our people into your lands, in a better condition than they in former days entered our colonies, and, if possible, to create a connecting link between the Church at home and the Church abroad; that the Church should be the last to soothe the wounded spirits of our emigrants, and say, 'Good bye, my children; God bless you;' and that she should also be the first to meet them when they arrive at their new country, and say, 'We are glad to see you, and wish you good luck in the name of the Lord.' I wish, therefore, that a clergyman at the port of embarkation might be always in communication with a clergyman at the port of disembarkment, so that the former might be able to say to the people, when he gave them his farewell address, 'At such a port a clergyman will meet you, who will advise with you on your arrival in the colony, and report to me your proceedings on the voyage.'"

These measures of the Church at home are proved to have been crowned with the success which might have been devoutly anticipated. The Bishop of Melbourne, in a letter written about the middle of 1849, acknowledged their *efficacy* in the most gratifying way, before information of their *adoption* has reached him. "The character of the recently arrived emigrants," his Lordship writes, "is said to be *very superior* to that of the labouring population previously settled here." And then he refers to the wants which one of our previous extracts shews to have been provided for beyond human expectation, *more than* three or four clergymen annually having ever since been added to the Melbourne Presbytery, all of whom have been settled upon resources for no part whatever of which is the colonial Treasury indented on.

"A fresh wave of population is continually rolling in upon us. Within the last twelve months there have arrived not less, probably, than 2,000 new comers from the British Isles, besides several hundreds who have immigrated from the neighbouring colonies. For these alone we ought to have received two or three additional Clergymen, and, I thank God, I have had two join me within that period. But of these one had arranged to follow me before I left England, and the other came out independently on his own account. What I want is, that an arrangement should be made whereby I may receive three or four annually, and

have a fund provided for their maintenance, in whole or in part, until I can obtain a sufficient stipend here."

There cannot, we presume, be stronger evidence than this of the healthy activity of, at any rate, one Diocese in the Southern hemisphere; and it seems not too much to say that so effective an impetus could not, humanly speaking, have been applied to the good cause of religion and piety upon any other than the Episcopal principle. It was in November 1849 that the Bishop of Melbourne advised the Church at home of his "painful position, by the exhaustion of the fund appropriated from the Colonial Treasury for the maintenance of clergy and the building of churches;" and from that period his hopes and wishes have been more than measured by a substantial acknowledgment of the authority with which his office empowers him to plead.

Every subsequent communication which has met our eye from this Prelate to the Church at home, has been full of comfort and of progress. The latest bears date March 27, 1851. True it is that with a rapidity unknown in colonization, the city of Melbourne has already reached a population of above 23,000; whereas the Church accommodation is sufficient only for 1,000. Still a second Church is in rapid progress at the capital, and a considerable enlargement of the other building is designed and suggesting contributions; and when these works are accomplished (even if it be not the case at present, as we believe) the city of Melbourne will be provided with more ample Church accommodation than many a parish in the English Diocese of Manchester.

Another interesting illustration of the progress of Church feeling in the Dioceses of the Southern hemisphere we have noticed in a letter of March 22, 1850, bearing the signature of the Bishop of Tasmania. Some readers of the earlier volumes of the *Benares Magazine* may recollect that the Bishop of Gibraltar proposed in a public letter to the late Archbishop of Canterbury, that Whit-Sunday 1849, being the three hundredth anniversary of the English Prayer Book, should be commemorated by a general collection in all churches and chapels in the English communion throughout the world, in aid of Church extension. As far as we can find, this suggestion was not adopted in any other than the Tasmanian Diocese, where £135-18-0 was collected for the service of the Church, and remitted to England with the following remarks:—

"The late period at which I received the Bishop of Gibraltar's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, respecting an universal collection for

the great objects of the Church, on Whit-Sunday last, prevented me from taking counsel with my Episcopal brethren in this hemisphere, as to what was to be done.

"Acting on my own judgment, I had the letter reprinted with a short commendatory notice from myself.

"It was forwarded to every clergyman in the Diocese, and I send you the result.

"Do not misjudge us by the small amount of the contributions. We have given what we could, for we would not seem to be behind-hand in this labour of love. But churches and schools in debt, and hundreds even yet without a pastor, from our inability to furnish a fitting provision for him, will prove an adequate apology from those who are not ashamed to call themselves (some comparatively, others actually) 'poor.'

"The time has come, when we are in great part to shift for ourselves. The governor has distinctly intimated to the three communions which receive aid from the State, that the treasury will not bear any additional charges for religion and educational purposes. It will be enough to preserve the existing chaplaincies."

The fund accruing from the sympathies thus pleasantly elicited has of course reverted to the Church which originally bestowed it.

The returns from the Diocese of Adelaide are similarly encouraging. Its Bishop made the following gratifying statement in regard to the number of Clergy on the 21st of December, 1849, being the third year of his Lordship's consecration.

"The number of ordained Pastors in our Church will in a few days be fifteen; besides three useful Catechists; whereas, at the date of my appointment, the Clergy in this province were but five. Such an accession to our duly appointed ministry, and that of men apt to teach and zealous in the good of souls, is great cause of thankfulness to the Lord who hath sent forth labourers into his vineyard."

In regard to the order of Catechists, the Bishop remarks, as it appears to us most pertinently to a very desirable change in the management of our Indian Missionary Churches. Without at all detracting from the possible conduciveness of general enlightenment to conversion to Christianity; or denying that it is the office of the Church to bestow her care upon the education of the offspring of believers, we are certainly of opinion that our Missions generally are too much encumbered with a class of men, who are competent only for secular offices, or dedicated chiefly thereto. We think there cannot be a doubt that the great and proper sphere of direct Missionary agents is to "preach the Word" and to trust and pray that God will save believers by the foolishness of their preaching. That Missions should be *in no way* dedicated to the work of education, we do not say;—but we conceive that

they are only indirectly, and in a way which should not bear very heavily on their finances, concerned with the training of the laity (and especially the heathen laity) by the laity; and that the chief motive upon which the devotion of our missionaries to the work of education is reconcilable with duty is the furnishing of the future Church generation with *ministers*. This work manifestly cannot, upon any primitive precedent, be entrusted to unordained men; and it follows consequently that the class of catechists can be only very subordinately important in the ranks of a Mission. We need only remark in regard to the concluding paragraph of the subjoined extract that the Bishop by no means intends to detract from the advantage of the Apostolical order of Deacons, in the organization of a Diocese; (who would really be most useful, as subordinate to, and fellow-workers with, the Presbyters;) but merely that the most judicious way of reviving the order of Deacons does not seem to him to be the enlisting thereto the services of men, however excellent, who have originally been trained for lay offices.

"Of the three lately arrived, Messrs. Platt and Wood are at this time under examination for Orders. I do not think it expedient to add to the number of this class. They cannot perform all the offices of the Church, nor administer the Sacraments. Being laymen, their ministrations break down the character and principle of Ordination; they are equally dependent on the diocesan fund for support; and, on the whole, they are less efficient, and less looked up to, than the Missionary Clergy. Under the urgency of demand for the ordinances of the Church, it has been necessary to admit the present number; but I would now rather wait until really devoted and efficient Clergymen can be found to assist us, and provided for, than extend the present class of lay agents, or admit them to the Diaconate."

In the same letter the Bishop proceeds most interestingly to develop his yearning for the just judgment, and spiritual enlightenment of the coloured population. The pith of his remarks will commend itself entirely to some among us who happen to be aware of the skin-deep prerogatives which too often have place here. And we should be loath to sacrifice the picture of the good Bishop's espousing of a couple of *darkies*, in presence of the Governor. It speaks volumes of what the Prelates abroad *should* be—not a mere department of the public service, remunerated, like the army or the navy, with specified salaries in consideration of certain duties undertaken; and with scarce a will of their own, even upon the disposition, and scarce a voice which they can uplift in appreciation even of their most solemn convictions upon the duties of their own Clergy;—but men—as we re-

collect to have read some time ago in an admirable leader in the *Morning Chronicle*, stripped of the lordly accidents which dull the inner, if they decorate the outer man; not rearing their mitred fronts only among nobles and statesmen, but ready for a feast of biscuit in a fisherman's hut,—for the rough boat, the tangled forest, the burning sands, the ice-berg, and the mountain stream :—preaching and journeying, not seldom on foot—always in perils and hardships ;—thankful to be poor and hard bested, if they be but prosperous in their work. Such men have been found to occupy the Colonial sees of the English Church—men who have counted all things but loss, for the work and labour of their choice—who have sacrificed home preferment and dignity, for the high and holy vocation whereunto they have been called—our Broughtons and our Selwyns, our Grays, our Fulfords, and our Medleys—men whose virtues would have dignified any Church in any age, and whose practical and untiring labours must designate them as the glory of the religious schools of their country. Let all who read take note of the generous heart-stirrings of the Bishop of Adelaide, and witness what the Colonial Church has save to glory in the willing offices of such teachers as he.

"Four natives having been condemned to death at the Criminal Sessions, while two whites were acquitted, (who were undoubtedly guilty of having shot a native,) through a technical flaw in the native evidence,—in common with several of the Clergy and members of the bar, I petitioned his Excellency for commutation of the sentence, with a view to bring under the notice of the Government and community in general how little has been done towards promulgating God's law of the commandments among the Aborigines, and inculcating moral responsibility. The subject was considered by the executive council, and the sentence of death executed only on two,—the murderers of Mr. Beevor,—and that, at the scene of their crime. A native couple, brought up in the school at Adelaide, I joined in marriage at Port Lincoln, in the presence of the Governor. The Court-house was filled on the occasion, and the behaviour of the pair was thoughtful and proper. They are placed in the service of a settler; and being removed from the interference of their own tribe, I trust the marriage will be kept sacred, and a system commenced, which may gradually raise the native out of polygamy and barbarism."

Nor must we omit to refer to the large advantages which have accrued to the rising generation of colonists if not *through*, (which we imagine few who have looked with any care into the facts of the matter will be found to deny) yet certainly *under*, the superintendence and encouragement of the Prelates. A few years ago, with the exception of the Collegiate Institution at Hobart Town over which the Rev.

J. P. Gell presided, there was scarce a decent place of Christian education for the higher and middle classes of churchmen in the settlements of the southern ocean. Now, not schools merely, but colleges, adequate to almost the highest academical disciplines of the parent country are either organized, or being organized, in every Diocese. Of the Collegiate School at Adelaide the Bishop reported, April 10th, 1850:—"It is in a most efficient state—such a one as makes me desirous to send my little boy to it, as capable of affording a really sound English, commercial, and classical, education." Ten months after, his Lordship wrote again—

"Having lately inspected the school at Gawler, I am happy to report that it is in a very effective state, as indeed are all those mentioned in my former letter, namely—1, Pulteney-street; 2, North Adelaide; 3, Walkerville; 4, Hindmarsh; 5, Gawler; 6, Burra Burra; 7, Tung-kello; 8, Port Adelaide. Saddleworth and Penworthan are now to be added to the above list; both schools in the Bush, and in places likely to become important villages. With regard to the collegiate school I am able to report progress. Notwithstanding the recent agitation in matters connected with our Church, its character has been maintained and raised. I mentioned the setting up, about nine months ago, of a South Australian 'High School,' in connexion with the dissenting interest. It has not answered; and since the beginning of this year, eleven pupils have entered at the collegiate school, making the present number fifty-one. The boarding home is quite full, and excellently managed, and at the present time the institution is paying its own expenses with a surplus income. I mention this to convince the Society that its munificent vote of 2000*l.* is effecting its object. There is a theological class also, of candidates for holy orders, under the Rev. T. P. Wilson, as theological tutor. The collegiate buildings are progressing, and will prove a great ornament to the colony when completed. The beauty of the stone and the design itself will render it perhaps the best specimen of an ecclesiastical edifice, not only in this but the neighbouring colonies. With regard to the aspect of Church affairs in general, we are undergoing the like process of trial as the Church at home. There is a good deal to discourage, yet nothing to cause despair; enough to humble, but nothing to destroy: and perhaps we are in the safest state, when all is not sunshine; but lights and shadows by turns pass across our prospect. May the wise Disposer of all events make all things work together for good to His Church and people; and our Zion be brought through the day of her trial, purified and strengthened to do the work unto which she was appointed."

And in a letter still more recent,

"The mercy of our heavenly Father has been shown, as well as His chastisement. My efforts will be continued to promote purity and peacefulness; and I trust the blessing of God will attend the endeavour. The old colonists are about to hold a festival to-morrow (March 27), the anniversary of the first sale of town land in Adelaide. They have kindly invited me to be their guest on this occasion. As far as temporal blessings are concerned, contrasting 1851 with 1836, well may

we say, 'What hath God wrought!' Above 63,000 Europeans, active, intelligent, in the prime of life, with Anglo-Saxon energy and independence, are in the enjoyment of wealth and comfort, the fruit of their own labours. I am pleased that they have asked the Bishop of Adelaide to witness their happiness and success. Indeed, if we are not without the drawbacks of colonial life, we have much, very much, to be thankful for."

The Bishop's own account of the anniversary dinner has reached us since writing the above.

"My reception at the old colonists' festival was all that I could wish, and proved to me that, both personally and officially, I enjoyed the respect of the South Australian public. Above 700 persons dined together on the occasion, and nearly 1000 assembled in the course of the evening. It was mentioned that the rated value (on which an assessment for town improvement is raised) of the town land, which fourteen years ago realized 4000*l.*, is now, in 1851, 34,000*l.* I may add, that we are enjoying quiet, and the clergy meet next week to consider how they may best observe the 150th anniversary of the Society for the Promotion of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which I trust will be blessed in all branches of our Church, to promote unity of spirit in the bond of peace."

The testimony of his Lordship in regard to education is repeated, substantially, in the correspondence of all the Australasian Bishops. In numerous localities where the higher classes of settlers have, only seven or eight years ago, expressed to ourselves the deepest concern upon the impossibility of affording their children those intellectual advantages which seemed on all accounts due to the rank which they must, by and by, hold in the country, institutions scarcely second to those of England are now brought within easy access.

Further should be mentioned, as the result of the Bishop of Adelaide's advocacy, the formation of a large depôt into which emigrants are received on their first arrival, are religiously cared for, lodged and fed, and made acquainted with the best methods of prosecuting the objects for which they have sought a foreign shore.

There is still one point to which our thoughts recur on review of recent proceedings in the Diocese of Adelaide. We have read in an Indian Journal of the present year of some "strong protest of the *Clergy* of Australia against the Tractarian tendencies of their Bishops;" which, the same writer tells us, "is a sufficient proof that even the ministers of the Establishment have imbibed the 'latitudinarian' spirit of charity *natural to a colony.*"

We hope before we have finished these papers, to write enough to shew any candid reader that latitudinarianism

is by no means engendered naturally by the colonial life ; but on the contrary, that a warm and unmistakeable spirit of Churchmanship has been latterly manifested in the great colonial settlements to an extent unparalleled in any previous æra of English Church history. And further, we trust that we shall place it beyond a doubt that the *love* of ecclesiastical order has progressed, in these settlements, proportionably with its *introduction*. And as for any "strong protest of the clergy" against their Bishops, at the risk of being supposed to have viewed the matter only from one point, we declare that the notice to which we allude to is the first which has reached us of any disaffections between their Presbyteries and the several Australasian Prelates, collectively or individually ; and that although it is perfectly possible that unanimity may not be complete there more than elsewhere, yet that our own personal and intimate acquaintance with a considerable number of the Clergy in more than one of the Dioceses, and what we have ourselves seen of loyal duty and affection, from Presbyter to Bishop, in the Churches of Sydney and of New Zealand, do quite satisfy us that nothing like a general expression of dissent has ever been uttered by the Clergy of Australia, against any tendencies whatever which have been manifested by those set over them. Of this we are aware—that a meeting of *lay* members of the Church of England was held at Adelaide on the 28th of January 1851, to discuss the supposed tendency of the minutes of the Sydney conference, (which were reprinted in the *Benares Magazine* for August 1851.) Of this meeting a local paper, favourable to its objects, admitted that it "occasionally assumed too much the character of a theological controversy, although its prevailing tone was that of calm but firm protest against all attempts to invest the Church of England with secular power." With the most courteous consideration, the Bishop, who had heard of the proposed meeting of the laity, addressed to it a letter of explanation, from which the following is an extract :

"When I left Port Adelaide for Sydney, I was perfectly ignorant of the topics which I should be called upon to consider. I was summoned by the Metropolitan Bishop to meet my brethren, and I obeyed the summons. The proposed meeting was known to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and it was called for by the legislation touching the Colonial Church in the Imperial Parliament. On this head, the leading principles which guided our deliberations were—1st. Unity with the United Church of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, and the canon of Scripture. 2nd. The lawful supremacy of the Queen. 3rd. The due representation of the clergy in Synod. 4th. The represen-

tation of the laity in Conventions, and their co-operation in making ecclesiastical regulations concerning the temporal matters of the Church. And if, in the last particular, we were guided by the *existing* constitution of the Church of England rather than that of the American Episcopal Church, I express my own opinion and that of some, at least, of my brethren, when I say that we shall willingly see the clergy and laity represented in Diocesan and Provincial conventions, as is now done in the *latter* Church. It is from want of conventions so framed that the isolated action of the Episcopalian portion of the Church of this Province is now, perhaps, without conference, discussion, or mutual explanation, to be impeded by the lay portion of it. This is badly contrived, in comparison with the American system; but as the Canons and decisions of the Clergy of England in their convocation are not binding on the *laity* without *their* consent, given by the Queen's Majesty and by Parliament, so the voice of the laity must be listened to with becoming respect in the colonial Churches.

"It has been said the introduction of the topic of Baptism was unnecessary and gratuitous. I am guiltless of this introduction, beyond being able to give a reason for the faith which is in me, when asked. I have never entertained the thought of narrowing the communion of the Church, nor am I aware of any such desire or intention on the part of my right reverend brethren. My rule is, that of Gamaliel—'If this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; and if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it.' So long as any Clergyman subscribes and keeps the three Articles of the 36th Canon, I shall not study to force upon him that construction (on a point which, though important, is not, I suppose, essential to salvation) which I deem to be the plain, literal, and grammatical sense of the liturgy; but I am ready to allow that same freedom of judgment which I claim for myself.

"I observe offence has been taken with regard to the minutes concerning Marriage and Burial, as if they were offensively aimed at Dissenters. The one was intended to guard against clandestine marriages and bigamy, which, in the vast interior of New South Wales, are likely to take place, if the Clergy were to marry indiscriminately persons of whom they know nothing. In regard to the funeral service, the minute was adopted in consequence of the letter of a pious Clergyman, certainly not of Tractarian views, whose conscience was sorely burdened by having been compelled, as he thought, to read the beautiful language of our service over the remains of 'notorious ill-livers' dying '*hardened in sin.*' The Bishops resolved to claim for the Clergy the same liberty as is enjoyed by the ministers of every denomination. We asserted, therefore, the absence of any *legal* obligation which exists in England, compelling every parish minister to bury the dead of that parish. I am persuaded that every religious Dissenter will own that the laxity of discipline exhibited by our Church, in the indiscriminate use of that office, has been one of their main objections to the Establishment in England.

"I have nothing more to add, but trust that both I and my right reverend brethren will strive always to have consciences void of offence, both towards God and towards man, resting assured that He, in His own good providence, will take care of His own truth and His own Church.

I remain,

Your's faithfully,

AUGUSTUS ADELAID^R

Surely it can need no words to commend the Christian moderation and amiability of such language as this—language truly remarkable for its uncalled-for condescension to rude and ignorant assailants of a document whose very tenour they had misinterpreted. Surely it would be waste of time to set in array against it the hard expressions which our own publication of the document we allude to has elicited from a certain portion of the Indian Press. Offering, as we do, our most cordial sympathies to all, who, with whatsoever peculiarities, preach the Son of God who for our sakes consented to be the Son of man; and believing that the extension of Christianity, even in its most general form, is, so far, a thing to be grateful for; we still see nothing but what we must regret in the imputation of “insufferable tyranny,” and the assertion of a “repugnance to a religious establishment,” which we can find no facts to substantiate, upon the ground of a Declaration, the mere motives to which were not comprehended.

But we must hasten on to another of these unsuccessful experiments in the Southern hemisphere. Let it be the Diocese of Newcastle. We have from the pen of its indefatigable Bishop, the following sketch of his progress in evangelization:

“As a presbyter of the Church in England, and as bishop of this diocese, I have, in the performance of my ministerial duties, ever laid down this principle of action: *That my work should be real, sound work, likely to produce future lasting good, however unobserved or unnoticed my labours might be.* And truly in my diocese there was much of this unseen, underground, foundation-work to be accomplished, if the Church was ever to become a blessing and a praise in the land.

“Not only was ruin general, and poverty universal, and every district irritated and depressed by the amount of its Church debts, but there had grown up an opinion that the Government and the bishop were to supply all their religious wants; and that all which was required of the members of the Church was to express a wish that churches might be built for them, and ministers maintained. This opinion I have from the first most strenuously and perseveringly resisted, and, I am delighted to say, with the happiest result. Indeed, I am determined to throw the members of our Church on their own resources as regards church buildings; to give them nothing, except my own private mite of assistance, and to ask for nothing for them; and the following good has thus certainly been effected. Though the generality are still poor, they are willing to give cheerfully of their penury for the purpose of providing for themselves and for others the means of grace through the ministrations of our Apostolic Church.

“Again, all the old debts upon the churches have been paid off, and the churchwardens of every parish in the Hunter district were enabled, last Easter Tuesday, to inform their parishioners that there was a surplus in favour of the parish, instead of a debt against it, as there had been for many previous years.

"Again, churches which had been left for years unfinished have been completed; and persons who were tired of subscribing, and irritated at finding their money either wasted or lost, have been rendered grateful and happy at the consecration of their church. Thus, in 1848 I had no Church to consecrate—in 1849 I had one, in 1850 only one, but this year I have already consecrated four, and three more will be ready for consecration before I return from my missionary voyage with the Bishop of NEW ZEALAND; and I have several others progressing most satisfactorily towards completion.

"And lastly, *without any fresh aid from Government funds, fifteen additional clergymen have been placed out in the destitute districts of the diocese*, and are maintained by the subscriptions of the Churchmen in their districts, aided by a grant from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and I am delighted to say, aided also by the offerings of the members of the Church in the old long-settled districts, who have their clergymen maintained by Government grant, and have been made to feel that there is a claim upon them, not only of brotherly kindness and charity, but of equity and justice, to share the burdens of their brethren, and to contribute to the support of their ministers. Such is the happy change, in position and in feeling, which has been brought about during the last three years."

Now, in order to refute the assertion which has been so unreservedly made of the "unmistakeable signs of failure" which has attended the extension of the Episcopate in the Southern hemisphere, we hope we shall be deemed justified in contrasting with the above testimony to energy, action, and liberality, some expressions addressed to ourselves, scarcely more than eight years previously, by the Lord Bishop of Sydney, when, in the most honoured period of our ministry, we occupied a church upon the great continent, in which he was, at that period, the only Bishop. His Lordship therein writes of the "proofs of sad indifference of the members of our Church to their own and their descendants' welfare as involved in the establishment among them of a clergy duly qualified by gifts and acquirements for the exercise of the ministerial office." "Can it," he adds, "be that they do not *see* how closely all their best hopes are interwoven with the existence here of such a body of men; that they do not *perceive* how indispensable their influence is to the *social* welfare, as well as to the religious improvement, of the present and future generations: that is, if it be considered essential to *that* welfare, that sense, refinement, learning, and a general feeling of becoming subordination in society, should be able to maintain themselves in opposition to the influence of vulgar wealth, and the agitations of a furious democracy? Or, on the other hand, do our people see these things, and yet are they so devoted to self-interest and enjoyment that they will not make even that trifling sacrifice which

would place such a clergy as I speak of throughout the country in a state of moderate and decent competency, enabling them to devote their time, thoughts, and abilities to the discharge of their sacred office? * * * * *

* * * I should not hesitate to speak openly, as I have frequently done, if there appeared any hope or prospect of thereby shaking that rooted insensibility, first to their own welfare, and next to the duty which they owe to the Church of the living God, by which the inhabitants of this country are *in general* so fatally characterized. But on their behalf we can but persevere in earnest prayer that they may see, before it is too late, the necessity of making some general exertion to prevent *the loss of an educated ministry*, with which they are now threatened through their own supineness, and to guard the light of pure religion from being, as a consequence of that loss, in the next generation clean put out. The prospect is very melancholy."

Such then were the sad anticipations—we may almost say forebodings of one of the best of Bishops and wisest of men just about the present period of the year 1843. What a change has since come over the territories of which he is now the Metropolitan! Seldom, perhaps, has any thing more pleasurable been recorded than the following, also from a private letter of the Lord Bishop of Sydney, published in the *Colonial Church Chronicle* for November 1851:

"As to the topics referred to in your last letter, I will first name, as first in importance, the Missionary undertaking to New Caledonia, &c. You will have heard long ago of the design, so successfully accomplished, while the Bishops were here in October last, of instituting a Board of Missions for the Province.* I will therefore say nothing about its

* The "Australasian Board of Missions" has been instituted for the Propagation of the Gospel among the heathen races in the province of Australasia, New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands, the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, New Hanover, New Britain, and the other islands in the western Pacific. The inauguration of the "Board" has been thus reported of by the Secretary to the Sydney Diocesan Committee, S.P.G.

"Tuesday, the 1st October, was a happy day for the Church in Australia. At eleven A.M., the Right Reverend the Bishops of Sydney, New Zealand, Tasmania, Adelaide, Melbourne, and Newcastle, assembled in the temporary cathedral church of St. Andrew; and after the conclusion of Morning Prayer, there was celebrated a 'most comfortable' communion of the Body and Blood of Christ. The Bishops and some sixteen of the Clergy, together with about 150 brethren of the laity, partook of the eucharistic feast. It was a joyous day. My Australian heart could not but be warm, when I thought of the glorious results which, we may reasonably anticipate, will follow upon the establishment of our beloved Church in the integrity of her system. What a glad heart must our revered Bishop have when he looks upon his suffragan brethren, and feels that God has blessed his endeavours to extend

commencement, but will report progress. We have every reason to be thankful for the continued success which has attended the effort. We purchased, at an expence of £1,200, a stout schooner of ninety-one tons burden, named the *Border Maid*. One thousand pounds were raised and paid by the Churchmen of Sydney, and two hundred by those of Newcastle. The fitting out, stores for the voyage, and expence of navigation to Auckland, have cost £300 more; which sum we trust will be furnished from the other three dioceses (Tasmania, Adelaide, and Melbourne,) which have as yet supplied nothing. Then, if the Diocese of New Zealand itself provide, as it should do, the cost of the first voyage, your £1,800 or £2,000 from the English Churchmen will be intact for the future support of this great enterprise. The Bishop of Newcastle embarked and sailed on Thursday last, (Ascension-day) bearing with him an absolute deed of gift of the vessel, &c. to the Bishop of New Zealand and his successors, and the good wishes and prayers of a great multitude who accompanied him to the ship, on behalf of himself and his revered colleague, and all who are to take part in the work. Previously to embarkation, we all attended morning prayer at St. Andrew's Church; and all who did attend were struck with the singularly appropriate character of the service to the occasion, and will be, I hope, permanently benefitted. Eighty-two persons partook of the Holy Communion. Nothing could have begun, continued, or ended, in a better spirit. From Church we went directly to the ship.

"Some of our firm friends had provided a steam-boat to convey the Bishop to the schooner, and then to tow him out to sea. As many embarked on board the steamer as she would hold. * * * * *

"It was a glorious sight to see the powerful steamer hastening the *Border Maid* at full speed down our wonderful harbour, until the heads at the entrance hid them from our sight; and when the moment came for casting off the tow-rope, and leaving her to pursue her own course across the great Pacific, the enthusiasm and feeling exhibited were, I am told, animated and noble in the extreme. You will share in them, I am sure. And now we have done our part; and with some pride of heart I have witnessed, and now relate to you, the doings of my Church and people. The event is in the hands of God; and may He prosper it to His own glory, for the sake of Jesus Christ."

The sees in the New Zealand Islands are the last in the Australasian cluster which call for a cursory remark. We can hardly think it will be pretended that Bishop Selwyn's Episcopate has turned out a failure. He has been so much before the world, both as a successful evangelist and an adjuster of local disagreements which bade fair to involve the whole establishment of the Colony in ruin and bloodshed and even extermination:—his vast prowess, intellectual and corporeal, and his undaunted courage on the ocean and in the array of barbarians are so well appreciated both in and beyond the scene of his labours, that we need not recapitulate

the number of chief Pastors in this province! You will, I know, feel interested in hearing of the first conference of the Bishops in Australia; and I have, therefore, written more fully than I otherwise should have done.

them. It is mainly owing to his influence and character that, exclusive of the new Canterbury Settlement, and including even Otago, which was specially founded for the occupation of members of the Free Church of Scotland, the emigration to New Zealand is clearly shewn by the Colonial Secretary's Reports to consist mainly of members of the Church of England—that is to say—that in Nelson, Wellington, and other of the larger settlements, the Protestant Episcopalians outnumber all the other Christian bodies *collectively*; and even at Otago, in the beginning of 1849, of 443 settlers of six religious communions, 168 were members of the Church of England. But a different style of depreciation has been adopted in this instance. To say a word of the unsucces of the enterprize, in the existence of the stirring pages of the Bishop's "Journals," was impossible; and thus another rumour got abroad—that he was so exceedingly well pleased with his own management that he objected to a dismemberment of his Diocese, which, (though about as plausible a pretence as it might be, to utter that our own Bishop would be chagrined by the erection of a see at Agra,) Dr. Selwyn most emphatically denied at one of the earliest meetings of the Canterbury colonists. "Nothing could be further from the truth. He had actually written to Lord Lyttleton to propose the dismemberment." (Hear; Hear.) "He wished also to mention to the colonists that he found the clergy had come out with only very limited incomes guaranteed to them. He hoped that as soon as the clergy were settled in the various districts, the colonists would, by some voluntary additional aid, make up, for a time, a sufficient income." So reports the *Lyttleton Times*, a "highly influential journal" at the Antipodes of England; adding that on both subjects the meeting expressed itself to the perfect satisfaction of his Lordship. Every thing that took place at the meeting seems to indicate the existence of mutual good-feeling between the Bishop and his flock.

The details of the *Cape See*,—every one of them full of the highest conceivable encouragement,—are of such considerable extent that we have room for only a very limited selection from such brave and perilous adventures in bush and desert, as have an interest quite extrinsic to their holy purpose. At the end of 1849, the second year of his Episcopate, twenty-seven clergymen had been added to his Lordship's staff. Five more were expected to join shortly. Sometimes discouragements have occurred, but never failures; while the most part of the Missions are marked with signal success.

Bishop Gray had then returned from his second visitation of a considerable portion of the Western province of the colony, principally performed on horseback. About a thousand miles were thus traversed, in two months. Five clergymen had been settled in this province during the year. Churches were rapidly rising at Caledon, and at George. Of the latter district, the Bishop writes :

"Church work is prospering in a very remarkable manner. Mr. Welby, whom I have appointed rural dean, has won all hearts, and has made already a great impression, not only in that place, but upon the whole neighbourhood. The church there is rapidly rising to completion, and is already pronounced too small."

In another place a merchant had built a small Chapel at his own expence, in which the magistrate was holding a well attended service every Lord's day. At another, the minister, at the earnest request of the Dutch inhabitants, held an occasional service for them in their own language. At Worcester the people were found very anxious for the appointment of a clergyman and willing to contribute £50 a year to his support. At Mossel Bay, the merchants set a store apart for the ministrations of a promised catechist. And through wide territories, and amid a scattered English population, were clergy perambulating as the only means available for discharging the increasing call for the offices of the Church.

Early in the following year, the Bishop made a most interesting communication to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel on the ripeness of Kaffraria for Missionary enterprise.

"Cape Town, Feb. 5, 1850.

"The time has, I believe, arrived, when it becomes the duty of the Church in this diocese to enter upon direct Mission-work. Any longer delay on our part would, I think, be an evidence of unfaithfulness to the great trust committed to us. Our internal organization has been now for nearly two years completed by the addition of the Episcopate. During this period we have been enabled to supply the most crying necessities of our own people. Thirty Clergy have been added to the fourteen whom I found on my arrival in the diocese. Several more indeed are absolutely required, and the work of education, which is forcing itself on our attention, is as yet almost untouched. Yet, notwithstanding this, I repeat, there are circumstances which lead me to feel that we may not any longer, without sin, defer the attempt to found a Mission.

"From almost the first hour of my landing in the Colony, I have been impressed with the conviction, that it would become our duty, at no distant day, to seek the conversion of the tribes on our border. Providentially, we seemed to be called to this work. Others had entered upon it partially; and there appeared to be some prospect of a withdrawal rather than an increase of missionary effort. More distant fields, indeed, offered greater promise of success. The very name of

Kaffir (infidel) is in itself discouraging. The bloody and destructive wars which have so frequently taken place between the Colonists and these noble savages, have tended to alienate them from us and from Christianity. But these difficulties, it appeared to me, should rather stimulate our zeal than damp our ardour. Two courses only seem open to us,—their conversion, or their entire subjugation. We know how this last course would terminate. It would issue with them as with other tribes who have been brought under our yoke. They would fade away before us. With these convictions on my mind, I have deeply felt that the Church in this land had a solemn call to preach the Gospel to the Kaffirs, and that she ought not to delay entering upon the work longer than was absolutely necessary. The same impression exists in the mind of most of the Clergy with whom I have conversed. As an evidence of this, I may observe, that the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Graham's Town, at their meeting on the 1st of January—the Feast of the Circumcision—agreed to petition the Bishop to take immediate steps for the formation of a Mission, and pledged themselves to raise 100*l.* a year towards it. The Clergy of the Western Province are, I am sure, prepared to make a similar promise. The only question with me, of late, has been, where we were to begin. Mr. Green, the Rural Dean of Natal, has been very urgent in pressing the claims of the 100,000 natives in that dependency who speak the Kaffir tongue. The Archdeacon has leaned, I think, more decidedly to the formation of a Mission in British Kaffraria, near King William's Town.

"While I was debating this subject in my mind, and had almost come to the conclusion that I would defer any decision upon it till I had visited both of these fields, which I purpose doing (D. V.) this year, I received from His Excellency the Governor the very interesting report of Colonel Mackinnon, the Chief Commissary of Kaffraria, of which I inclose a copy, accompanied by a letter from the Governor, in which he invited me to found a Mission at the spot pointed out by Colonel Mackinnon, viz. in Umhallas territory, about thirty miles to the east of King William's Town.

"After mature deliberation, inquiry, and consultation with others—and not, I trust, without prayer to Almighty God for guidance—I have come to the conviction, that it is the duty of the Church to accept the invitation thus given; and I have written to the Governor to say, that I shall be prepared to attempt the foundation of a Mission, in that part of British Kaffraria to which he has drawn my attention. This done, it becomes my duty to communicate with you, as Secretary to the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and to seek your advice and co-operation.

"The plan upon which we propose to proceed is this. To endeavour to engage in the first instance, as a commencement of the work, the services of a Priest and Deacon, who shall proceed at once to the field of their future labour, and commence the work with the aid of a Kaffir interpreter, already provided. We do not contemplate going to any great expense in the erection of a Mission station and premises. We hope that the clergy who may feel disposed to offer themselves for this work, will be prepared to lead a simple, self-denying life; engaging to some extent in manual labour, and willing to live with but few more comforts about them than those possessed by the people to whom they will be sent. We do not propose, therefore, to offer any stipend, but only to undertake to provide for the actual wants of our brethren. I am fully aware that I am making a proposition which but few will be

prepared to accept. Some will shrink from a life of toil and hardship; others will fear on the score of health, although the climate is especially favourable to health. But I feel assured that there are many earnest, devoted spirits in our dear mother Church, who will be prepared literally to give up all that flesh and blood hold dear, even their whole selves, to make known Christ and His truth to those who are sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. That I am not over-estimating the spirit and devotion of English clergymen will, I hope, appear from the following extract from a letter from my noble-minded Archdeacon, which shows that there is at least one of our number prepared to sacrifice himself and all he has for Christ's most holy cause:—

"You ask me, Do I know of a fit man to head the Mission? I really do not; but I can say that I know a willing man, and, what is of more consequence, a man willing with his whole house. Myself, my wife, Miss Short, Jetters White, and Kaffir Wilhelm, would all think ourselves honoured if we were sent on this Mission together. I know of some more agents that would join us. I should be quite willing, and my wife concurs, to resign my office here to another, salary and all, should you deem it more easy to find a fresh Archdeacon than a fitter Missionary; and this may possibly be the case, especially a year hence, when the work of the Archdeaconry is a little more consolidated, and put into regular train. As soon as the parochial system is somewhat moulded, our foundation-stones will be laid. But all this I leave entirely to your judgment, being *in utrumque paratus*. My young family might render the Mission expensive, as they could not all live quite *Kaffricè*, though I am sure they could and would live very simply."

"That he does not underrate the self-sacrifice required in a Missionary to the Kaffirs, may be gathered from the same letter, wherein he expresses his conviction that they who undertake the office 'should go and live a hard self-denying life in a Kaffir kraal, eating, like Kaffirs, sour milk and melies, and working with and for Kaffirs, till they have mastered the tongue and acquired influence.'"

Three months afterwards we hear of the Bishop travelling in his cart in a distant part of his Diocese, at Karroo, the capital of the Sovereignty of Putermarity-burg, where the Boors had lately been in rebellion; his horses dying under him for want of browse and water. Take this instance of the welcome which awaited him there.

"Bloemfontein is a village of very recent growth. When besieged by the Boors two years ago, it was merely a military post. It is now rapidly rising into an important town. A press is on its way up from Graham's Town; a newspaper is about to be started; a library to be formed. The inhabitants are nearly all English, and chiefly members of the Church.

"I was met yesterday at some distance from the village by a party of gentlemen on horseback; and shortly after my arrival received a deputation from the military and civilians, who presented me with an address expressive of their joy at my visit, and their earnest hope that it would lead to the establishment of a church and clergyman in their village. At the same time, they placed in my hands a list of subscriptions towards a church, amounting already to 200*l.*, and likely to increase to 300*l.*

* * * * *

"It has been very encouraging to me to see the progress made since my last visitation in that part of the diocese which I have just passed through. In one or two places churches, aided by the Society, are in the course of erection. At Graaf-Reinet there is a very correct and well-built early English church nearly completed. I hope to consecrate it in my way back to Cape Town, about six months hence. At Colesberg there is a neat early English church rapidly rising. At Beaufort the inhabitants are making a vigorous effort towards the erection of a church; and I have promised to bring their case under the Society's notice. They are situated in the very middle of the Karroo. There is no English Church within 150 miles of them. They wish to build one to hold about 150; the cost will be 1000*l*. Towards this they have already raised about 250*l*., and are still collecting funds. I encouraged them to hope that the Society would assist them. There is a very nice congregation already collected there, though Mr. Maynard, the clergyman, has only been a few months in the town. Divine Service is held in the Government school-room. They contribute 70*l*. a year towards their minister's support."

In September, his Lordship, on the same visitation, which it would still take three months to complete, gives the following explanation of his present, though only temporary, need to draw largely on the liberality of the home Church.

"Ours is not a new colony. The villages and towns are of old standing. But scarce one of them had an English church. Wattle-and-daub buildings would not do for them. On the arrival of a Bishop an impulse was given everywhere. All determined to have churches and clergymen, and all at once. When, therefore, a few more cases shall have been brought under the Society's notice, I trust I shall cease to be so importunate a beggar. When the district towns are supplied, we shall scarce hope for any thing more.

"I have now to bring under the notice of the Board the state of Port Elizabeth. That is, perhaps, the most rising town in the colony. It is the port of the Eastern Province, and rapidly becoming the most influential place in the Diocese. We have there a church which will hold 400. Almost all the pews in the church are let. During my late Visitation about 500*l*. was raised towards the erection of a second church, to be entirely free. I encouraged them to hope that the Society would help them. A committee has been formed, which is still collecting funds. I have recommended them to begin with a nave of a church, to which aisles and chancel may be added. The whole when completed will probably accommodate between 400 and 500; the part now to be completed about 250. The cost about 1200*l*. The people have readily undertaken to support their own pastor. This will be done through the weekly offertory. They are fully aware that my means are quite exhausted, and that I cannot maintain an additional Minister."

Six or eight months after his return to Cape Town, Dr. Gray forwarded for publication in England a Journal of his Visitation Tour, instinct with simplicity and tenderness. A good specimen of the style of life to which England's "full-blown Episcopate" need habituate itself in the colonies occurs very early in the volume.

"Wednesday, 10th April.—Outspanned at a miserable farm of an intelligent Dutchman who speaks English fluently. His wife is a sister of one of the Dutch ministers; and his little boy (the only instance I have met with) has set his heart upon being a 'predikant.' Our poor horse [on the 9th it had been ill,] appeared better, so as to encourage us to proceed, but before we could arrive at water, where we could outspan, he became so ill, that we took him out of the cart. We stayed by him till he died. I felt more upon this occasion than I could have conceived, for when one has no other companions, a man soon gets attached to his horses. It was quite dark before we quitted our horse. As Ladwig could not see the road, I had to run before the cart for a mile or two, and point it out, and warn him of stones, rocks, and gullies. We arrived at a wretched hovel at Zouk Kloof, where an uncouth farmer, with his family, suffered us to outspan. I slept in my cart, and would gladly have cooked my own supper, as I have been lately doing, from my own provisions; but I thought it might give offence; so I partook of a very uncomfortable meal with them."

The Archdeacon, we find a few pages on, was not more fortunate with his equipage or in his entertainments.

"Not making his appearance," writes the Bishop, "we went out in the afternoon to look for him. We met him at some distance coming on alone, with a bag over his shoulder, a bundle under his arm, and a staff in his hand. He had been delayed a day from the loss of his horse which had either strayed or been stolen in the night. He therefore deposited his tent in a Kafir hut, sent his English servant home, and walked on with his Kafir man, who as usual had sore feet, and being knocked up was lagging behind. Sometimes, while performing his visitation, the Archdeacon is shewn to the door and refused a morsel of meat, and told as a favour he may lie in the out-house:—it is, I believe, in consequence of their (the Boers') suspicion of him, and not from any desire to be inhospitable. They cannot believe that a *predikant* would walk. They never knew or heard of such a thing, and take him for an imposter—a discharged soldier—a convict. It is vain to tell them that our Lord and His holy Apostles walked. It may have been so. But they know that *predikants* don't walk."

At an early season of his travels in 1850, the Bishop passed over one of Sir Harry Smith's battle-fields, and read service over the remains of those who fell, "because he thought it might be some consolation to surviving friends and relations." The whole result of his several progresses through his diocese, during the past three years, is thus summed up towards the end of the volume:

"There can be no doubt that it has pleased God, during the last three years, to bless in a very remarkable manner, the work of the Church in this land. The increase of life within our communion has been observed by all. The addresses presented to me in the course of this Visitation are evidences of this. Unhappily our efforts to provide for the spiritual wants of our people, and to do the work God has given us to do, have not always been regarded in a Christian spirit by the

who are not of us. *We have been met not unfrequently with misrepresentation and bitter opposition; and efforts have been made through the press, and in other ways, to excite the prejudices of the ignorant against the Church.* From this wrong spirit most of the foreign missionaries, and, I think I may add, the Wesleyans generally, have been exempt. From some of the ministers of the Dutch Church much kindness and co-operation have been experienced. *Independents, Baptists, Romanists, and some other self-constituted societies and sects, have been the most bitter.* I am thankful to say that the great body of the clergy have both felt and acted with real charity towards those who differ from us. They have ever sought and desired to live on terms of amity with all who are round about them, and have, I believe, been uniformly courteous to all. Still, I repeat, amidst the jealousy and opposition of others the work has prospered. It is not three years since I landed in the colony. There were then sixteen clergy in the Diocese. At this moment there are fifty, notwithstanding that three have withdrawn. Several more are expected. It is impossible not to feel anxious about the future maintenance of the extensive work which has been undertaken in this land. There are circumstances peculiar to this colony which render the establishment of the Church upon a secure foundation singularly difficult. Amongst these we must reckon the distinctions of race and class with all its prejudices and antipathies. There are three distinct races at least in each village or parish, and there is no drawing towards one another on the part of any. Of these the English are the fewest in number, and they are again broken up by religious divisions. The Churchmen are indeed in most places of the colony more numerous than the dissenters, and many of these latter have already joined our communion. But we are in most places the last in the field, are regarded as intruders, and have lost, through our previous neglect, many valuable members. The scattered nature of our population offers another great difficulty. Our people, few in number as they are, are distributed over a vast extent of country, which, for the most part, is incapable of supporting a dense population. The critical question for us is, how are we to maintain our ministry for the next few years, until our numbers are increased by immigration, by converts from the heathen, or the return to our communion of such of our members as at present are separate from us? Our people are generally doing as much as, or more than I could have expected. Notwithstanding the efforts required to erect their churches, they are coming forward to maintain a standing ministry; but the amount thus raised is wholly inadequate, and will be so for some years to come. The colonial government renders some assistance; but support from this quarter is likely to be diminished rather than increased in years to come. Under these circumstances we must continue to look to the mother land and mother Church to aid us. That she disregarded her responsibilities towards this colony for well nigh half a century, and thereby made the work more difficult when entered upon in earnest, is an additional reason for pushing it forward with unremitting zeal and vigour during the first few years. There is good reason to hope, I think, that from year to year each parish will do more and more towards maintaining its own work. But Churchmen, who at home have had their spiritual wants supplied through the bounty of our forefathers, are slow to learn the lesson that their own offerings are the only endowment to be depended on here, and many are really not capable of doing much, for the colony is after all a very poor one. The average expenditure of the

Wesleyan Society in this land has been 10,000*l.* a year for the last ten years. The London Society (Independents) expends, I believe, 6000*l.* And other Protestant denominations, exclusive of the English Church, make up the total to something little short of 30,000*l.* a year."

Nor does it appear that the coloured population of the Colony are less sensible than the European immigrants of "the sincere Christian concern that all, without distinction of person, colour, or station, may be brought to the knowledge of God in Christ" evinced by their "dearly beloved Father in God, the Right Reverend and very learned Robert Gray, Lord Bishop of Cape Town." The words we quote are from a most interesting address from the Aborigines of George Town to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which has just come to hand; in which two hundred and forty-six Africans thus gratefully express their conviction of the blessings which have accrued to them by the establishment of an Apostolical ministry in their native land.

"Hitherto we have been obliged, like the persecuted professors of Christianity in early times, to wander from place to place for the purpose of celebrating Divine worship, not having the means to build a house unto the Lord; but now, favoured by God, and received into the communion of the Church of England, we have been enabled, through the kind assistance of her ministers, by means of contributions raised among friends in England as well as in this country, to erect a building 60 feet by 25 feet (of which the walls are already completed), which will serve the twofold purpose of chapel and school, where we and our descendants will receive instruction in the doctrine of the apostles and prophets:

"Accept, therefore, reverend gentlemen and servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, our heartfelt thanks for the kindness shown on our behalf; and to the feelings of gratitude which stir our hearts we would give utterance in the united wish, that the Lord may look with favour on your labours, and cause the light of His countenance to shine on you till sun and moon shall be no more."

We have now pretty well done with our paste and shears, which we have been content to use largely in this article, being quite of Boswell's opinion that the proper business of Journalism is, not to produce plausible and ingenious conceits of one's own—(much less rash and ill-sustained idiopathies, neither plausible nor ingenious)—but to give an accurate account of the work reviewed. This we have endeavoured to do simply and faithfully; and there is but one conclusion to be gathered from the several testimonies of every English Bishop in the Southern hemisphere which we have so largely drawn from, and that is that the Mother Church has much thereof to glory in her Colonial Daughters. The last few years has worked a change in the British emigrants, religio *

sensibilities and charities, which it is utterly absurd to ascribe to any other cause, under God, than the more effective organization of the ministerial orders, with the fact before us that all the desultory (though pious) efforts which the several classes of Dissenters have been making, at a vast outlay, and for many years, at the Cape and at New Zealand, have been unproductive, comparatively with the records of any one visitation of Bishop Selwyn or Bishop Gray. All, moreover, has been done under a due appreciation of the legal difficulties and disabilities which still encumber the Church in the Colonies, which is on the one hand, deficient of the regular constitution and machinery for internal adjustment, which is part and parcel of the establishment at home, and on the other, by Act of Parliament penally precluded from the freedom enjoyed by voluntary associations to assemble and regulate their several routines of operation. But these disadvantages, we doubt not, will soon be remedied, first from the concurrent appeals of the several Episcopal communions in the Southern and the Northern hemispheres, and secondly, because we have the fullest confidence that Mr. Gladstone's "Enabling Bill," for securing to the Colonial Clergy and Laity the freedom enjoyed by other religious communities, will command the ready assent of the Parliament at home. And it is worth notice that the name of Governor Grey stands first subscribed to a letter accompanying "the outline of a plan of Church Government," submitted to the Bishop of New Zealand; in which letter is expressed, (no doubt with an understanding that the measure advocated would be well received at the Colonial Office,) an "earnest conviction that a peculiar necessity exists for the speedy establishment of some system of Church Government amongst us, which, by assigning to each order in the Church its appropriate duties, might call forth the energies of all, and thus enable the whole body of the Church most efficiently to perform its functions."

We had hoped to conclude this paper with the news of the erection of the see of Borneo, which had been a most gratifying halting place for us, before crossing the line. The wonderful opening for missionary operations there made, (on which the Bishop of Calcutta has written so wisely and so well,) perpetually constrains attention. In the month of April last, after a fine and prosperous journey of pacification, in which the Rev. Mr. McDougall accompanied Capt. Brooke, (the nephew of the Rajah, (acting in the Rajah's absence as his representative); the Rev. Mr. McDougall wrote to

England, "I look upon the result of our visit as a more important victory than any fought battle. It has, I trust, quenched the feuds of years, and set a population, bordering on 200,000, at peace. Now for Missionaries to do the rest. We want at least three to make a proper beginning here. Mr. Chambers will have more than he can do within the limits of the Sakarran tribes. There must be a man up the Batang Lupar, and another at Lingu. I have just returned from Gassin's farm-house (the great Sakarran Chief), and I am much pleased with the visit. A more promising and finer set of people there cannot be, and he is both ready and anxious to receive Mr. Chambers. Another Orang Kaya, whose cognomen is Gila Bravi (madly brave), and who leads about 6,000 men from two days' journey up the river, is now at my side, inquiring carefully when I will come and see him, or send a padre to take care of and instruct them to be good."

We rejoice to notice that Rajah Sir James Brooke, not over-fascinated with the extraordinary success of the Borneo Church Mission under a defective organization, is strenuously advocating in England the only measure which can ensure unity of action among an increasing and ardent presbytery, in which differences of opinion are sure, in a short time, to spring up, which may become irreconcilable and highly impedimental, except there be one whose ministerial functions constitute him the arbiter and the referee. We have no fear that when once the *cathedra* is set up in the Church of St. Thomas, of Sarawak, similar results will follow to those which we have already so largely commemorated. And perhaps no one who has watched the events of the past few years in the Indian Archipelago will be unready to rejoice with us that on the strong recommendation of Sir James Brooke, Mr. McDougall is likely soon to become the first Bishop of Borneo, it being believed that a commission will be immediately issued, empowering the Bishop of Calcutta and other Prelates to proceed to his consecration.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since we went to press with this article, we have received a considerable file of the *Adelaide Observer*, bringing dates to the end of last November, and two documents of unusual interest and importance; the one being a copy of a Minute addressed by the Lord Bishop of Adelaide to the lay members of the South Australian Church Society upon the withdrawal of the Government pecuniary aid to Religion; the other, a Report of the Committee of that Society framed upon a consideration of the Bishop's Minute. W.

present the latest proposal for a form of constitution for the Church of England in the Australian Colonies. It affords a most gratifying evidence that, among all the present absorbing topics which affect the interests, the peace, the welfare, the dignity, and the destiny of those extraordinary lands, the cause of the Church is solemnly recognized, and that sound principles for her regulation are cordially considered.

The basis of the proposed constitution is framed upon four leading topics. First—The Sufficiency of the Voluntary Principle. Secondly—The entire renunciation of connection with the State, and Subordination to Secular Legislation. Thirdly—The Topic of Self-Government by Elective Representation. Fourthly—The Admission of the Laity as a co-ordinate Authority in the administration of the affairs of a Spiritual Corporation.

The *Adelaide Observer* professes itself "unfeignedly rejoiced that the course of events has at length left the Church of England no alternative but to venture at once with earnestness of purpose upon the grand experiment of trusting to the spontaneous liberality of her members," for the support of her ministers, for the erection of her churches, and for other increased means of usefulness. We have not a shadow of doubt that it will be found amply sufficient, with the energy, zeal, and quiet devotedness of mind with which the Church is evidently prepared to embrace it. "The recent noble, and most successful, effort of the Wesleyan body," adds our authority, "shows what can be done without Government aid;" and sure it is that our own Communion, thus adopting the principle *con amore*, will not prove herself inferior to any other section of the Christian commonwealth, in works of faith and labours of love.

The second topic is most judiciously advanced. The Church could not possibly derive benefit other than of a pecuniary kind from a State connection; and the withdrawal of *that* benefit of course properly severs the bond. And there is proof enough that the Churchmen of the Adelaide Diocese are confident of the efficacy of the principles they have begun to act upon, in the fact that their Committee expressly disclaims any desire to seek the aid of Legislation, Colonial or Imperial, in the affairs of the Church.

The considerations involved in the third topic, especially the Rights proposed to be vested in congregations, under the head "**PATRONAGE**," we are not prepared immediately to express our entire reception of. Our present feeling is that

a larger discretion than those proposals imply, is due to the Bishop, and a somewhat modified admission of the elective right of congregations.

Lastly, we most cordially adopt the great principle of the admission of a lay element in Church legislation; which has been advocated at large by P. Martyr, by Hooker, and by Bingham, and the administrative advantages of an infusion of which, with limited functions and under proper authority, is clearly shown by instance of the Dissenting communities. There is no reason for the absolute supremacy and independent action of the spiritual power, in a condition of generally advanced education and enlightenment.

"Minute addressed to the Lay Members of the South Australian Church Society, by the Lord Bishop of Adelaide.

"Tuesday, September 2, 1851.

"GENTLEMEN.—The recent vote of the Legislative Assembly, whereby all aid from State in disseminating the doctrine and moral laws of our adorable Redeemer has been cut off, and so far His kingdom upon earth no longer publicly recognised, compels me to address you earnestly and affectionately with reference to the future support of your clergy, and the extension of the means of grace to the members of our Church, who are scattered through the province, and continually arriving in considerable numbers. It appears to me that the time has arrived when every earnest-minded Christian, in communion with our Church, is imperatively called on to contribute to his power, yea, and beyond his power, for the furtherance of the Gospel, so far as it depends on the ministry of the Word, and to exert his influence in order to raise a general Diocesan Fund for the support of clergy, both parochial and missionary. The moral degradation of a people, deprived of the ordinances of the Gospel, is certain and progressive. Nor can we expect any other result than the spiritual deterioration of the people of this colony, if the means of grace are not supplied in proportion to their increasing numbers. Let it be remembered that the next generation will not enjoy the privileges we have possessed in our father-land, and in the bosom of our Church; while experience forbids us to hope that a population deprived of the public worship of Almighty God can preserve that sense of His Providence and Government of the world which is essential to its well-being, and the observance of the eternal laws of truth and righteousness. Under these circumstances I would urge the appointment of a Committee of five lay members of the Society to consult upon the best means of developing the resources of our communion for the support of its ministers; and to report upon the best mode of enlisting the sympathies of the great body of the lay members of the Church in this most Christian and necessary work. Among other plans which have occurred to me, are, 1st—The assembling together in Adelaide of one or two lay members, being communicants, from each congregation, to act as a *pro tempore* Convention in furtherance of the above object. 2ndly—The appointment of two laymen to act as Stewards of the Diocesan Fund to be raised and of a Treasurer. 3rdly—That the endeavour should be made to obtain not less than 1s. per quarter, over and above

their local contributions, from every one who frequents the worship of our Church, for a Diocesan Fund in the support of the ministry, to be collected and paid over by local Stewards appointed for this purpose by each congregation. I have only to add that I shall be ready to contribute all the aid in my power towards the proper support of a zealous and efficient ministry.

"I remain, Gentlemen,

"Your faithful friend and brother,

"AUGUSTUS ADELAIDE."

"Report of the Committee of the South Australian Church Society upon the Suggestions of a Sub-Committee appointed to consider and report upon the above Minute, addressed to the Society by the Lord Bishop of Adelaide, on the 2nd September, 1851.

"This Minute appears to embrace two topics—

"First—'The best means of developing the resources of the Church in this Diocese for the support of its Ministers.'

"Secondly—'The best mode of enlisting the sympathies of the great body of the Lay Members of the Church in furtherance of that object, and suggesting a Convention for such purpose.'

"Your Committee having carefully considered, at several adjourned meetings, the report of the Sub-Committee, desire to record their sense of the value of many of its suggestions; and have agreed to adopt and embody the substance of them in this their report to the members of the Society at large.

"In the present position of our Church in this Diocese, not established by law, and the aid of Government withdrawn, your Committee are of opinion that a more perfect development of its organization is requisite to meet the emergency. In the measures to be proposed, however, your Committee desire to keep steadfastly in view the subordinate relation of our Church to the United Church of England and Ireland, and to conform to its principles and institutions as closely as the circumstances of an infant colony will permit.

"Your Committee therefore propose for consideration the following draft of a Constitution for the Church in this Diocese:—to consist of the Bishop, Synod of clergy, and Convention of laity; together forming a general Diocesan Assembly.

"APPOINTMENT OF BISHOPS.

"1. It is not thought expedient to propose any alteration in the manner in which the Royal prerogative is at present exercised in the appointment of Bishops.

"SYNOD OF CLERGY.

"2. The Synod of clergy shall consist of every duly licensed officiating minister, Presbyters alone having the right of voting.

"CONVENTION OF LAITY.

"3. The Convention shall consist of lay delegates (being communicants) for all the congregations in the Diocese; to be elected by the seat-renters in the following proportions, viz.—for a congregation under 50 souls, one delegate; above 50 and under 300, two delegates; and above 300, three delegates. Those delegates shall represent their respective congregations in the Diocesan Assembly.

" DIOCESAN ASSEMBLY.

" 4. This Assembly is constituted when the Convention and Synod meet together, and are presided over by the Bishop.

" 5. No rule shall be binding on the members of the Church of the Diocese at large, which shall not have received the concurrent assent of the Bishop, the Synod, and the Convention; and which shall not have been passed in the Diocesan Assembly.

" 6. It shall be lawful for the Synod and Convention to deliberate apart, or in conference (by mutual agreement) with each other, or with the Bishop.

" 7. The assent or dissent of the Synod and Convention shall be determined by the majority of votes in each Order respectively. Each Order to vote by itself, either openly or by ballot, as shall be decided on each occasion.

" 8. The Diocesan Assembly shall meet annually in the month of January, and services shall be held, and sermons preached daily during its Session. At its opening a pastoral letter from the Bishop shall be read, containing a report of the general state of the Church in the Diocese, the progress of religion and education, and of the means of public worship. The clergy shall also deliver written reports to the Bishop, detailing the duties performed by them during the year; the state of the parishes; number of communicants: their pastoral visitations; the state of the Sunday and Day Schools; and the efforts made by themselves and congregations for the advancement of Christ's kingdom. Extraordinary meetings may be convened by the Bishop, when he sees fit; or upon a requisition by seven of the clergy, who have been at least five years in Priest's Orders; or of 10 delegates.

" 9. The clergy being under the obligation implied in their subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, as well as the three Articles of the 36th Canon, it is not competent for the Diocesan Assembly to make alterations in those formularies; or of the method of interpretation laid down in the declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles; or in the Book of Common Prayer of the United Church of England and Ireland; or, finally, in the authorized version of the Holy Scriptures. With these exceptions, the Diocesan Assembly may deliberate and decide by a majority of votes, taken as specified in Rule 7, on all matters affecting the interests of the Church in this Diocese.

" COMMITTEES.

" 10. The Diocesan Assembly shall have power to appoint such Committees, for such purposes, either financial or otherwise, and to act for such time, as it shall deem expedient. Your Committee recommends that financial Committees should consist of the Bishop and of two of the clergy; one to be chosen by the Dean and Chapter, the other by the remaining clergy, and five laymen.

" ECCLESIASTICAL CENSURES AND PUNISHMENTS.

" 11. The clergy will be subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop, whose power of admonishing and censuring them, as occasion may require, can be exercised by him, as hath heretofore been done in England; but it is recommended that the Bishop should be assisted by five clergymen in Priest's Orders, two of whom should be the Dean of the Cathedral Church and the Archdeacon; and the other three nominated by the Bishop from the Synod at the annual meeting of the Dio-

cesan Assembly; and that they together should form a Court to be called the Consistorial Court, or Court of First Instance. This Court may in the first instance take cognizance of all charges against ministers of misconduct, ecclesiastical or moral. Such offences as appear to require a heavier punishment than censure are to be inquired into in a Court to be called the Court of Delegates. The members of such last-mentioned Court shall be annually appointed by ballot by the members of the Diocesan Assembly at its yearly meeting, and shall consist of five clerical and five lay members, five of whom shall be a quorum. The Bishop, or, in his absence, his Chancellor, if there be one; or if there be no Chancellor, then some person to be deputed by the Bishop acting as President, and in case of equality of votes, but in such case only having a vote.

"12. All charges of alleged misconduct, which in the opinion of the Consistory, or Court of First Instance, may probably require to be punished with deprivation, or suspension of the enjoyment of temporalities, are to be sent to this Court, where the accused are to be tried according to such rules and forms of proceeding as the Court shall make in that behalf. If the Court shall pronounce its opinion to be wholly, or in part, against the accused, the Bishop shall, with the assent of the Court award such punishment as shall be deemed fit; which punishment, if there shall be no appeal from the decision of the Court of Delegates, or if being such, the decision shall be affirmed, shall be carried into execution.

"13. To give effect to the judgment of the Court of Delegates it will be proper that a clause should be inserted in every Trust Deed, for determining the tenure of any minister of the church, chapel, house, lands, or advantages whereof he may be deprived by, or by means of, the sentence of the Court of Delegates.

● "DECLARATION BY MINISTER.

"1. A. B., do hereby solemnly engage to submit myself to the decision of the Court of Delegates or Diocesan Assembly, and to give up possession of the temporalities of the Church or District which I may hold, if sentenced to suspension or deprivation by the Court of Delegates, or Diocesan Assembly in case of appeal.

"APPEALS.

"14. Ministers may appeal from the sentence of the Consistorial Court to the Bishop in Synod; or to the Superior Ecclesiastical Courts; and from the sentence of the Court of Delegates to the Diocesan Assembly. The sentence of the Court of Delegates shall be final unless an appeal be made according to rules in that behalf to be made.

"15. Provided the objects described in the four preceding clauses can be accomplished, your Committee does not think it desirable that our Church should seek for any legislation, either local or imperial, relating to its affairs.

"PATRONAGE.

"16. The first appointment of a minister to a Church shall be vested in the principal contributors to its erection, in accordance with rules to be framed by the Diocesan Assembly. On the occurrence of subsequent vacancies, however, each Vestry or Trustees, Churchwardens, and Committee of Seat-holders shall have power to elect the minister of

their Church; transmitting the usual form of nomination to the Bishop.

"OF CHURCHES OR PARISHES.

"17. The affairs of each Church shall be managed by a Select Vestry composed of the Minister (who shall preside when present), Trustees, Wardens, and (in proportion to the number of the congregation) from two to ten 'Sidesmen,' or Assistant Wardens. And your Committee would recommend that corporate powers should be sought for the Trustees and Wardens of each Church to hold lands in perpetuity for the benefit thereof, subject to the control of the Vestry.

"SIDESMEN.

"18. The duty of collecting the subscriptions for the 'Pastoral Aid Fund,' and other General Funds of the Church, will devolve on the Sidesmen, to be handed over to the Wardens of their respective Churches, and transmitted by them to the Finance Committee of the General Assembly.

"GENERAL AND PAROCHIAL REGISTERS.

"19. Accurate Registers, after an approved form, shall be kept in each Vestry of all adult members of our Church residing within the parish or district; from which a register of the Diocesan Assembly shall be compiled, and corrected periodically. The object is, to bring all its members into closer communion with the Church, by means of Pastoral visitation, and to extend Church accommodation and the means of education, as population increases.

"FINANCE.

"20. Your Committee now proceed to the consideration of, the question of finance. They recommend the establishment of three separate and distinct funds, namely, a 'Pastoral Aid Fund,' an 'Endowment Fund,' and an 'Educational Fund.' These Funds should be placed under the control and subject to the regulation of the Diocesan Assembly, and administered by the Finance Committee.

"PASTORAL AID FUND.

"21. This Fund should be established by means of quarterly subscriptions of 3s. per quarter, or 12s. per annum, from every adult member of our Church who may be willing to subscribe, and collected by the Sidesmen of each parish or district in their respective localities.

"22. Annual Sermons should be preached in all Churches in aid of this Fund.

"23. The object of this Fund is to afford aid to Ministers whose income from all professional sources may not reach the *minimum* sum of £150 per annum; their primary source of income being from pew-rents and surplice fees. Claims on this Fund will not be admitted, however, as a matter of right, from any minister whose Church or district is capable of providing him with a suitable income; it being more particularly intended to aid Ministers having small Churches, and in poor districts, as the state of the Fund may permit; due consideration being had for such ministers as have families. It is also proposed that aid

should be granted from this Fund towards the support of missionaries to itinerate in remote districts.

"24. It is expected that, in the more wealthy and populous parishes, besides the necessary subscriptions to the general funds of the Church, the congregations will provide incomes for their ministers on a liberal scale, without looking for extraneous aid.

"25. Aid should not be granted from this Fund to ministers of churches, the trust-deeds of which are unsatisfactory to the Finance Committee.

"ENDOWMENT AND BUILDING FUND.

"26. This Fund will be established by means of annual subscriptions and donations of money or land, and is intended to aid local efforts in the purchase of Glebe lands, the erection of Parsonage-houses, and building Churches; on the conditions to be prescribed by the Diocesan Assembly.

"EDUCATIONAL FUND.

"27. Your Committee recommend the establishment of a Fund in aid of Salaries to Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses, building Schoolrooms, and to promote Education generally; under conditions to be determined by the Diocesan Assembly.

"In concluding their report, and commending its suggestions to the prayerful consideration of the members of the Society and of the Church at large, your Committee are most anxious to call forth and cherish the zealous co-operation of all the members of our communion in extending its influence and enlarging its usefulness. It appears to your Committee that this can only be effected under the Divine blessing, by remedying some defects and supplying some wants in its system. A more effective organization is needed to give energy to the discipline of the Church. The laity must assume their proper functions, as well as largely extend the bounds of their liberality; remembering that *here* there are no endowments as in England, and that our rapidly increasing population calls for corresponding increase in the means of Divine worship. Under the circumstances of this province, your Committee feel that each individual member of our Church, after satisfying *local* claims, would do well to devote not less than two and a half per cent. of his income to a *general* Church Fund, under the control of the Diocesan Assembly, for the diffusion of the Gospel, the supply of ordinances, and the support of clergy, both parochial and missionary. The clergy ought to be relieved from anxiety about secular things. The laity are called to take a more active part in the administration of the temporal concerns as well as ecclesiastical arrangements of the Church. A closer union would thus be formed between both, by the stated interchange of those spiritual and secular good offices which are appropriate to each. Societies for visiting the sick, relieving the distressed, comforting the afflicted, and counselling the erring, would be more readily formed. A way would be opened for the more extensive exercise of those offices of charity and mercy which are peculiarly appropriate to the female sex. Through *their* influence, and the sympathies thus awakened, many wanderers from the fold of Christ would be restored to the bosom of the Church, as well as to the worship and associations of their youth. With the Divine blessing on such endeavours, and upon the arrangements within the Church which may hereafter, with the sanction of the supreme authority, be adopted, the clergy and laity in their several

stations would work together in promoting the glory of God and the welfare of mankind. The Gospel of the Kingdom of Christ would be more fully preached, and according to His commandment, the ministers who preach that Gospel would 'surely live of it.' At all events, the means to effect that object would not have been left untried, and in this confidence the Committee would be content to leave the result to the good providence of God."

The *Lyttleton Times* of the 20th of September publishes in a lengthy document, a scheme for the establishment of a College to be founded by the Canterbury Association, in that Settlement. It commences by stating that the College "is founded for the education of the youth, primarily of the Canterbury Settlement, but with a view of extending its benefits as far as possible to the whole Colony of New Zealand, and even more widely—to the British possessions in Australia and India." With this ulterior view, its plans "have been framed upon a scale of proportionate magnitude, though it may be that want of adequate funds may prevent their full realization at once. They have been so adapted as to be capable of being executed partially and piece-meal, as means and circumstances will allow, it being the intention at once to proceed so far as to place the College in a state of efficiency for commencing its practical work." It has been "founded in strict accordance with the principles of the Church in New Zealand, meaning by that term the Church there planted as a branch from the Reformed Church of England, and holding communion therewith."

SONNET.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς σικκῆς μάθετε τὴν παραβολὴν.

MATT. XXIV. 32.

IT must be that iniquities abound,
That treasons, tumults, famines, earthquakes, rage;
False Christs and prophets must their conflicts wage
The righteous few to level with the ground
And on the wreck their anarchies to found
In days of sorest tribulation.—Then
On clouds the Son of Man shall come again,
Angels attendant at His trumpet's sound.
Learn of the fig-tree:—when her leaflets spring
On tender branch, ye know the summer nigh,
That mounts the sap to fecundate her flowers.
There parabled behold the certainty
Of that new Earth's approach, to whose blest bowers
Its Lord's return perpetual bloom shall bring

VIII.

RECENT CHURCH DOCUMENTS.

Charges of the Bishops of Calcutta, Salisbury, Meath and Oxford.—Reports of the Leeds Decanal Chapter on the Evangelization of the People.—of the Benares Church Missionary Association for 1851.

THE past few months have produced a variety of Ecclesiastical Documents, to a collective review of which, as we have fallen greatly into arrears in this part of our undertaking, we now devote a few pages. First in order and importance, comes the sixth Charge of our Venerable Metropolitan, a work imbued, beyond any other of his Lordship's, perhaps, with that freedom and fervour for which he is so remarkable. Advancing years have evidently worked no change in the strong and characteristic development of the Bishop's great powers and greater resources of expression; never has he more successfully represented his ardent devotion, his earnest aspirations, or his sincere antipathies. But *this* there is, for which the present Charge will always be remarkable,—an engaging appreciation of those various infirmities which must, more or less, have counteracted the blessing which India has derived from his long and arduous Episcopate, a noble spirit of conciliation, and a growth in love and lowliness, which is an unmistakable earnest that his wish and prayer to END WELL has been heard and answered.

Never has a Bishop's life and substance been more generously offered to the Lord—and never, as far as we know, have more abundant fruits resulted from such an offering. The whole surface of India has been changed by his Lordship's blessed advocacy of the Church's cause.

However, the clause in the *Dedication* of this Charge, which has been the subject of such various, and often almost ribald remarks, falls short in expressing what are still the *Crying Wants* of India, if the Church here be ever to reach her full stature and development. We want immediately not *one* Bishop more, but *many*; and not merely an *increase* of Chaplains, but that their number be about doubled. We want a Bishop for the Punjab, and a Bishop for the North-West, and a Bishop for each of our great Missionary circles, and a vast augmentation of subordinate labourers in every department, before the machinery of the Church be calculated to make the same head against dissent and latitudinarianism, which has been so signally effected in the

other dependencies of the British Crown. And what is to hinder our having them? We are told that the public finance is pledged to the last possible extent for other undertakings of not subordinate importance;—and as men of the world, and minding, in their degree, the things of the world, we might believe it. Still *why* should there not be more Bishops and more Chaplains? As long as with the former we associate as an inseparable accident a Palace and some five, or three, or even two thousand a year, of course we never can expect Bishops enough to be maintained from the Treasury. But when we consider first the *liberal* largess (though devoted otherwise than to Bishoprics) of our Metropolitan, and secondly, (what bears more appositely to our present consideration,—as the Bishop of Sydney, we believe, is not privately endowed,) the voluntary assignment by that Prelate of a very large fraction of his Episcopal income in aid of the erection of other sees, we cannot believe that an extension of the Episcopate in India *need* be remote, if the *Crying Want* of it be fairly appreciated. Then as to Chaplains. Why may there not be an *immense* accession to *their* numbers without casting all, or any, of the burden on the public finance? Perhaps five hundred rupees a month is *not* an extravagant income for a duly qualified clergyman in India; and some may think that long residence should constitute a title to increased income—though this was not contemplated in the original draft touching ecclesiastics, but all came, and remained, upon *eight* hundred rupees a month. For ourselves, we think the present arrangement an unsatisfactory one; and we question whether all, except the first six or eight Assistant Chaplains, would not be glad to compound their chances of promotion for six hundred rupees a month instead of five from the present period. Suppose this, and that, after the next six or eight promotions, the distinction lapse, and the income of all Chaplains, from their appointments be settled at Co.'s Rs. 600 a month. Say, too, that we want a hundred Chaplains instead of about sixty. Why may we not have them? We imagine that the Chaplains would be indifferent *how* their income was secured to them, if it were but secured. Why might not *half* come from the Indian Treasury, and half from an income tax upon the Christian servants of the Company whose allowances exceed a certain amount? Surely, considering that the covenanted civil service alone divides some ninety lacs of rupees a year, and the vastness of the collective disbursements to Christian servants in the several other depart-

ments of the State, the tax to raise three lacs and sixty thousand rupees a year, fairly distributed relatively to incomes, would be nowhere felt. Indeed, it seems to us that the adjustment might be made, in every way, far more equal than the present *status* can be considered. Why should Calcutta, with all its dignified and opulent officials, have ordinarily a Bishop and an Archdeacon resident, and some eight or ten Chaplains, without the levy of an anna from any where but the Treasury; whereas, Muttra, Mynpoorie, Purneah, Shah-jehanpore, Jessore, to command the offices of religion, are to build houses and to raise incomes? If once the thing was fairly calculated and done, we do not believe that a year after the Act, any Christian servant of the Government in all India would be found to deem it a hardship; whereas, for the Clergy themselves, the means of provision seem to us perfectly unobjectionable. They are just those means which, offered voluntarily, and not levied, have been found so effectual in all our Episcopally superintended Colonies; and were the *whole* maintenance of religion thrown on the population in this country, there cannot be a shadow of a doubt that Christian liberality, and a sense of what is due to the service of the living God, would be found adequate in all our larger spheres of labour. But as long as *these* are provided for without any concern of individuals, and it is only the smaller societies of Christians who need do any thing to secure the blessing of religious ordinances for themselves and their families, it cannot reasonably be supposed that the Church will be duly officered until the State resolve that it is rich enough to bear the incubus. And therefore we are of opinion, that the only way to relieve at once our *Crying Wants* of more Bishops and more Chaplains is, the first, by an act of self-denial on the part of the already constituted Prelates, similar to that which the Bishop of Sydney has practised; and the second, by an Act (and we believe it would be a most equitable Act) for furnishing the ecclesiastical bureau, to the extent of half, by taxation.

The body of the Bishop's Charge we receive too dutifully and reverently to discuss. There is so much in it which must commend itself to every pious heart, that it instigates the deeper sorrow that there do exist those divisions among us, which, in his Lordship's opinion, demand such relentless castigation. Still, we do indulge a hope that the matter has reached its height, and that parties are drawing nearer together. As to one point which the Bishop visits with reprobation, that "Popish books of devotion" have been "commended," it

is a pleasure to know that Dr. Pusey has spontaneously suffered his adapted editions of *Avrillon* to go out of print, (and not in deference to any wish expressed by the Bishop of Oxford, as has been extensively supposed;) and there are other indications that conciliatory feelings have been awakened by past agitations. The Bishop of Salisbury concludes a Charge of unusual weight and interest with the following admirable exhortation;—

“Let us study to be quiet, and to do our own business,—to bear and to forbear: if we are reviled, let us not revile again; if we suffer, let us threaten not. Let us not be suspicious of evil. Let us not be stirrers up of strife. It is easy for those who have no real responsibilities, to speak rash words, and to endeavour in every way to stimulate feelings only too easily excited. I deem it to be my office rather to use any influence belonging to the station to which God in his Providence has called me, for other purposes; and to desire to employ my time, and such measure of ability as I have, for other, and, I believe, better ends.

“This occasion, indeed, has led me to speak to you on a wide range of subjects: but I would desire ordinarily more and more to concentrate my attention on those immediate duties in my own Diocese, which are my first care, and most sacred responsibility. I would desire more and more to labour with you in your Parochial Work, and in all that concerns the building up in the faith and fear of Christ of the people committed to you. And that which I would desire for myself, I would also wish, my brethren, with all affectionate earnestness, to impress upon you. I would impress upon you that here is to every Parish Priest his first, plainest, and most undoubted duty—here his pleasant work—here his rich reward. Here, too, is that which he can do most effectually, for strengthening the body of which he is a part. And while the unhealthy excitement of noisy agitation, under whatever name, more than any thing else, weakens and paralyzes the Church, every one who quietly and unobtrusively, in zeal and love, does his proper work, is, as a true soldier of the Great Captain of our salvation, a real champion of the Church, a true element of its strength, and a pledge of its perpetuity.”

So too, the Bishop of Meath counsels that moderate but sustained attention to rubrical observances, which it is presumed that all, both may and should, agree in yielding as a standing and unmistakable protest against both Romanism and Latitudinarianism.

“All unusual genuflexions, all positions, or prostrations of the body during the Communion Service, which indicate special worship, should be most carefully avoided, as implying that adoration of the elements, to which our Church is so much opposed, and is so thoroughly contrary to the commands of Almighty God.

“Those who defend such practices on the ground of the literal observance of the Rubric, should bear in mind that, in obedience to the altered circumstance of our country and times, prescriptive custom of long standing, sanctioned by the heads of the Church, has been permitted to countenance certain modifications of some of

the ceremonial enactments enjoined in the Rubric, which modifications are now clearly understood and universally practised.

"I shall not enter upon the question of how far it may be prudent or expedient to alter the Rubric; my present object is merely to consider this important subject as it practically bears upon ourselves, with a view of showing that, however desirable literal obedience may be, the impossibility of paying that obedience seems to have warranted, by custom and established usage, a certain departure on particular points which it would be highly injudicious to restore, were such restoration practicable. I perfectly admit the difficulties may be considerably decreased by a cautious observance of that form of ceremonial worship now sanctioned by long usage, and by a scrupulous adherence to the mode of celebrating Divine Service, which has been universally adopted in the Church of England on some points no longer capable of being carried into effect and unguitable to the age.

"There can be no doubt that upon this subject a large portion of the laity of our Church are peculiarly sensitive, and it becomes a great question with the Clergy whether they may not materially impede their ministerial usefulness by pressing things too stringently, which, after all, are perfectly unimportant in themselves, and only defensible because contained in the Rubric."

The Bishop of Oxford, again, in a Charge highly commendatory of the improved parochial management prevalent in that diocese, experience of which his Lordship has obtained by taking part in the ordinary services of ninety-nine Parish Churches, offers the following admonitions on what is required to attain the several objects of *Common Prayer*.

"Much has been done in various churches to restore to our prayers this congregational character; but much remains to be done, and few objects can be more worthy the attention of Clergymen: for the careless performance of this Service is not only offensive to God, but most deadening to the souls of our people. Labour, then, to cultivate the spirit of devotion among our people, by forming their habits, by instructing them in the meaning of our prayers, as that in which they are to take a part, and by removing every external hindrance, and by applying every external aid which can assist them in intelligently joining in the Service. The application of this principle ought to direct your judgment according to the liberty which the Church has given you, as to the chanting or reading of the Service. The question ought to be, not what we would like, but what would most promote the edification of the people who are to join in it, the answer to which may well be different in different places, though in all the principle is the same. Whatever makes the Service unintelligible or offensive to the people ought to be absolutely avoided. *The reading of God's Word and the reading of the prayers at a rate which the congregations cannot follow, or in a tone which is offensive to them, is in itself a violation of our highest duty.*"

These remarks his Lordship sustains by insisting on the "importance of uniformity" in the manner of conducting the public service, a uniformity which it is needless to say can never be advanced, except a spirit of mutual concession preside

in the hearts of the Church's Ministers; and on one point he is especially clear—the *duty* of administering the Sacrament of Baptism during the Service, as enjoined by the Rubric. This we ourselves regard as a most important matter on every consideration, on which, except in cases of extreme emergency, allowed by the Ordinal, no compromise whatever is admissible, and we devoutly wish that the Chaplains of Indian Dioceses would lay it to heart. The rule is distinct, the benefit unquestionable, and the consequence of both being so often sacrificed is that only by hard efforts and much contention are those of our clergy, who are convinced of the expediency, able to acquit their consciences. That it is no less the interest than the solemn duty of the Clergy, while they refrain from startling the prejudiced, to confine themselves within the limits of orderly observance, has been strongly instanced lately in the parish of Christ Church, Plymouth. Plymouth, it is well known, has for the last fifty years been a very hot-bed of Puritanism and ecclesiastical licentiousness, and the Christ Church congregation was in no way behind its neighbours. In this unhappy state of things, the Bishop of Exeter nominated the Rev. W. B. Flower, a man of an unusually sound discretion, to the temporary charge, cautioning him to be compliant, in a district so peculiarly situated, as far as possible, without transgressing the rules of the Church; but at the same time to place strongly before the people his own Apostolic commission, and, laying down clearly the distinctive doctrines which characterize the Church of Christ, to give them the whole, and not a part only, of the Articles of the Christian Faith. The parishioners, of course, began to testify their zeal for religion after the accustomed manner of their town. They almost blockaded the entrances before the service, and then left the Church during the service. Mr. Flower went on—following out, with patience, his appointed course—working the Church's work during the week, preaching the Church's doctrine on Sundays. Parties canvassed, but could find nothing to lay hold of. True, the special commands of the Rubric were not outraged—but neither were the consciences of the weak—there was no grievance, except that, Sunday after Sunday came down that *malleus hæreticorum*, the steady, downright blows of dogmatic teaching.—Without allusion to others' shortcomings, without admitting the possibility of a doubt that all the Church's ministers conformed to the Church's directions, without railing, without reviling, without a glance at the existence of any who taught otherwise,

Mr. Flower annihilated them all by implication, and with the only weapon really admissible, plain statements of the doctrines which Christ had commanded them to teach, and they had not taught. What was the consequence? That the Church's doctrine began to be appreciated—that men's eyes were opened—and that when some technical difficulties in the way of a permanent occupation of the perpetual curacy were removed, a deputation of the parishioners waited on the patron, and begged him to nominate to the incumbency the very man whom, a few months before, they had sought to close the Church's doors against. However his ministry came to an end, and the following touching address, signed by sixty communicants, was presented on his retirement.

"Plymouth, October 8th, 1851.

"DEAR SIR,—Having learned that your ministration at Christ Church is to terminate suddenly, we desire to express our conviction that your zealous labours, though brief in duration, have been beneficial in implanting sound Christian doctrine, and that the fervency with which Divine Service has been performed, quickened, in an eminent degree, the spirit of devotion among us.

"You have promoted the vital principles of the Church of England with sincerity and earnestness, though tempered with a delicate circumspection required by your difficult and peculiar position.

"Whilst we regret the evil spirit of predetermined hostility which deprived a few of the benefit and satisfaction we derived from your ministry, we congratulate you upon the numbers of the congregations,—in some instances quite crowded.

"The great attention you have shown to the poor by frequent visits, and acts of kindness, though living at a distance, elicits our best thanks and approval.

"By a transient visit you have gained the respect of all, the love of many, and the hearty affection of those now addressing you in the spirit of esteem and thankfulness.

"We will say no more than this—that if parted now, we hope to meet you among that multitude clothed with white robes, who stand before the throne, and the Lamb.

"In the communion of our Lord Jesus Christ,

"We remain, dear Sir, your's sincerely,

"A. H. BAMPTON, M. INST., C.E.

"W. J. WILLIAMS, Paymaster-Gen. Dept.
&c., &c., &c."

"To the Rev. W. B. Flower."

We can find room only for a fragment of Mr. Flower's admirable reply. After a lengthy detail of "things indifferent" which he left undone, in consideration of the circumstances under which he laboured, he proceeds;—

"But there was one part of my duty which demanded the utmost fidelity from me; I mean the duty of 'implanting sound Christian doctrine,' and maintaining 'the vital principles of the Church.' Here I could have no hesitation. Here I could speak with no stammering tongue. To declare, therefore, plainly and emphatically, the true Catholic principles on which the Church is founded; to elucidate the teaching of the Book of Common Prayer without recourse to non-natural subterfuges; to show you that Church doctrines do not consist of this or that particular human theory, but of ALL the truth which God hath delivered; to lay the very first foundation by unfolding the truth of our Lord's Incarnation, teaching how its blessings are communicated to us, and by assigning to the Sacraments those gifts and graces which, by virtue of Christ's institution they possess and impart: in a word, to declare unto you the *whole* counsel of God; this was my duty, this has been my aim. As a Minister of God and not of man,—though for and to man; as a Priest of that branch of the Church Catholic to which we belong, I could do no less. Compromise here would have been sin. 'Attend to thyself and the doctrine, that so thou mayest save thine own soul, and them that hear thee,' is too solemn an apostolical charge to permit of our tampering with God's truth for the sake of a fleeting breath of popularity. Yet, whilst doing this, I have been most anxious to avoid breaking the Divine law of Charity; to teach dogmatically, not negatively; to build up, not to pull down. And if (as your address says) I have been any way instrumental in rooting you more deeply in the principles of the Faith, and producing a more devotional tone (as the results of doctrine received) to God be all the praise and glory.

"As to those who were so misled, or so ignorant as to leave the Church during the celebration of Divine Service, I feel that they have strong claims upon our prayers. If they imagined that in so acting they were offering an insult to the Minister placed over them, they thought most wrongly. He had graver and weightier feelings than those of a personal character; and could not but pray that they may be pardoned their sin against God, whose Temple they desecrated by turning it into a field for the indulgence of their own private feelings, rather than reverencing it as the place where God's honour dwelleth. That some acted honestly, I firmly believe; that others were misguided, I fain would hope: for 'I bear them record that they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge.' And here let me take this opportunity of saying that I cherish no ill feelings towards those who have been most active in raising prejudices, and false alarms of Popery—or who have striven to take away the poor and the young—though it is a sad and startling paradox that any who are strenuous advocates of 'Bible truth,' should give such manifestations as would lead one to infer that they are either ignorant of, or disregard, the contents of that blessed book.

"But enough of this. I would blot all these things from the memory, and think only of those brighter scenes, which made my ministry among you so happy, that I shall ever look back to that brief period with thankfulness and joy. Your love, and in some cases, your advice and the increasing congregations, made all else as nothing. And, in speaking thus, I cannot forget some amongst the poor, whom I was privileged to see—and from whom I learnt much, as I beheld their patience in the school of suffering and affliction, and witnessed how gladly they bore the cross, for the sake of the crown to which it leads. Nor can I omit all mention of the hours spent among your poor children. The attention of the master of your boys' school to my suggestions, and the

patient zeal with which he endeavours to educate and train those who are committed to his charge, made it a real and solid pleasure to spend with him as much of my time as I could command, and I am happy in thus being able to make that mention of him which he deserves at my hands.

"These are amongst some few of the joyous memories connected with Christ Church. That I have gained the good opinion of some, whose position entitles them to respect; that I have formed friendships which are destined, I hope, to last; that enemies have been conciliated; that, above all, the blessing of many poor was bestowed upon me, on the last night of my ministry among you, is a cause of gratitude to Him from whom cometh every good gift. This, however, is to be attributed not to myself, but to the principles of the Church I have laboured to inculcate. They are, I believe, the true social principles for which men will seek in vain elsewhere; the principles that bind Pastor and people together—that unite high and low, rich and poor,—the principles of the Church Catholic, which, when once understood, cannot but be accepted.

"Again, my dear friends, I thank you and wish you every blessing, spiritual and temporal. God grant that the concluding prayer of your address may be of His mercy accomplished—then, when we see the King in His beauty, we shall discover that, though He led us by a way we knew not, He was bringing us to peace and joy, and shall triumphantly confess 'that He hath done all things well.'

"I am, my dear Friends,

"Your affectionate Friend and Brother in Christ,

"W. B. FLOWER.

"October 24th, 1851.

"To A. H. Bampton, W. J. Williams, Esqrs.

"and other members of Christ Church,

"Plymouth."

Another index to the fact that recent agitations have had their fruit in larger yearnings after quietness and consolidation, may be found in the extreme mildness of comment, by the principal London Editors, on the Primate's unfortunate letter to the impostor Gawthorne. The main points of this business are pretty well known—that the pious, and in many respects admirable, Archbishop Sumner has been deceived, by as vile and knavish an imposture as ever was practised, into the expression of an opinion that there cannot "be two Bishops on the Bench, or one Clergyman in fifty throughout the Church, who would deny the validity of the orders of foreign Clergymen, *solely* on account of their wanting the imposition of Episcopal hands." That some eight thousand Clergymen should have protested against this imputation, and that twelve of the Bench of Bishops should have repudiated it, was perhaps only what was due, and to be expected; but that the public press

should discriminate, and maintain the construction (which it seems to us that the sentence will certainly bear) that there are *other* circumstances *besides* the want of the imposition of Episcopal hands which, in the sense of the Church of England, invalidate Foreign Ordinations, and that such it *may* have been the intention of the Archbishop to convey, must surely be taken in earnest of an aspiration after rest.

But of all the recent demonstrations at home, there is no one more encouraging, or bearing more directly upon modifications of routine, which have long been the subjects of anxious consideration with numerous friends of the Church in India, than the Report of the Decanal Chapter of Leeds on the practical means of evangelizing the people. Its length precludes us from submitting it entire; we must confine ourselves to those portions which most concern the interests of the several classes of Indian congregations. The first suggestions correspond almost identically with those which we have often canvassed with private friends, who advocate omissions or intermissions in the morning ordinal, which at all times, and especially in the hot season, is exceedingly fatiguing both to minister and people. The Leeds Chapter reports,

"Your Committee are disposed to think that a separation of the Litany or Communion Service from the Morning Prayer on Sunday mornings would be a great relief to many. They do not mean that any portion of the Church's prescribed Service should be omitted, but only that the period of its taking place *may* be altered. For instance, in Churches where there were three Services on the Sunday, the Morning Service might consist of the Morning Prayer with the Litany or Communion Office; the Afternoon Service of the Litany or Communion Office, whichever was omitted in the morning, or of both, should it be considered desirable to repeat either of them a second time; and the Evening Service might consist of the Evening Prayer, and occasionally the Communion Office also. Your Committee do not believe that, by such an arrangement, any rule of the Church whatever would be infringed, whilst by it the extreme length of the present Morning Service would be avoided, an Afternoon Service peculiarly suitable for children and servants would be provided, and the occasional administration of the Lord's Supper in the after part of the day would allow many of the working classes, who now are virtually debarred from that Ordinance, to approach the Table of the Lord."

Of course any modification of such arrangements might be admissible, with the single reserve that the whole appointed form of Morning Prayer, with the Communion Service, *and* of Evening Prayer, be repeated once on each Sunday; and we should be inclined to advocate, for India,

three services in the Church on each Lord's day; the first, to begin at day-break or soon after, according to the season, and to consist of the Morning Prayer with Litany, on one Sunday, and on the alternate one, of the Communion Office and a Sermon. The second service, which might be generally two hours after the close of the first, or say at eight o'clock in the hot season, and at eleven in the cold, would of course alternate similarly to the first, so that the whole morning ordinal be fulfilled on each Sabbath. The third would be the ordinary Evening Prayer and Sermon. A very great relief, to ministers and people, would, we believe, be thus accomplished.

As to the authority for such a separation, the Committee go on to state,

"That Wheatley is strongly for the separation of the Services which are now used altogether in the morning, and that Bishop Sparrow is still stronger on the same point, whilst, as regards present sanction, they cannot doubt that the allowance and the approval of such a change by our own Diocesan would carry with it all the support and encouragement that are required; and, though the change might be opposed at first, on the mere ground of dislike to any alteration in what had been long the established usage, yet remembering, as your Committee well do, the strong resistance that was made when Evening Services were proposed, and seeing the wonderful results which have followed that adaptation of the Church's ministrations to the requirements of the age, they confidently trust that a great and happy effect would be produced by this concession also, and that by a call of it many aliens would be brought within the House of Prayer."

The next point on which the Leeds Committee touch, is the construction of a service for week days. Apparently it does not allege the expediency of the Daily Order of Morning and of Evening Prayer in *all* Parish Churches; but would substitute "the Litany, with Psalm or Hymn-singing, to be followed by a portion of Scripture, expounded in a plain and familiar manner. In this way," it is added, "following in the track of some of the most eminent Fathers of the Church, as well as of others in later days, the Parochial Minister might go through a Gospel, or an Epistle, or a consecutive portion of the Old or New Testament History, much to the instruction and edification of many who might be induced to attend a service so short and suitable." Perhaps it may be worth a thought whether such a form of daily worship and exposition might not popularize the seven o'clock service in the Cathedral of Calcutta, and also be fruitful of a better knowledge of Holy Scripture in several Station and Missionary Churches.

Open-air preaching, under due regulation, is next cautiously advocated, and the example of the efficacy of St. Paul's cross in establishing the Reformation of Religion is quoted. Special and consecutive services, during Advent and Lent, urging and illustrating the necessity and efficacy of repentance and conversion, are named as particularly expedient; in supplying which extra duties, it is added, the clergy should be ready to lend their assistance to each other. We need not establish the bearing of all these subjects upon our own local position.

A closer intercourse than yet exists with the younger members of the Church after their confirmation is next advised; with a suggestion that they be met periodically, perhaps once a month, and encouraged to bring, the young men before their Pastor, the females before duly qualified and experienced ladies, their various difficulties and hindrances.

The imperative expediency of an authorized Hymnal is next insisted on, which, it is added, should be formed on as broad a basis as the Church itself, with ample provision for Seasons, Fasts, Festivals, Missionary, School and special occasions; and compiled from the current Hymnology of the country, in which there are abundant materials, familiar, to many, as household words.

Of the sentiments which follow it is impossible to exaggerate the importance:—they being on the extension of the Episcopate, and the Parochial Ministry, and the nearer and more frequent intercourse between the Diocesan and his Clergy. We have already largely illustrated the ground of our own conviction that if, either by a re-adjustment of Episcopal revenues, or by free-will offerings, “a proper augmentation could be made to the number of our Bishops, and men were appointed, who would ‘faithfully serve in this office, to the glory of God, and the edifying and well-governing of His Church,’ an impulse would be given to the cause of religion and morality, of truth and order, which careless observers could hardly anticipate, but which would go far to renovate the aspect and condition of society.”

The subsequent consideration is upon the class of Catechists and Scripture Readers;—it coincides exactly with the sentiment we have already expressed in the language of one of the Australian Prelates, and is in the last degree important, in its application to our Indian fields of labour. Of such paid lay agents, though lately introduced under high authority, and often men of piety and diligence, it is suggested that they are

"seldom men of sufficient education and vigour of mind, are uncomfortable from having no recognized position in the Church, and, in general, look upon their office only as a means of entering by a more easy road into the Ministry. But a conviction has long been impressed upon the minds of some of your Committee which has lately been brought forward by a venerable and experienced Dignitary of the Church, the Archdeacon of London, and to it your Committee would call the most thoughtful and earnest attention of the Chapter, as the wants of the Church,—and that is a considerable increase in the Diaconate. The distinction between the Diaconate and the Presbyterate of our Church, says that learned Divine, appears to me to be very strongly marked: the Deacon is permitted to perform the ordinary duties of life, but the Presbyter bids adieu to worldly employments, and makes the duties of Ministry his all-absorbing care. The duties of Deacons are evidently of two kinds, Ecclesiastical and Temporal. Their Ecclesiastical Ministrations are all public in their character; to assist the Priest in the Divine Service, specially in the Holy Communion and in the distribution thereof; to read Holy Scriptures and Homilies in the Church to the people then assembled; to instruct the youth in the Catechism; to Baptize infants in the absence of the Priest; to Preach, if admitted thereto by the Bishop himself. The temporal ministrations of the Deacons are to search for the sick, poor, and impotent people of the parish, and to intimate their estates, names, and places where they dwell, to the Curate, who has Cure of Souls, that by his exhortation they may be relieved, &c.

"The qualifications required for the Deacon are,—

1. Profession of purity of motive in undertaking the office.
2. Acknowledgment that his call to the Ministry is consistent with the rule of Christ, and the due order of the Church.
3. Profession of belief in the Holy Scripture.

"The promises made by the Deacon are, official, that he will fulfil the ecclesiastical and temporal duties of the office; and personal, that he will frame his life, and that of his family, according to the doctrine of Christ, and make them exemplary to the flock of Christ. And lastly, that he will be obedient to the Ordinary and other chief Ministers of the Church.

"Such, and such only, are the duties and obligations of the Deacon's office, entrusted to him by the Bishop alone, without the concurrence and sanction of any persons whatever. From the Bishop alone he derives his authority, and from him alone receives it by imposition of hands."

Such an order, it will strike every one, would be peculiarly ministerial to the Missionary efficacy of the Church; and would, we believe, without imposing on them a burden of honour too heavy for them to bear with meekness, awaken a laudable emulation among the more promising of our converts, and confer on them a station, which as mere laymen, they never can attain, and moreover greatly enhance their availability as confidential agents in the temporal concerns of our Missionary spheres, and ecclesiastically constituted assistants to the Presiding Elders.

The remaining topics of the Report have only a remoter reference to our own peculiar position, on which we need not

dwelt. We will merely observe in conclusion how pregnant the whole document is with the disposition to waive all debateable matters of æsthetic, and to concentrate the collective energies of ministers of all degrees on the grand expedient of evangelizing the people.

The Thirteenth Report of the Benares Provincial Church Missionary Association is, we think, by far the most interesting that we have ever yet seen; and were it not for a hope and belief that the Report has a far wider circulation than the *Benares Magazine*, we would certainly enrich our pages with the whole of Mr. Leupolt's detail on the two converts from Joy Narayan's College, Gauri Shankar and Muni Lal. Of the former, a high caste Brahmin Orphan, of unusually strong resolution, who, having been twice made over to his relatives by the Civil Authorities, had twice escaped to the Mission Premises, Mr. Leupolt tells us that when high and low were in a ferment, and every means used to ensnare and entice him,

"The boy stood his ground nobly, and when I saw his old grandfather at his feet, heard his aunt and mother-in-law wailing, heard the old man curse and flatter by turns, yet heard the boy again and again say, 'do not persuade me, I cannot remain a Hindu, I wish to become a Christian, for Christ died for me;' I was involuntarily reminded of Luther at Worms: 'Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise, may God help me, Amen.'"

His old relative having suddenly breathed his last, "the Lord," adds Mr. Leupolt, "decided the controversy," and the boy became the property of the Mission.

"A short time ago, I met the attorney, Shital Prasad, who had pleaded in court for Gauri Shankar's relatives. He asked after Gauri Shankar. I replied, 'He is well, reading Sanscrit.' 'Well,' he said, 'we opposed you and beat you.' 'True,' replied my Catechist, 'you did; you gained the victory over us here below, and we gained it over you above. The rulers of the earth decided for you, the God of heaven and earth decided for us, hence the boy is ours.' 'Very true,' the lawyer replied, and rode off."

The expressions of the other boy's father--

"If my son wishes to become a Christian, I can have no objection, for wuh to jāwar nahin, ki ham us ko rassi se bāndhen) he is not a beast, that I should wish to bind him with ropes,"

affords a hopeful earnest that prejudices are abating in Benares, and that the enemies of the Gospel are in some cases prepared to concede the liberty to act consistently to the converted members of their households.

Though hardly of a documentary character, the well selected "Forms of private Prayer," compiled by the Rev. P.

Anderson of Bombay, from the works of standard English Divines, and printed in a singularly neat and correctly edited pamphlet, may be mentioned. We should be glad to know that this "perfume from the words of those who have put forth the 'sweet savour of Christ'" had attained a wide circulation. It is beyond all comparison the best manual of devotion which has ever been dedicated to the service of the Indian Church.

On a general review of our present position as Churchmen, we consider that we may congratulate ourselves on its being most hopeful from Victoria to Guiana, from Labrador to Lyttleton. We are not unaware of the heart-burnings in the neighbouring Diocese of Colombo, sad and censurable in the extreme, and we fear past amicable arrangement;—or of the scarcely less severe rebuke which certain transactions and insinuations have been visited with in a still nearer see. But there is yet enough to encourage us. The reception of the Right Reverend John Harding, the new Bishop, at Bombay, has been most auspicious; and his Lordship's piety and courtesy are endearing him to all hearts. If only, with a due regard for order and subordination, and no undue assumption on the parts of any, even the highest, esteeming each other very highly for our several works' sake, we "cultivate daily a holy love to Christ, and keep it warm in our hearts, and speak of it with the freshness of a new discovery," we shall still find strength enough to win the forward, and to put our enemies to an open shame.

THE BENARES MAGAZINE.

APRIL, 1852

I.

WHEELED CARRIAGE IN THE PUNJAB.*

DURING our intercourse with the agriculturists of the Punjab we have often heard them say that the only grievance suffered under the Company's rule is the forced supply of carriage. It is regarded as a standing impost of no ordinary pressure. Now, relief from imposts, is, in the popular idea, a chief characteristic of British administration. The people have lately been freed from a fiscal system which abounded in imposts. We are not now speaking of that complex system of transit duties which, like the fabled sea-snake, spread its vast coils, fold within fold, round the country. Apart from the commercial population, the rural peasantry were loaded with countless additional cesses, besides the all-absorbing land-tax. Now-a-days not only has the land-tax been lowered but the extra dues almost entirely abolished. And this among others is one good reason why the accession of our rule is hailed as a blessing by the agricultural population. But there is yet one blemish in our fair fame—one bar sinister in our political escutcheon. This last remaining evil is the carriage grievance. And the evil, though a solitary one, presses sorely on the people—and is closely connected with the demands of the public service and the wants of European community. Its removal or abatement, therefore, is urgently required. And our new Sikh subjects will naturally expect that the power which has annihilated so many evils will not allow this sole existing

* "Wheeled Carriage as affecting the agriculturists of the Punjab." Report by Major J. Steel, Superintendent Grand Trunk Road, N.W.P. for 1850-51.

grievance to remain unredressed. The object of the present article is to consider what the precise extent and nature of the grievance may be, and how it can be diminished or removed. We have placed Col. Steel's Report at the head of this paper, because it gives an authentic announcement that, after a series of successful efforts, the grievance has been nearly extirpated in the N. W. P.; and because it suggests the germ of what seem to us several useful measures by which similar results may be attained beyond the Sutlej.

Before we think of the remedy we must first understand what the evil is. The cantonment of a vast army in the Punjab territories and the commencement and progress of public works innumerable; the residence of a large body of European officials; the passing to and fro of numerous European travellers; the unprecedented traffic thus occasioned:—have caused a very brisk demand for wheeled carriage. The want is certainly imperative, the necessity inevitable. The goods and effects, public and private, belonging to bodies of troops or to individuals, must be transported. And for such transport it is held that wheeled carriage is indispensably requisite. How is this demand to be met? There is no class of professional carriers to keep up establishments of carts and cattle for purposes of traffic—the ordinary commercial transit of the country is carried on with the aid of camels. The means of conveyance to be met with in the towns and other places of public resort are scanty and utterly insufficient. But a great number of bullocks and beasts of burden are employed in the agriculture of the country, and carts or waggons of inferior build and dimension are to be found in the villages. As necessity may occur, these carts and cattle are seized by the authorities, and the drivers compelled to serve on hire. These seizures are always a hardship, often a serious injury to the agriculturists, and sometimes paralyze the cultivation of estates. Nor can they by foresight mitigate the mischief which must ever ensue when the instruments of husbandry are suddenly abstracted. For the demand is never certain; it is like an intermittent fever. Sometimes after a sharp continuance it lulls for a time, and then rises again with redoubled energy. If its advent could be calculated; if the villagers could know that by a certain time so many carts must be surrendered; arrangements might be made to supply their place. But now, the husbandman must look forward to a large demand for carriage with the same trembling expectation with which he anticipates some day the occurrence of a dry

season, an epidemic among the cattle, or a blight on the crops. On the other hand, no landholder can count upon exemption. Sooner or later, the whole district will be put under contribution. Some damage or inconvenience may be positively looked for; but the exact amount is variable, and may be eventually determined by the turns in State policy and public affairs, or by the periodical Reliefs in the army. However, villages near main roads, civil stations, and great cantonments are pretty sure to suffer most. And thus it happens that neighbourhoods which ought, from the ready markets they furnish, to be enviable in the eyes of the agriculturists, are sometimes nearly deserted.

But from the seizure of carriage there accrue other evils besides those occasioned by the absence of waggoners from their homes; and the withdrawing of carts and beasts from their proper occupations. Carts and bullocks having been long and largely employed by Europeans in Upper India, we know perfectly well their strength and capabilities in that part of the country. And thus we, our native officers of all kinds, and our servants, have come to think that a cart drawn by two, three or four bullocks is warranted all over India to carry a certain number of maunds. But if so happens that in the Punjab the cattle are of a smaller breed, and consequently the carts of a smaller build than in our older provinces; and therefore our pre-conceived notions regarding the freighting and loading of hackeries in the countries Cis-Sutlej are not applicable in the countries Trans-Sutlej. And the disparity is aggravated by the inferiority of roads which in a newly-acquired province must be expected. Notwithstanding this, however, we Europeans and our dependants are too much in the habit of loading a hackery of the Punjab in the same manner as if it had been a hackery of Hindostan. The consequence is, that the thin puny cattle are utterly powerless to drag the wheels through the ruts and sand in which they become imbedded. The former drop down, and the latter break on the line of march, and fresh means of conveyance are seized from the nearest village. Thus from one district to another is the misfortune of the villagers extended and perpetuated. If, as may be the case, no carts can be found in the nearest village, coolies must be impressed; and this, perhaps, in the estimation of the rustics, may be the worse alternative of the two.

The universal difficulty in procuring carriage makes the traveller very solicitous to retain, as long as possible, and for journeys of great distance, the carts which have been obtain-

ed, especially if they are better than the common run, and manage to struggle on under their burdens. And at the end of the march the employer is apt to forget the great distance which the carts and their drivers have come, and is inclined to remunerate only for the period of actual service. The demand for back hire is seldom satisfied in full, and is sometimes treated as a downright imposition. Thus it may happen that the cart-driver finds himself far away from the home whence he was forcibly taken, with very inadequate means of reaching it again. Similar causes lead to the detention of carriage for unlimited periods after the term of actual service has expired. And even when a release has been obtained, the carriage may be recaptured on the road home, and despatched on a second trip. In short, the perils of a hackery are so manifold, that the Zemindars, when they part with their carts on foreign service, are inclined to despair of ever seeing them again.

Lastly, the scale of hire has not always been suited to the times. Since Annexation there have been unusual fluctuations in the grain markets of the Punjab. And the influence of the rise and fall of prices has been such, that the same rates may sometimes be accepted as ample and liberal, and may sometimes cease to be remunerative.

We now come to the remedies of this disease which we have briefly described in its several phases. The notice of the authorities seems to have been attracted at an early date to this subject, and some specific remedies were proposed—among which the most notable was a plan for keeping up a standing force of hackeries, with the full complement of drivers and cattle, at the expense of the landholders; who, for this purpose, were to pay a certain percentage on the land revenue, in the same way as they contribute to the Road Fund. There could be no doubt that the landowners would gladly pay a moderate tax to purchase indemnity from furnishing carriage. But who could say that such a tax would be confined within moderate limits? Some slight enquiries and experiments tended to shew the contrary. In some localities it was found that the tax would fall at 5, 7, (or even more) per cent on the Revenue, and that still, with this the contemplated establishment would hardly be raised or sustained. Further, where was this establishment to be kept? If at the central stations, then the cost would be enormous, and in great part fruitless, because during many seasons of the year (though no one could tell which) the carts might not be wanted and the cattle would, in common phrase,

be eating their heads off. If in the villages, then, though the convenience to the people would be greater and the cost and wastage less, yet the establishment would not answer its purpose; for how could extensive and emergent indents (which at present occur not unfrequently and must at all times occur occasionally) be obeyed, when the means of supply were not only at a distance, but also scattered about at a variety of distances? Further, would it be just or politic to saddle the whole burden in ~~the shape of an avowed tax on the agriculturists alone, and not on any other class?~~ ~~If from the force of circumstances the onus must fall on the agriculturists, the matter should be regretted instead of being justified by legal sanction.~~ Thus, in whatever aspect we view the proposal, difficulties confront us. What results might ultimately flow from it is problematical. Two things only could, with certainty, be predicated of it at present: first, that it would not answer its proper purpose: secondly, that it would injure the landholders it was meant to benefit. We shall therefore pass over all nostrums and quackery of this kind, in the full hope that they will not be resuscitated. The causes of the evil are deeply seated. They have their origin in social and political circumstances. They are identical with the causes which make the demand large and the supply small: which retard the growth of classes suited to furnish what is wanted: which prevent bad roads from being repaired: which keep up an inferior breed of cattle: which induce us to apply to one part of India notions acquired in another until the conviction of their inapplicability is forced upon us by experience. Such, we apprehend, and no others, are the causes which occasion the evil complained of. That they are not easy of removal or even of mitigation will be readily admitted. It is no less clear that to effect a cure, remedies at once searching and comprehensive must be used. To compass such an object by isolated special remedies, which cost much and profit little, would be mere empiricism. We will endeavour to point out what must apparently be some of the primary remedies.

FIRST.—Let the demand be diminished.

If this can be done without prejudice to the public service, then the axe is laid to the root of the evil. Now, the Punjab abounds in camels—and there is no doubt that, if skilfully loaded, they will transport all effects and commodities of traffic as well and cheaply, if not better and more cheaply, than carts and bullocks. They are already employed

much; why should they not be employed more? And why should not a rule be authoritatively promulgated ordering their employment whenever practicable? The feasibility of substituting camels, and rendering the substitution compulsory, is strongly put by Col. Steel in a paragraph of his report. Among other things, he tells us how in the N.W.P. the roads and the wheeled carriage have reached such a stage of advancement, that the occupation of camels is gone, and that the rivers ~~case~~ ^{have} to be resorted to as the highways of commerce. Then, too, the camels must be fed at some ~~expense, or else must starve in the midst of plenty and of~~ cultivation. The great grazing lands have been broken up by the plough. The trees which stand, as the pride of groves and the ornaments of hedgerows, have been, by our revenue operations, guaranteed to the landholders as their indefeasible property. No Zemindars will allow Rewarree camels to feed on the trees. In the Punjab also what few trees there are will be preserved to the landholders against the ravages of men, camels, cattle and all depredators. But there are also in the centre of the chief Doabs vast tracts of unreclaimed jungle affording ample pasturage. It is not necessary to procure camels from the table-lands beyond the Indus, from the deserts which skirt Hindostan, or from the mountain fastnesses of Rajputana. But here they are ready to our hand, browsing amidst these wastes, not in hundreds, but in thousands and tens of thousands. Let their services be employed for the benefit of the owners, for the use of the public, for the relief of the agriculturists. The report above quoted also alludes to the development of water-carriage, and to the intentions of the Military Board in that respect. That the country of the five rivers offers unusual facilities is too obvious to require comment; and that effects might be conveyed to many stations, at least as well and cheaply as at present, is equally plain. And as the navigation of the Indus has lately been extended and the navigation of other great streams is to be opened, it may be expected that considerable aid will be derived from our rivers.

It will therefore not only be beneficial but practicable to substitute for means of conveyance which the country does not produce in any degree of efficiency, means which are plentiful and indigenous, namely, camels and water-carriage.

SECOND.—*Let the material be improved.*

It is not probable, perhaps not possible, that wheeled carriage should ever be superseded. If, therefore, the over-

worked Punjab hackeries must continue to bear more or less of the burden, let them be made more fit for the duty, more equal to the task. The meagre stunted Punjabee bullock is very unlike his stout and sleek, though bony, brother of Hindostan. Cannot new blood be infused into this emaciated stock, and animals of size, sinew, and muscle be imported to propagate a stronger race? Orders were issued some time ago in the N.W.P. with a view to improving the breed of cattle. Similar orders have been circulated in the Punjab also. If the importation of bulls were taken in hand (as we believe it will be) by the district authorities, the matter would speedily recommend itself to the attention of the Zemindars, and much good might be effected at a comparatively small amount of labour and cost. Until this shall be in some degree accomplished, the build of hackeries cannot be materially enlarged. To augment the dimensions of hackeries, before the breed of cattle had been improved, would indeed be putting the cart before the horse. But when once we have obtained strong cattle, then large hackeries follow, as a corollary to the proposition. The people may, when they find their cattle strong enough, improve of their own accord the structure of hackeries. But to ensure their doing so, it would be well that Government should take the initiative and substantially encourage all attempts in the right direction, by furnishing models and granting advances to landholders and other parties who might be desirous to build carts of superior size and shape. Thus eventually the cattle will be more able to encounter the difficulties of rough and heavy roads, and the carts more secure from risk of breakage when (as often may be the case) they are severely laden.

THIRD.—*Let a class of Professional Carriers be raised up.*

It is not hereby meant to be asserted that no vestiges of such a class exist at present. Still it may be without doubt asserted, that there is as yet nothing more than a nucleus round which a class might be formed. The regular carriers are few and poor, without capital or enterprise, without power of arrangement or combination. It will indeed be fresh in the memory of the public that in Hindostan "Great Contractors" have been found for the supply of bullocks and hackeries. But we doubt whether even their influence would suffice to procure an adequate amount of carriage in the Punjab, on the principle that blood cannot be extracted from a stone. They might indeed accomplish

something if they were armed with the powers of a magistrate—but then their functions as “*contractors*” cease, and they become mere Police Agents. In managing contractors it is difficult to give them full encouragement on the one hand, and yet on the other hand to avoid investing them with the powers of the Government. If a contractor marches about the country with *perwanas* in his hand to collect carriage, then nothing is obtained for Government which it might not have gained unaided, by the sheer exercise of its own power,—while a number of illicit perquisites are pocketed by an individual for exerting, not his own influence, but the influence of the State. And this the Government could do for itself without employing a middleman to do it, and allowing him to tax the people privately for his own remuneration, whom it is the special interest of the Government to protect from extortion. The object is to place the contractor in a fair field of exertion, where he may do the State service, while he promotes his own interest, without oppressing the people; to give him a good start in business, by allowing him advances, or even a salary; and to encourage him in his career, by conceding him the name and status of a Government employee; to enlist, in short, his whole *private* influence on our side, without giving him even the semblance of public authority. We would recommend that, in this way, hackery chowdries be located by Government at the principal stations, towns, and halting grounds, along the main roads. Let them have every privilege consistent with the interests of the State and the liberty of the subject. Let them have salaries, advances for their outlays, and the monopoly of Government patronage, but not of private indents. Indirect encouragement and consideration, though it costs nothing, avails much with natives. Branch firms might be established, and individual customers might be induced to congregate and cluster round them. Then, after the rallying points have been fixed, and after other improvements which we are about to mention had been introduced, the regular carriers would become so thriving and the trade so profitable, that the class would multiply and cast off the aid of the State Nurse. Thus might the agriculturists be relieved of a load which would be legitimately cast upon a class more qualified to sustain it.

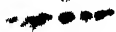
FOURTH.—*Let Carriage never be pressed suddenly into the service: but let the arrangements for the employment of Carriage be organized with as much foresight as possible: and let the burden be equally distributed.*

It is sufficiently obvious that ills we know not of, that is, which we cannot foresee and meet face to face, are most dreaded in their approach, and most keenly felt in their infliction. In no case can this evident axiom be more applicable than in the employment of carriage. We have already explained the most palpable evils which result from the carriage being often snapped up in pell-mell confusion, hurry and scramble. By such a course, evils, to a certain extent inevitable, are aggravated tenfold. Yet the local authorities can always, *if applied to in time*, considerably alleviate the harshness of impressment by a judicious distribution of the burden. It is of great importance, therefore, that rules should be promulgated regarding timely applications, and declaring that indents can only be attended to when transmitted a certain number of days beforehand—that is, before the date on which the carriage is wanted. And the period so fixed should be a long one, so as to allow a full margin, as it were, to the executive officers who have to furnish the supply. Thus will the people foreknow their liabilities, and by fore-knowing, prepare to meet them. In connexion with the equal distribution of the burden over the whole country may be considered the propriety, or otherwise of fixing certain distances, beyond which the same carriage cannot be compelled to go, and at which it must be changed. Such a regulation would, no doubt, have many advantages. It would be a boon to those actually employed—i. would shorten their trips, and it would ensure a more complete division of labour throughout the province, inasmuch as each district would be placed under contribution in turn. But we are almost disposed to doubt the feasibility of such a measure—the Punjab territories are hardly extensive enough for its operation. It is, for instance, practicable to enact that all carriage going *up* the country (that is, from the South-East towards the Frontier), should be changed at Umbāla or at Ferozpur. The Cis-Sutlej territory stands between two distinct portions of the empire; and down-country hackeries and drivers might reasonably expect their discharge there. But it would perhaps be hard upon the employers to enact that carriage having been changed at Umbāla, should be again changed at Lahore, again at Wuzerabad, and so on.

The unloading and reloading would be more than irksome. It might however be possible to fix upon some central spots where relays of carriage must be obtained ; or, which would probably be better, to lay down certain distances for journeys, and to declare that, under no circumstances, should carriage be engaged beyond these distances except by the consent of the drivers or owners. At all events, the point is well deserving of consideration.

FIFTH.—*Let care be taken that the Carts are not overloaded.*

We have already noted the tendency which prevails to judge of the Punjab hackeries by our notions of wheeled traffic in Hindostan. The impediments which must ever be incident to rough roads, fragile carts, and weak cattle, are aggravated by the imposition of burdens which would be severe if all other obstacles were to vanish. Now, this irregularity can certainly be reached by the arm of the law. A few rigorous rules vigilantly enforced would be quite sufficient. A certain amount of poundage and tonnage for hackeries of different calibres might be fixed and legalized. But pains should be taken to make the authorized weights fair, and even light with reference to the present average capacity of carts and bullocks—and if either or both should improve, then the legal weights might be increased. If complete attention was paid to this point, a great many breakages and disasters which now occur might be averted, and the necessity for procuring so many forced relays of carriage cattle and coolies might be avoided.



SIXTH.—*Let the Roads be improved.*

This important and obvious reform need not be expatiated upon at length. The impervious nature of the Cis-Sutlej sands is notorious. The state of the roads in that region has been forcibly pointed out by Col. Steel. The ground is on the whole more favourable west of the Sutlej ; but even there, more than ordinary hindrances have to be surmounted. Tracts of sand, jungle, or stones, and the constantly recurring alluvial lands near the banks of the rivers—are commonly met with. The experience of the Grand Trunk Road, from the Kurumnasa to Kurnaul, shews how keenly the conductors of the carrying trade appreciate the convenience of good roads. The metalling of that great road has caused the freightage of hackeries to be doubled, their build to be enlarged, their wheels to be strengthened, and their cattle to be shod.

Similar changes will doubtless spring into being when the Punjab roads shall be levelled and metalled. And it is patent to the world that the Punjab Administration is doing its best to effect this object. Roads are being planned and executed from one end of the province to the other under the Civil Engineer's large establishment. And we believe that a sum of more than three lakhs, in addition to the proceeds of the Road Fund ($1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs), is set apart for the construction and repair of branch roads, exclusive of the continuation of the grand trunk road. Now, such a sum is 3 per cent. on the Land Revenue of $1\frac{1}{2}$ crore, and we doubt whether in any part of India so large a proportion is devoted to local improvements. So we may hope that before many years have elapsed the country will be covered with a reticulation of good roads.

SEVENTH.—*Let the Rates of Remuneration be fixed with discrimination and liberality, and regularly adhered to.*

Few persons acquainted with the state of the Punjab markets since Annexation, with the variations in the prices of provender and fodder, in short, with the ebb and flow of the great tide of demand and supply, will say that any rates, however judiciously fixed, are likely to give satisfaction to either the employer or the employee for any length of time. It may be rarely or never necessary to alter the rates in our older provinces; but such a rule will not hold good on the West of the Sutlej. It will be requisite that the local authorities should watch the signs of the commercial times and adapt the rates to the current circumstances of the day. The matter should come under consideration at least once a year. And thus if rates are fixed which, under existing circumstances, shall be really liberal and remunerating, and adherence to them can be universally or even generally enforced, then some inducement and recompense will be held out to those who are obliged temporarily to surrender their property to the public weal.

EIGHTH.—*Let the Cart-Drivers employed on distant service have every facility for returning home after the expiry of their term of servitude.*

The main object of the present paragraph is to enforce the payment of *Back Hire*. If we take a man away from his home on our service and for our benefit, we are bound to give him the means of getting back. The justice of this is obvious enough. It is not sufficient that we pay the pre-

scribed hire for the number of days spent in our service. The expedition carries the cart-driver away, and at its close leaves him hundreds of miles from home. He must return at some expense and trouble, for which in equity we ought to compensate him. Hire is reward for work done; back hire is a requital and reimbursement for expense necessarily incurred after the performance of the work. The payment of the back hire should be an integral portion of the bargain. Frequently at the end of one trip the cart-drivers are obliged to wait till they can get employed on a return trip. Sometimes they are detained until employers can be found to take them homeward, in order that the necessity for the payment of back hire may be avoided; and even disputes arise on this head between the employers on the original trip and the employers on the return trip. It would be better at once to cut these knots by enacting that back hire should invariably be paid under all circumstances, and should be claimable, whether the hackerymen had a second employment on their road home or not. All detentions which may arise from the uncertainty regarding back hire will be thus avoided. Indeed, all detentions at the journey's end, on any pretence whatever, should be positively prohibited. Return tickets and certificates should be furnished, by virtue of which the hackerymen should be absolutely free from liability to seizure either at the terminus of the stages, or on their return homewards. This immunity, if readily secured, would be highly valued. At present, the liability exists in full force, and is proportionably dreaded. But we trust that under reformed regulations the hackerymen will be cheered up by knowing that there is a goal to their labours, and by the hope of returning to the fields and to the occupations which they regard with such wistful regret.

All these rules will not perhaps be easily carried into effect. Their successful enforcement would, in a great measure, depend on the adoption of those remedial measures which we have endeavoured to advocate, and which will remove most of the temptations to their infraction. Of no less importance is the active co-operation of all individuals among the European community. A due understanding of the rights and merits of the case, and of the interests involved in it, will naturally dispose every one to render aid. The ulterior advantages of such a course will not only be general, but will extend themselves to every person who has occasion (and who has not?) to employ wheeled carriage. If carriage is difficult to procure and expensive when procured, it

is partly because we, by our short-sighted, penny-wise-and-pound-foolish policy, take no precautions to make the carrying trade profitable and attractive, and cause it to be looked upon as a bugbear to be shunned in every possible way. Whereas, by softening down asperities, by judiciously framing a protective system, we may make the occupation sought for instead of being avoided; and may cut out, as it were, a channel into which may flow the streams of capital and industry. Thus at last, the difficulties we complain of, will vanish, and the expense will be lightened. Even now, instances are known where cart-drivers, not professional carriers, have evinced no unwillingness to serve when they feel sure of liberal and considerate treatment.

We have thus indicated what seem to be the chief heads of the required reform. Matters connected with the carriage question have nearly reached that point at which the proverb declares that improvement must begin. The question has been publicly discussed for some months past. And whatever measures may be eventually announced by the authorities, it is not unbecoming that at the present conjuncture the periodical press should put forth its views. We have not attempted to work out the details of the rules we have advocated. It is sufficient for our purpose to draw attention to leading principles. Regarding some of the remedial measures we have recommended, such as the improvement of the roads, of the breed of cattle, of the build of carts, the foundation of a class of professional carriers, there is one consolatory reflection, namely, that if thoroughly carried out, they would not only alleviate the carriage grievance, but would also impart an impulse to agricultural advancement, and facilitate the transport of raw produce. Their effects would not merely be negative as neutralizing mischief, but positive as producing advantage. These very grievances which, from their severity, force themselves on our attention, demand and bring about a reform, and at the same time operate as incentives to further progress. Thus, under Providence, evil becomes the parent of good. And the means of egress for the produce of the soil, the outlets for commerce, and the internal communication between the agricultural districts, are matters of especial moment in the present position of Punjab affairs. Tracts well cultivated before are still better cultivated now: tracts cultivated poorly or not at all before are to be intersected by fertilizing canals. It behoves us to see that, together with this vast increase of production, consumption is augmented in a corresponding ratio.

What can more conduce to this end than the improvement of wheeled carriage, whereby the village trade is brought nearer to the local marts, which are again brought nearer to the central marts, which are again brought nearer by unrestricted intercourse to the great commercial channels and emporia of the Empire?

SONNET.

—τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
γινώσχετε διακρίνειν, τὰ δὲ σημεῖα τῶν
καιρῶν οὐ δύνασθε ;

MATT. xvi. 3.

YE say—"To-morrow will be fair," if glow
The west at eve with sheets of glorious red :—
If lowring flame-hues on the East be shed
At morn, "To-day," ye ween, "the storm will blow."
The coming change from the sky's face ye know
Whom still the tokens of the times ~~betide~~.—
Hypocrites, Pharisees, of viper's brood—
Esaïas well your peril did foreshew :—
"This people," spake the Lord, "with lip and tongue
Honours me, while their heart hath from me strayed—
Their fear is but the rote of human law.
Therefore the wisdom of their wise shall fade ;
Their prudent ones from prudence shall withdraw ;—
Such unarvel will I do this folk among."

II.

SYDNEY SMITH'S LECTURES ON MORAL PHILOSOPHY.*

As travellers in uninteresting countries have sometimes sent forth amusing and instructive sketches of those countries at their journey's end; so Sydney Smith, after toiling through the uninviting and arduous tract of Moral Philosophy, has left us some most interesting results of his labours. None need fear to begin the volume which his executors have been so good as to give the world, and which they modestly style "Elementary sketches of Moral Philosophy." Sketches, in truth, these lectures are; but they are sketches by a master hand; and the truth and fidelity with which they pourtray all the grand features of the vast landscape fully compensate for their want of finish—a want which, on such a subject, must have been essentially necessary to make it acceptable to a mixed and unphilosophical audience. These lectures were delivered at the London Institution nearly half a century ago. Probably their author had meditated giving them many finishing touches ere they saw the light in a printed volume. But time and tide wait for no man. Year after year the MS. lay unnoticed and uncared for: its lost leaves were not replaced: its errors—if errors it contained—not corrected; and the grave had closed its dark doors over the mortal remains of Sydney Smith, ere the world was allowed to judge of his skill in imparting interest to the study of Moral Philosophy. It will seem heterodox to some that we deny to this study attractive or interesting qualities. We plead guilty however to such want of taste; and confess that what little we read, in days gone by, on that comprehensive subject—whether in Locke, or Butler, or Paley—presented no peculiar charms to our mind. The two last mentioned divines have perhaps been the most successful in detracting some of its intrinsic dryness from the study of Moral Philosophy. But before reading Sydney Smith's Sketches, it never would have entered our heads to take up any book that professes to treat in any possible way of any of the branches of ~~Philosophy~~ Philosophy, by way of *amusement*. Rivers of water in a sandy desert; heat in a Siberian winter; frost in the month of June on the plains of India;—we believed all these as likely to be met with, as amusement from lectures on Moral Philosophy.

* Elementary Sketches of Moral Philosophy, by the late Rev. Sydney Smith, M.A., 2nd Edition. London: Longman and Co., Paternoster Row, 1850.

There is, however, something in a name: and what has been already published by him who bore the name—Sydney Smith—would serve to convince even a sceptic that a subject must be barren indeed which the pen of so clever a writer could not in some way or other charm into a new life. For many years, he was best known to the world of London as the wittiest of its divines. All good bon-mots that appeared anonymously were fathered upon him; and doubtless his family in this respect was large. With a wonderfully acute eye for the ridiculous, and a surprising talent at discovering odd associations that nobody else ever thought of, to have expected him not to observe and note the little failings of his neighbours, or to refrain from occasionally placing them in some ridiculous light, would have been too much to expect from man. But who ever heard of an *unkind* witticism attributed to Sydney Smith? And when wits use their power only to benefit mankind, he must be a poor creature who could find fault with them. One of his most cutting remarks we believe to have been made on the occasion of the Common Council, or Court of Aldermen, in London, being unable for a long time to decide whether Cheapside should be paved with stone or blocks of wood: when Sydney Smith said, “he could not conceive how there could be any difficulty in the matter; they had only to lay their heads together, and the thing was done.” The follies of society, the whims of public bodies, and occasionally the eccentricities of genius, were the marks at which he pointed his shafts of ridicule; and rarely pointed them in vain. Such failings as he had, there is no need to hide; for they are known and manifest to all who have read his writings. If he ever made the dignity of the ecclesiastic subservient to the character of the wit, he never forgot those great and important virtues that are the delight of a good heart. His unostentatious charities, and true kindness to such as really were in need, are well known to all who knew him in private. Let others censure his faults; the task is none of our’s. He has gone to render up his account to Him who knows the secrets of all hearts, and—*requiescat in pace.*

In the volume now before us, there are twenty-two complete Lectures, and five more imperfect. They treat on the History of Moral Philosophy; the Power of External Perception; Conception; Memory; Imagination; Reason; the Conduct of the Understanding; Wit and Humour; Taste; the Beautiful and Sublime; the Faculties of Animals; the active Mental Powers; the Evil and Benevolent Affections;

the Passions and Desires ; Surprise and Novelty ; and Habit. By such a catalogue, it will be seen that their author, in speaking of Moral Philosophy, means generally that study which has the mind of man for its objects ; and not merely that science which teaches the duties of life, which is more particularly the province of Ethical Philosophy. Moral Philosophy he assumes to embrace everything *Spiritual* about man, and, as such, to be in direct contrast with Natural Philosophy, which includes everything corporal. In this sense, Aristotle treats not so much of Moral, as of Ethical, Philosophy ; whilst, we believe, all the more celebrated modern metaphysicians treat of it, understanding by what Sydney Smith understands ; and supposing it to include everything that has reference to the intellectual and moral faculties of man. Our author, it need hardly be said, has no sympathy whatever with any of those visionary enthusiasts who doubt the existence of matter or a material world, and who assert that we are all nothing but “ currents of reflexion and sensation,” without bodies and without minds, both of which are mere *ideas*, not realities. “ A great philosopher,” he says, “ may sit in his study, and deny the existence of matter ; but if he take a walk in the streets, he must take care to leave his theory behind him. Pyrrho said there was no such thing as pain, and he saw no proof there were such things as carts and waggons, and he refused to get out of their way : but Pyrrho had, fortunately for him, three or four stout slaves, who followed their master, without following his doctrine ; and, whenever they saw one of these ideal machines approaching, took him up by the arms and legs, and, without attempting to controvert his arguments, put him down in a place of safety.”—p. 7.

That there have been men who wandered into the mazes of nonsense, whilst attempting to investigate the world within them, is very true ; and that the errors of these have been one cause for bringing the study of Moral Philosophy into disrepute, as tending to incline men to scepticism, is also true : but, very fortunately, for Englishmen, they can cite many splendid names—of men who were the closest reasoners and the deepest examiners into the province of reason, and who were anything but infidels ; who have done for Moral, what Newton did for Natural, Philosophy ; and after equally patient study in their lines, have felt themselves, what he confessed himself, as but little children, able to collect some few precious stones on the shore, while the ocean of truth lay spread out before them,—immense and unexplored. There

have been as many great mathematicians as there have been great metaphysicians, whose knowledge has been of that kind which "puffeth up;" and to denounce the study of Natural Philosophy on this account, were as wise as to denounce that of Moral Philosophy for the same reason. *All* must learn in "putting away childish things" to retain a childlike spirit.

In the Introductory Lecture, there are a few remarks on the *practical* use of Moral Philosophy. And Sydney Smith, so far as we know, never having been a mathematician, compares his more favorite study with that of Mathematics, decidedly to the disadvantage of the latter.

"Of the *uses* of this science of Moral Philosophy one is, the vigour and acuteness which it is apt to communicate to the faculties. The slow and cautious pace of mathematics is not fit for the rough road of life; it teaches no habits which will be of use to us when we come to march in good earnest; it will not do, when men come to real business, to be calling for axioms, and definitions, and to admit nothing without full proof, and perfect deductions: we must decide sometimes upon the slightest evidence, catch the faintest surmise, and get to the end of an affair before a mathematical head could decide about its commencement. I am not comparing the general value of the two sciences, but merely their value, as preparatory exercises for the mind; and there, it appears to me, that the science of Moral Philosophy is much better calculated to form intellectual habits, useful in real life."—pp. 14, 15.

Probably people will differ to the end of time, or at least as long as Oxford and Cambridge last, as to the comparative value of the studies of Moral and Natural Philosophy for enabling a man to excel in that vast arena, in which, after leaving school and college, his strength has to be tried. For ourselves, we extremely doubt whether the study of Moral Philosophy is, by any means, as well calculated for nerving the mind for the efforts required of it in after life as that of *Mathematics*; for many may not proceed so far as to study Natural Philosophy properly so called, and yet receive a very large amount of good from those habits of patient investigation, and application of first principles, which the lower branches of *Mathematics* are so well fitted for imparting to them. We apprehend Moral Philosophy to be a study for minds *more matured*, and for understandings already trained in those habits of thought and investigation which mathematical studies have *first* given. We should excessively doubt the propriety of indoctrinating young gentlemen at school in the very beginnings of Moral Philosophy; yet, before they leave school, they have been, or ought to have been, grounded in all the foundation work of pure Mathema-

tics; and Euclid and Algebra, we are persuaded, are better preparatives for an additional superstructure of study, than such logic as a school-boy's mind is capable of understanding. Were mathematicians, on going forth into public life, really to call—as Sydney Smith supposes them to do—for axioms, and definitions, and admit nothing without the fullest proof and plainest deduction, they very certainly would not make good men of business. But we are rather inclined to doubt, whether, practically, they do this. Their studies have taught them not to jump too hastily to conclusions, it is true; but they have also taught them to require only such an amount of evidence as is necessary for the subject then before them. Let the study of Mathematics be the *stepping-stone* to that of Moral Philosophy, and we may confidently hope the best results will follow: but if *one* of these alone can be followed, we give the preference to Mathematics.

The *History* of Moral Philosophy can hardly be very interesting. If History generally be a catalogue of the follies and vices of men, so the History of Moral Philosophy is a catalogue of the follies and absurdities of great men. Not even the pen of Sydney Smith can impart entertainment to the records of the Socratic, Cyrenaic, Megaric, Stoic, Epicurean and Cynic Schools, so far as he has sketched their respective theories. But we do well to remember the immense disadvantages under which those laboured, who thought and taught two thousand years ago.

“If Orpheus, or Linus, or any of those melodious moralists sung, in bad verses, such advice as a grandmamma would now give to a child of six years old, he was thought to be inspired by the gods, and statues and altars were erected to his memory. In Hesiod, there is a very grave exhortation to mankind to wash their faces: and I have discovered a very strong analogy between the precepts of Pythagoras and Mrs. Trimmer—both think that a son ought to obey his father, and both are clear that a good man is better than a bad one. Therefore, to measure aright this extraordinary man, we must remember the period at which he lived; that he was the first who called the attention of mankind from the pernicious subtleties which engaged and perplexed their wandering understandings to the practical rules of life;—he was the great father and inventor of common sense, as Ceres was of the plough, and Bacchus of intoxication.”—p. 20.

Coming down to modern times we have space only for what is said of Bishop Berkeley; and this extract we give merely as indicating the little liking Sydney Smith had for such visionary notions as even so good a man as Berkeley could put forth:—

"One of the most extraordinary men who appeared after Locke was Berkeley; Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland; of whom Pope says, that there was given

'To Berkeley every virtue under heaven.'

and of whom Bishop Atterbury said, that 'before he saw that gentleman, he did not think that so much understanding, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and so much humility, had been the portion of any but angels.' To give a clear notion of the Bishop's theory, we must, for a moment, advert to Mr. Locke's doctrines on the same subject. He thought, for instance, that there were outward objects; some intermediate agents coming from that outward agent which excited the idea in the mind, and lastly, that there was the mind itself. For instance, that there was a moon, an image coming from the moon, an idea excited by that image, and a mind in which that image existed. Now, says Bishop Berkeley, you allow that you do not see the objects themselves, but only certain representatives of those objects; therefore, as you never see the objects themselves, what proof have you of their existence? You have none; and all your notions on these subjects are fallacious. There is no sun, no moon, no stars, nor earth, nor sea—they are all notions of the mind. Such was the system of one of the most pious men that ever lived; and a system by which he hoped to put an end for ever to all scepticism and irreligion."—p. 45.

The only unkindness we wish for the good Bishop is that he had passed a hot weather in India, and had had to make a short march in June. If he had not then concluded that the sun was something more than a notion of his mind, certainly nothing would have convinced him. This theory of his, in its extravagance, almost rivals that one of Hobbes, whose notion of virtue was, that the law of the magistrate was the sole standard of right and wrong, and that there was no natural distinction between them, antecedent to the institution of positive law. Yet Hobbes has the reputation of being a great metaphysician; and lived only in the time of the Commonwealth. We are thankful to say his disciples are not numerous now-a-days.

The Lecture on the "Powers of External Perception" is unfortunately imperfect; but what remains of it is very interesting. Sydney Smith is a singularly matter-of-fact man for a philosopher. He is not fond of treading where there is no sure footing; and thus, in the much disputed question—how external objects are presented to the mind's eye, or, indeed, what we mean when we talk of the mind's eye?—he has very little to say, and contents himself with that little.

"We know that the notion must enter by one of the senses, we know it must be conveyed by a nerve to the brain, and there our knowledge ends! All beyond this is mere fiction and hypothesis.

Whether there be a fluid passing through the nerve, as was long supposed,—whether the nerve excite vibrations and vibratuncles in the brain, as Newton queried, and Hartley thought,—whether the pineal gland be the seat of the soul, according to Descartes; or whether it lodge in the oval centre of the brain, according to Vieussens; or whether, as Willis contends, common sense is lodged in the *corpora striata*, and imagination in the *corpus callosum*,—all these are the opinions of rash or ingenious men, without any foundation. What additions may hereafter be made to these discoveries it is impossible to say, but at present our knowledge is stopped exactly where I have stated. We know the *entrance*, the *path*, and the place of *destination*; the *mode* of proceeding, and the effects after it has reached its goal, we do not know.”—pp. 58, 59.

It is not difficult to prove that the nerves—i. e. the thin, white, minute filaments penetrating every part of the body in every direction—have this particular office, of conveying, in some way or other, to the brain the ideas we receive through the medium of the five senses. For the loss of a nerve is the loss of the limb, or organ, to which that nerve is subservient for the purpose just mentioned. But how the brain acts, or what its wonderful connection between things corporeal and spiritual, we know not. Of the extraordinary rapidity with which ideas formed of external objects are conveyed by these electric telegraphs called nerves, it is difficult to form any correct notion at all. In taking a book off a table, e. g. though it be ~~but~~ but the work of a moment, ideas must be excited through my sense of seeing by my nerves on my brain; first, that there is a particular book there: 2ndly, that its size and weight is such as I can lift without difficulty; then 3rdly, the determination I form to take it up has to be conveyed back along these wonderful nerves to the limb which is to be the instrument I use to lift it; then 4thly, when the hand has done its duty, the nerves, through the sense of feeling, convey back to my brain the idea of the book being in my hand and no longer on the table; and then my mind is, at last, satisfied.

The astonishing way in which the *use* of the senses *grows upon us*, and *they* are improved by use, is very worthy of observation. Sydney Smith does not allude to the case of very young infants, who have all the organs of sense,—eyes, nose, palate, ears, and hands; and yet, to what very little good account are they able to turn them! Does an infant of a month old see properly? Or does it not distinguish what it sees? We suppose it feels, and feels very acutely; at least, if its hand is pricked by a pin, it very soon lets us know something is wrong. But that it sees, or tastes, or hears very acutely, we cannot say. As it advances to the state of

childhood, it seems to be able to turn its senses to better account; but still its powers of judgment and reasoning are so faulty that it often makes great mistakes, as e. g. in what it hopes to be able to move. A long experience is necessary for it to turn its senses to really good account. Yet what is at fault in the case of an infant? Is the brain, or are the nerves, or what is it?

It would seem that a state of civilized society, moreover, is not always favorable to the perfection of our senses:—

“We are not to judge of the degree of sensation with which nature has endowed us, from the blunted condition of these organs in a state of society. An American Indian has such an acute sight, that he can discover the prints of his enemies' feet, can ascertain their number with the greatest exactness, and the length of time which has elapsed since their passage; he can discover the fires, and hear the noises of his enemies, where no sign of the contiguity of any human being could be discovered by the most vigilant European. Nothing can be plainer than that a life of society is unfavourable to all the animal powers of man. Such a minute and scrupulous exercise of his senses is not necessary to his safety or his support, and he gradually subsides into that mediocrity of organs which is sufficient for his altered condition. One of the immediate effects of civilization is to render such excessive bodily perfection entirely useless. A Choctaw could run from here to Oxford without stopping: I go in the mail coach; and the time that the savage has been employed in learning to run so far, I have employed in something else. It would not only be useless in me to run like a Choctaw, but foolish and disgraceful.”—pp. 60, 61.

We rather doubt the civilized state being unfavourable to *all* the animal powers, if—as in the above passage—the *perfection of the senses* is the point to be decided. For though the American Indian, no doubt, could hear the noises of his enemies, and see the prints of their feet, better than an accomplished English gentleman of the 19th century; we question whether the Indian would be as well able as the Englishman to appreciate one of Handel's oratorios, or a masterpiece of Claude, or even a Mansion-House entertainment: yet, surely, a more “minute and scrupulous” exercise of his senses of hearing, seeing, and tasting, would be necessary in the case of the Englishman. Civilization would seem, not so much to prevent the most minute exercise of the senses, when a man is pleased to exercise them, as generally to lessen his resolution in making great efforts at all. When once he conquers his *inertia*, he may, we apprehend, easily surpass the savage in the actual exercise of every one of his senses. Had Sydney Smith trained himself for a year, who for a moment doubts that he would have beaten the Choctaw in a race from London to Oxford?

Very often the mind *appears to be* almost passive, acquiring and even acting on ideas without the slightest exertion whatever. But this apparent passiveness can only be the effect of long habit :—

“Whoever walks out into the country, cannot avoid seeing the colour of the grass and the shape of the trees to which his eyes are directed. He has not sensations because he chooses to have them, but they come upon him till he removes the organ, and for a time deprives it of its powers.”—p. 64

Yet the mind *must* act, although its acting be so totally without effort that we are not conscious of it. If our Indian grass and trees, as they appear in May, could be placed in juxtaposition with a spring-attired English lawn and landscape, then the passiveness of the mind, as we looked at the latter, would no longer be felt, from the superior gratification it would give us, to what we should receive from a contemplation of the Indian side of the picture. When looking at the most varied and exquisite combinations of colours, we have very little more idea of the mind being at work, than on looking at the most usual and ordinary sights. Who feels that his mind is at work, while looking into a kaleidoscope, except in his superior gratification, as the colours become more exquisite, and the figures more curious and intricate in their arrangement? We doubt whether there is such a thing as passiveness of mind in our waking hours, or whether it is possible *not* to think of any thing.

The Lectures on Conception, Memory, Imagination and Judgment are almost altogether lost—small fragments only remaining. In the first of these, allusion is made to dreaming, and exceedingly were it to be desired that Sydney Smith had left us more of his thoughts on this subject :—

“The mistaking of conceptions for sensations, appears also to be the proper explanation of what passes in our minds during sleep. To consider sleep aright, we must divide it into stages. In profound sleep, there is no evidence that we think at all. When we have been exhausted with great fatigue, or acute pain, we often lie motionless for hours, without the smallest recollection that a single idea has past through our minds: the periods of sleeping and waking appear to be consecutive instants of time. In this state of sleep it seems as if every operation of the mind were entirely suspended; and in the instance of those who have taken quantities of opium, or become drowsy from long journeys over snow, it seems to have a great tendency to death. We frequently dream in our sleep, without recollecting the slightest feature of our dreams when we awake. It would appear at first that processes of thought, which have made such faint impression on the memory, must have been the slightest and most disconnected of all dreams; and yet the most rational and systematic dreamers—those who walk in their sleep—have seldom

or ever the most distant recollection that they have been dreaming at all. —In the common state of sleep, where we dream without stirring, or, at least, without walking about, there seems to be, first, a great diminution of the power of the will over the body, but by no means a total suspension of that power : for a person much agitated in his dreams can cry out, and therefore subject the organs of speech to his will ; or he can toss about his hands and feet, and so subject *those* parts of his body to his will ; but, however, the influence of the will upon the body, though not wholly suspended, is certainly considerably weakened. In this sort of sleep it is still less suspended over the *mind*, for a man makes a bargain in his dreams, and examines the terms of the bargain, and dwells upon one part of it with some accuracy ; he argues in his sleep, not merely repeating, as has been said, arguments which have occurred to him in his waking hours, but inventing new ones, with some pains and attention. I mention these circumstances in opposition to those who have contended that the influence of the will is entirely suspended in sleep. I should think *diminished* would be a better word, for suspended it certainly is not in the body, and still less so in the mind ; though its power is incomparably less than in our waking hours.”—pp. 75, 76.

There are even well recorded cases where the power of the mind seems *greater* in a dream than when its owner is wide awake ; able to do things which it was not able to do in the latter case. Mathematicians have been known to rise, and solve problems, which they could not make out and left unfinished before going to sleep ; and even one well recorded instance of such a thing, shows that the will may exert very great power over the body as well as mind. Very often the sleeper will carry on conversations with some form that his imagination has “bodied forth,” replying to questions, and making remarks perfectly consistent with the view he would take, when awake, of the subject that is being discussed between his imaginary friend and himself ; and the order of his thoughts is such as never to interfere with what his friend has to say, or to speak at a wrong time. When Mercutio says of dreams, that they are

“ The children of an idle brain
 Begot of nothing but vain fantasy,
 Which is as thin of substance as the air” ;

we must conclude he had never given the subject of dreaming very serious thought. The idle brain, certainly, does not dream nearly so much as the busy, restless, troubled, anxious brain. And so far from vain fantasy being the parent of the children, we consider that much more frequently deep thought, and careful consideration, would claim them for their own.

In the remnants of the Lectures on Memory and Imagination, there is no allusion to dreaming ; but memory and

imagination are almost always hard at work in long and connected dreams. We remember things which no effort would enable us to call to mind whilst awake ; things that occurred years ago, and then seemed not worth a thought. Then, into what *waking mind* would half the absurd imaginations enter that enter it whilst we sleep ? In what a strange way, moreover, does dreaming exhibit the connection between the corporeal and spiritual. The dreams most original in their absurdity, are probably those indulged in by ladies and gentlemen whose powers of digestion are considerably impaired. When awake, they are the most sober-thinking people possible, not at all fond of "such tricks as strong imagination hath:" but they no sooner go to sleep than they are off into a fairy land of their own creation, or people their own sphere with the most extraordinary creatures possible ; talk to these confusions of their brain, and receive hints and ideas from them, not, it is true, often worth very much, but still not always valueless. Frequently, the things presented to our senses immediately before going to sleep form the subject of the dream ; as *e. g.* when one, on going to bed, hears a rat nibbling in the wainscot, and dreams of himself being the unwilling meal of an immense colony of rats, without the least power of resistance : till, on their making a last attack which would inevitably destroy him, he jumps up and finds it was a dream. Or, when one has been reading a book which has the jocose, or terrible, or sublime, or beautiful, for its subject ; a dream will often carry on the tale, or mingle up with it part of the sleeper's experience of former years, or associate him with the hero or heroine : both memory and imagination are at work, and he wakes to wonder at the method of his nonsense, and the incongruous materials his brain had collected, or given birth to.

In the fragmentary Lecture on "Memory," our author strongly recommends the practice of *classifying* things we wish to keep in mind. To such as *have* a good memory, and have a very great number of things to remember, and have to apply what they have read, there can be no doubt this must be a most useful proceeding. But memory, though capable of being wonderfully improved by exercise, appears to us to be eminently a *natural* gift. Exercising, or rather attempting to exercise, a thoroughly bad memory, will never make it a good one. Ordinary people, moreover, would, we apprehend, be terribly puzzled at arranging their *memoranda* into classes ; and the systems of *memoria tech-*

nica, which some find to answer well, have with us, we must confess, always made the business worse than ever. Real attention will do more for most people than any artificial schemes of arrangement; and though Sydney Smith holds in no estimation the plan of "making notes," we have found this, especially in reading a history, one of the best modes of impressing on the memory the chief points which were worthy of being borne in mind. To such men as Macaulay, who read every thing and remember everything they read, (and we have heard that Sydney Smith himself had the same remarkable power of memory,) the system of classifying subjects may be not merely useful, but absolutely necessary.

As to the decay in memory observable in old men, Dugald Stewart conceives (and Sydney Smith thinks with great justice) that it "proceeds as frequently from the very little interest they take in what is passing around them, as in any bodily decay by which their powers of mind are weakened." Yet there are many instances, we think, of old men continuing to take apparently the same interest they were wont to take in all that goes on about them, who yet are confused directly they attempt to recall events of auld lang syne. Whether *bodily* decay is, or is not, the cause of this decay in memory it would be difficult to prove; but such would seem to be the case, for how often sickness and suffering do for the young what time does for the old. The mind and body are too closely connected for the one not to suffer with the other. The house, thank God, never moulders to decay, without the tenant receiving warning.

In the Lecture on the "Conduct of the Understanding" there is some excellent practical advice, which we feel no hesitation in giving verbatim,

"The first thing to be done in conducting the understanding is precisely the same as in conducting the body,—to give it regular and copious supplies of food, to prevent that atrophy and marasmus of mind, which comes on from giving it no new ideas. It is a mistake equally fatal to the memory, the imagination, the powers of reasoning, and to every faculty of the mind, to think too early that we can live upon our stock of understanding,—that it is time to leave off business, and make use of the acquisitions we have already made, without troubling ourselves any further to add to them. It is no more possible for an idle man to keep together a certain stock of knowledge, than it is possible to keep together a stock of ice exposed to the meridian sun. Every day destroys a fact, a relation, or an inference; and the only method of preserving the bulk and value of the pile is by constantly adding to it."

—p. 96.

And again:—

"Generally speaking, the life of all truly great men has been a life of intense and incessant labour. They have commonly passed the first half of life in the gross darkness of indigent humility,—overlooked, mistaken, contemned, by weaker men,—thinking while others slept, reading whilst others rioted, feeling something within them that told them they should not always be kept down among the dregs of the world; and then, when their time was come, and some little accident has given them their first occasion, they have burst out into the light and glory of public life, rich with the spoils of time, and mighty in all the labours and struggles of the mind. Then do the multitude cry out—"a miracle of genius." Yes, he is a miracle of genius, because he is a miracle of labour; because, instead of trusting to the resources of his own single mind, he has ransacked a thousand minds; because he makes use of the accumulated wisdom of ages, and takes, as his point of departure, the very last line and boundary to which science has advanced; because it has ever been the object of his life to assist every intellectual gift of nature however munificent, and however splendid, with every resource that art could suggest, and every attentive diligence could bestow."—p. 98.

The highest beauty of this passage is its truthfulness. Many will recollect cases in point: many, too, will recall instances of superior men whose after life yielded no fruits corresponding to the fair promise their youth gave. The favorite of a public school or college is very rarely the man who reads most: it is almost always he who appears to know everything, and to be able to do much, without any reading at all. The mistake lasts beyond the college walls. Acuteness of intellect, especially if a slight sparkling of wit be super-added, is far more valued in society than the sterling qualities of sound sense and deep learning. As shallow streams make most noise, so shallow minds, with a glittering surface, make most talk. Let it not be supposed we desire to attribute to all great talkers little minds. Far, very far, from it; all great men who have moved much in society have been noted for their conversational, as well as mental, powers. Nor, on the other hand, do we count silence any sure proof of wisdom; for even a fool, when wise enough to hold his peace, may thus gain credit for understanding. We are only saying what all know to be true, that much applause may be conceded to a singularly small stock of knowledge; and, further, that this applause is just the very greatest impediment to an increase in the stock. The danger is, when a little learning so well repays a man, that he fancies he possesses a good deal more than he has, and his success becomes to him the mother, first of conceit, afterwards of downright ignorance. The learning gained in the first twenty years of a man's existence is a poor capital to draw on for the rest of his life. He will be a bankrupt before he thinks of it. Plainly, the only

mode of preventing this, is to go on adding to the foundation which every good education is presumed to lay. But,

"If we are to read, it is a very important rule, in the conduct of the understanding, that we should accustom the mind to keep the best company, by introducing it only to the best books. But there is a sort of vanity some men have, of talking of, and reading, obscure, half-forgotten authors, because it passes, as a matter of course, that he who quotes authors which are so little read, must be completely and thoroughly acquainted with those authors which are in every man's mouth. For instance, it is very common to quote Shakspeare; but it makes a sort of stare to quote Massinger. I have very little credit for being well acquainted with Virgil: but if I quote Silius Italicus, I may stand some chance of being reckoned a great scholar. In short, whoever wishes to strike out of the great road, and to make a short cut to fame, let him neglect Homer, and Virgil, and Horace, and Ariosto and Milton; and, instead of these, read and talk of Fracastorius, Sannazarius, Lorenzini. let him neglect everything which the suffrage of ages has made venerable and grand, and dig out of their graves a set of decayed scribblers, whom the silent verdict of the public has fairly condemned to everlasting oblivion.

"Then there is another piece of foppery which is to be cautiously guarded against—the foppery of *universality*—of knowing all sciences, and excelling in all arts—chemistry, mathematics, dancing, history, reasoning, riding, fencing, Low Dutch, High Dutch, natural philosophy, and enough Spanish to be able to talk about Lope de Vega: in short, the modern precept of education very often is, 'Take the admirable Crichton for your model: I would have you ignorant of nothing.' Now, *my* advice, on the contrary, is to have the *courage* to be ignorant of a great number of things, in order to avoid the calamity of being ignorant of every thing."—pp. 99, 100.

We cannot avoid giving another extract or two from this Lecture, though space is failing, and our work little more than begun:—

"We do not want *readers*, for the number of readers seems to be very much upon the increase, and mere readers are very often the most idle of human beings. There is a sort of feeling of getting through a book—of getting enough out of it, perhaps, for the purpose of conversation,—which is the great cause of this imperfect reading, and the forgetfulness which is the consequence of it, whereas the ambition of a man of parts should be, not to know *books* but *things*: not to shew other men that he has read Locke, and Montesquieu, and Dumont, but to shew them that he knows the subjects on which Locke, and Montesquieu, and Dumont have written. It is no more necessary that a man should remember the different dinners and suppers which have made him healthy, than the different books which have made him wise. Let us see the result of good food in a strong body, and the result of great reading in a full and powerful mind. If you measure the value of study by the insight you get into subjects, not by the power of saying you have read many books, you will soon perceive that no time is so badly saved, as that which is saved by getting through a book in a hurry. For if, to the time you have given, you had added a little more, the subject would have been fixed

on your mind, and the whole time profitably employed; whereas, upon your present management, because you would not give a little more, you have lost all."

When Sydney Smith said there were more readers than thinkers, he was of course speaking of the gentlemen of England. Were these Lectures to have been delivered by him in India, he would probably have laid more stress on the need of reading, and of reading good works. It is utterly impossible to over-rate the immense effect for good on the understanding arising from the study of really good authors; as also the serious effect for evil by the reading works of injurious tendency, or such vapid trash as is to be found in many modern novels. The reading of any book that we *remember* anything at all about, either does the understanding direct good, or direct evil. If, from its perusal we gained nothing in the least worth carrying away, either to improve the mind, or to make us better in any sense of the word, it is not merely lost time to have read it, but so much of it as clings a while to the memory, is a dead weight upon it.

Books, however, are not the only means to use for strengthening the understanding. The knowledge of man,—and above all of ourselves—if this latter knowledge may in any wise be gained—are, both, most necessary. It is a very great thing to know the weak points of our neighbours, as well as ourselves. Men must condescend to become acquainted with their neighbour's follies, if they could ever be considered *by them* to possess great minds, or if they ever wish to gain influence over them. It needs considerable experience to read a man correctly, for you have to judge by something deeper than the outward acts, and there is a vast difference between men in public, and in private. But yet there are not a few instances of such as have attained a wonderful acquaintance of the working of the minds of other men, who have only had a most superficial acquaintance of their own; ignorant of what they could do, and what they were fit for; confident in their strength, but cowards when they came to perform; or else, fearing to venture when, had they ventured, success would have certainly attended them. But on this, let our author speak:—

"A great deal of talent is lost to the world for the want of a little courage. Every day sends to their graves a number of obscure men, who have only remained obscure because their timidity has prevented them from making a first effort; and who, if they could only have been induced to begin, would in all probability have gone great lengths in the career of fame. The fact is, that in order to do anything in this world worth doing, we must not stand shivering on the bank, and thinking of the cold

and danger, but jump in and scramble through as well as we can. It will not do to be perpetually calculating risks, and adjusting nice chances: it did all very well before the Flood, when a man could consult his friends upon an intended publication for a hundred and fifty years, and then live to see its success for six or seven centuries afterwards; but at present a man waits, and doubts, and hesitates, and consults his brother, and his uncle, and his first cousins, and his particular friends, till one day he finds that he is sixty-five years of age,—that he has lost so much time in consulting first cousins and particular friends, that he has no more time left to follow their advice.”—p.106.

And again:—

“It is a very wise rule in the conduct of the understanding, to acquire early a correct notion of your own peculiar constitution of mind, and to become well acquainted, as a physician would say, with your *idiosyncrasy*. Are you an acute man, and see sharply for small distances? or are you a comprehensive man, and able to take in wide and extensive views into your mind? Does your mind turn its ideas into wit? or are you apt to take a common-sense view of the object presented to you? Have you an exuberant imagination, or a correct judgment? are you quick, or slow? accurate or hasty? a great reader, or a great thinker? It is a prodigious point gained if any man can find out where his powers lie, and what are his deficiencies, if he can contrive to ascertain what Nature intended him for: and such are the changes and chances of the world, and so difficult it is to ascertain our own understandings, or those of others, that most things are done by persons who could have done something else better.”

Connected with this subject is the necessity of a man's turning to the best account his particular calling in life. Some are so unfortunate as to choose a profession, or employment, which they find, when too late, they are not well fitted for. Every year increases their dislike of the particular duties that devolve on them. Now a man, in such a case, must choose one of two things. He must either try something else; or he must make up his mind to be content with—and what is more, *to like*—what he has got. If it be impossible to rectify the mistake, it is utterly useless to spend a life mourning over it. A vigorous mind will set itself to remove, as far as possible, its causes of dislike. None have ever risen to eminence in a calling they detested. They must learn to like it, or be content to be—nothing. They may devote all their *l  isure* to other occupations, and the cultivation of other tastes than those required for their own calling. The ¹⁰⁷Lawyer may study books on physic; or the Doctor may indulge in mathematics; or the Officer may astonish his brethren by his skill in metaphysics; and men may become tolerably accomplished in spheres not their own. But there is always so much to learn, and so much to do, in every particular calling of life, that it is quite enough for those *who would*

rise above mediocrity in their own calling, to devote their whole powers to it, and it alone. In every station of life there is nearly certain to come a time, or times, when some particular *call* will be made for extraordinary exertion. Now, it is an immense point to be prepared for these calls, when they come: but, to be so, the mind and understanding must have been previously well girt up for the demands then made upon it. Good fortune puts opportunities in a man's way, and the more he has the better his luck; but good fortune never helps him to turn them to good account.

“There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.”

Jul. Cæsar, A. 4. S. 3.

The best lectures in the volume seem to us to be those on “Wit and Humour;” and very few men could have been better fitted than Sydney Smith to write, and write well, on such a subject. None, who have attended to his first definition of Moral Philosophy,—that it includes all that treats of the mind of man—will have to enquire, what Wit can have to do with Moral Philosophy? For there is no doubt that the feeling of the ridiculous has always produced, and will always produce, an immense effect for good or evil on human affairs generally, and on the mind of every one, in particular. The power of wit is not less now than when the Poet said,—

“*ridiculum acri
Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.*”

Sat. I. 10-14.

And though it is very true that ridicule may exist apart from wit, yet *the feeling of the ridiculous* must generally be caused by it, or something very much akin to it. Whether any of our readers have ever tried, or not, to define wit, we have no means of knowing: but, if they have, and have done so with any satisfaction to others, or even to themselves, they must have by no means shallow minds. Dr. Barrow's remarks upon the various forms in which wit is wont to appear, amusing as they are, afford us no real explanation of what it is, or wherein it consists. Dryden's remarks, that wit is “a propriety of thoughts and words, or thoughts and words elegantly adapted to the subject,” is an equally good definition of a well-written letter, or speech, or sermon. Pope says of wit,

"True Wit is nature to advantage drest
Oft thought before, but ne'er so well exprest."

"Then," says Sydney Smith, "the Philippics of Cicero, the orations of Demosthenes are witty; Cæsar's Commentaries are witty; Massillon is one of the greatest wits that ever lived; the Orations Funèbres of Bossuet are prodigies of facetiousness. Sir Richard Blackmore's notion of wit is, that it is 'a series of high and exalted ferments'. It very possibly *may* be; but, not exactly comprehending what is meant by a 'series of high and exalted ferments', I do not think myself bound to waste much time in criticising the metaphysics of the learned physician."

It is somewhat remarkable that such men as Pope, Dryden, and Barrow—and to their names may be added those of Johnson, Locke and Addison—should have all completely failed in giving an accurate definition of what wit really is, or what features it has peculiar to itself. To come to a more correct explanation of it. It appears to concern itself with "the relations which subsist between our *ideas*, and which excite *surprise*." This explanation however is not perfect; for then any curious piece of mechanism would also be a curious piece of wit—the ideas, received by us on inspecting it, being capable of exciting very great surprise at the ingenuity displayed in its invention. Therefore, to constitute wit, there must be no feeling of the *utility* of the relation of our ideas. Nor, secondly, must this relation excite any feeling of the *beautiful*. "The good man," says a Hindoo epigram, "rewards with kindness the very being who injures him. So the sandal-wood, while it is felling, imparts to the edge of the axe its aromatic flavour." Here—says Sydney Smith—is a relation "which would be witty, if it were not beautiful: the relation discovered betwixt the falling sandal-wood, and the returning good for evil is a new relation, which excites surprise; but the *mere* surprise at the relation is swallowed up by the contemplation of the moral beauty of the thought which throws the mind into a more solemn and elevated mood than is compatible with the feeling of wit."

Then, thirdly, the relation of ideas to produce wit must not be mingled with any feeling of the *sublime*. In Paradise Lost, there are numberless passages where relation of ideas produce surprise, but the sublime theme of the poet will effectually prevent any feeling of the ridiculous.

So, again, if the relation of ideas suddenly discovered causes any feeling of anger, or pity, the wit of the remark will almost always be lost. Thus, a piece of wit directed

against one person in a company, however good a joke to those in no way affected by it, will not be considered witty by him. So, also, the misfortunes of our fellow-creatures can never be a subject for real wit to any right-minded person. The wit of fools and the wit of wise men are, on this account, widely different.

True wit, then, appears to be occasioned by that relation of ideas which excite surprise, and surprise *alone*. Many instances might be adduced, where the *importance* and *utility* of the thing said prevents its being considered as wit. "For example, in that apothegm of Rochefoucault, that hypocrisy is a homage which vice renders to virtue, the image is witty, but all attention to the *mere wit* is lost in the justness and value of the observation."

"Louis XIV. was exceedingly molested by the solicitations of a general officer at the levee; and cried out, loud enough to be overheard, 'That gentleman is the most troublesome officer in the whole army.'—'Your Majesty's enemies have said the same thing more than once,' was the reply. The wit of this answer consists in the sudden relation discovered in his assent to the king's invective and his own defence. By admitting the king's observation, he seems, at first sight, to be subscribing to the imputation against him; whereas, in reality, he effaces it by this very means. A sudden relation is discovered where none was suspected."

"A gentleman in Paris, who lived very unhappily with his wife, used, for twenty years together, to pass his evenings at the house of another lady who was very agreeable, and drew together a pleasant society. His wife died, and his friends advised him to marry the lady in whose society he had found so much pleasure. He said, no, he certainly should not, for if he married her, he should not know where to spend his evenings! Here we are suddenly surprised with the idea that the method proposed of securing his comfort may possibly prove the most effectual method of destroying it. At least, to enjoy the pleasantry of the reply, we view it through *his* mode of thinking, who had not been very fortunate in the connexion established by his first marriage." —pp. 126-27.

In the above explanation of wit, it is to be particularly observed that it is the relation of *ideas* that must cause the surprise; and not any relation of *facts* simply. "Why is it not witty to find a gold watch and seals hanging upon a hedge? Because it is a mere relation of facts discovered without any effort of the mind, and not (as I have said in my definition) a relation of ideas. Why is it not witty to discover the relation between the moon and the tides? Because it raises other notions than those of mere surprise. Why is it witty, in one of Addison's plays, where the undertaker reproves one of his mourners for laughing at a funeral, and says to him,—'you, rascal you! I have been

raising your wages for these two years past upon condition that you should appear more sorrowful, and the higher wages you receive, the happier you look?" Here is a relation between ideas, the discovery of which implies superior intelligence, and excites no other emotion than surprise."—pp. 128-9.

There is no doubt that some minds have the power of appreciating wit very much more than others. As a general rule, men are able to do so far better than women. There can be no more terrible ordeal for a person who has amused one end of a table, than being called upon by the lady of the house to retail his piece of wit for the benefit of those who heard it not, or to *explain* it for those who could not see its point. Wit can never be so to those who require a small commentary to enable them to judge its merits.

Punning is defined as the wit of words; but puns are not high in our author's estimation, nor indeed should they be that of any wise man. They are occasionally admitted into respectable society, but the only reason for their being even tolerated at all is on the understanding that they make their appearance extremely seldom. In this horrible species of wit, it is sometimes even allowable to play upon words of different languages; as, when a short time ago, the Lord Mayor of London having invited a number of Mayors of country corporations to dine with him, it was a question how they were to be all dressed; and a gentleman observed that he had no doubt their costume would be correct, as all of them must know "*Propria quæ māribus.*"

"A sarcasm (which is another species of wit) consists in the obliquity of the invectives. It must not be direct assertion, but something established by inference and analogy; something which the mind does not at first perceive, but, in the discovery of which, it experiences the pleasure of surprise."

If sarcasm be wit at all, in a proper sense, (for no feeling of anger must be excited in the relation of ideas to constitute wit) it certainly can be so only to those not affected by the occult attack which constitutes the sarcasm. It is wit which the sufferer can never appreciate.

A scene of humour, or laughter excited by humour, is occasioned by the sudden discovery of infirmities or failings in others, in which there is *incongruity*. This addition of incongruity appears to be most necessary. Hobbes, in his discourse of human nature, concludes that "the passion of laughter is nothing else but sudden glory arising from some sudden conception of some eminency in ourselves by comparison with

the infirmity of others." If this be true, instead of considering laughter to be caused by a feeling of the ridiculous, we should condemn it as the result of pride. A proud and self-conceited man would be the loudest laugher. Sydney Smith's addition of *incongruity* far more nearly explains the causes of laughter found by ordinary people. As the incongruity is increased or lessened, so the humour is increased or lessened.

"If a tradesman, of a corpulent and respectable appearance, with habiliments somewhat ostentatious, were to slide down gently into the mud, and dedecorate a pea-green coat, I am afraid we should all have the barbarity to laugh. If his hat and wig were to desert their fallen master, it certainly would not diminish our propensity to laugh; but if he were to fall into a violent passion, and abuse every body about him, nobody could possibly resist the incongruity of a pea-green tradesman, very respectable, sitting in the mud, and threatening all the passers-by with the effects of his wrath. Here every incident heightens the humour of the scene. . . . But if, instead of this, we saw a dustman fall into the mud, it would hardly attract any attention, because the opposition of ideas is so trifling, and the incongruity so slight. . . . Further, if we suppose, instead of a common, innocent tumble, that our friend, dressed in green, had experienced a very severe fall, and we discovered that he had broken a limb; our laughter would be immediately extinguished, and converted into lively feeling of compassion. The *incongruity* is as great as it was before, but as it has excited another feeling not compatible with the ridiculous, all mixture of the humorous is at an end."—pp. 137-38.

Hence, whilst surprise is essential to humour, the surprise must be unaccompanied with any feeling of real pity, and equally so with any feeling of terror. In the case of the latter, however, when the feeling of terror is past, the sense of humour may be complete. A gentleman once going down the shaft of a coal-pit in a basket, asked—if the ropes were often changed. The reply he received was, "Yes, Sir, this is the last time of going down with these." The absurdity of his having performed his descent on this particular occasion, and being made acquainted with it at that particular time, and entirely by his own unfortunate question, is enough to excite any body's merriment to whom he afterwards tells the story, because his doing so is sufficient token that he came up in safety; but had we been standing at the pit's mouth, and known the risk he was running, we should have pitied him, instead of laughing.

Buffoonery is voluntary incongruity. Parody is the adaptation of the same thoughts to other subjects. Burlesque is that species of parody which is intended to make the original ridiculous. Good caricature is the humorous addressed to the eye, but it adds the effects of mimicry to those

of humour, and we are amused at the peculiarities, or the ridiculous likeness, in the person or thing caricatured. Wit rarely excites the same degree of laughter that humour does : a circumstance which may arise from the fact of wit consisting in discovering connection, humour in discovering incongruity. The feeling of *admiration*, moreover, is evoked when we hear true wit, which is not the case when incongruities are presented to us, which excite our laughter. Yet, even though wit does frequently excite our admiration, as well as surprise, there is much doubt whether its frequent exercise is productive of good to either the understanding or the heart. Professed wits rarely are respected. They are somewhat dangerous friends. They *must* be witty, and if they are unable to be so at the expense of an enemy, they will be so at a friend's expense. But a man may be witty without making wit his profession, and he may say many good things without any need to pass the bounds of politeness and decorum, or transgress the limits of that friendly intercourse which soothes the troubles of life and lightens the toils of duty. "When wit is combined with sense and information ; when it is softened by benevolence and restrained by strong principle ; when it is in the hands of a man who can use it and despise it, who can be witty and something much *better* than witty, who loves honour, justice, decency, good nature, morality and religion, ten thousand times better than wit ;—wit is *then* a beautiful and delightful part of our nature..... Man could direct his ways by plain reason, and support his life by tasteless food : but God has given us wit, and flavour, and brightness, and laughter, and perfumes, to enliven the days of man's pilgrimage, and to charm his pained steps over the burning marle."—p. 151. .

III.

A DAY IN A BENGAL CUTCHERRY.

BY SYLVANUS SWANQUILL.

Not long ago I had business at the office of one of our Magistrates in Lower Bengal.

"Well, and what then?"—says some impatient and curious reader—"in what district was it? Who was the magistrate? What was your business? And why announce the fact publicly?"

I announce the fact publicly to call attention to what I *saw there*; as to the name of the district and of the magistrate, they are not material to anything I have to mention; and as to the nature of my business, that can in no way interest individuals unconnected with me; and therefore I shall take the liberty to be silent on those subjects. It will be enough to say that I had no suit pending against me, and had complained against no one; that I neither bore, nor bear, any grudge against the magistrate himself or his subordinates; and that no other motive but the hope of instigating a movement towards reform in certain small matters, which may have place in other offices of a similar description, induces me to record and publish the experiences of my visit,—if I may call those *experiences*, which I unpremeditatedly picked up in the few hours during which I lingered "*inter ludibria uite*."

It was ten o'clock when I came into court. The magistrate had not arrived; and I had plenty of time to saunter about and examine the building. For obvious reasons I shall not describe that minutely; but I may say, that it was one-storied, with a high floor,—that it had a large lobby, flanked by two chambers, one for use of the magistrate as a retiring room, wherein to despatch the ministerial portion of his labours, the other for occupation by his clerks. If I add that the lobby led into a large hall, the arena or theatre of justice, I render the ground-plan accurately enough.

A platform of masonry on one side of this hall indicated the *cathedra* of the judiciary; and two railed boxes immediately fronting the platform, showed where culprits had to face the witnesses brought against them. Curiosity led me to mount that platform. There was a spare chair near the magistrate's own, which the peon, who had ushered me in, pushed invitingly towards me; and I mechanically sat down. A small but heavy and massive teak table stood before me;

but with neither slope nor writing materials upon it. A shelf or rack garnished the wall behind, and there were several manuscript books made of country paper, a copy of Skipwith, and huge files of the Regulations and Acts of Government. Not feeling myself at liberty to take up one of these books without permission, I idly leant over the table, and in doing so, observed two names carved upon it. They were those of the present magistrate's next predecessors. One was carved in large neat print, the other in a splendid Italian hand. The letters in the latter were exquisitely symmetrical. The individual who had carved them, had evidently been anxious to excel the man who had carved his name before in print! Scarcely any one in my position could have suppress a smile at this pitiful ambition; and yet there was nothing in the spectacle to justify the least display of pleasure, but rather much occasion for melancholy. How many innocent men had pleaded their cases in vain, while those letters had been carving! How many perjurers had been accounted true men, and permitted to leave the box without a single cross-question, while that labour of love was in progress! How many injured wretches had urged their grievances on a heedless ear, the owner of which had—though the Government never paid him for it—all his attention fixt in fattening the stomach of that L, or curling the tail of that—no matter what!

An hour and a half passed insensibly away in such sentimental reflections; for though, like Sterne, I am not in the habit of falling on my knees in every street and place of public resort, I could not avoid, in the emptiness and silence of that apartment, falling into something like a reverie. Presently the hall began to fill. Mohurers, with small turbans, from under which peeped forth hair which had never cultivated acquaintance with any thing like a comb, and in clothes that their washerman had looked his last upon a fortnight since, spread their little humble mats in the most distant corners, and lazily copied manuscripts, or else conversed in whispers. Mookhtears, with immense grizzled beards, their writing reeds stuck behind their ears, and rolls of petitions in their hands, *salaamed* to their clients, to the mohurers, and to each other, or lounged idly about the purlieus of the Court. Convicts,—sleek, healthy, and comfortable in appearance, with an iron ring on each leg,—carried books, papers, and inkstands, in and out, like domestic servants. And guards, with clubs ribbed with iron, and swords as ponderous as ever any Lord Lindsay of

the Border had worn, with their badges on their breasts, led in a group of haggard-looking, miserable, ill-clad wretches, —and led them out again without any ostensible purpose whatever. There was no more time for reflection or conjecture. A hum was up, and as it might be for the magistrate's approach, I thought it right to descend from my perch. By the politeness of a peon I was accommodated with a chair below ; and a convict, either in compassion or in the course of duty, commenced pulling the Punkah.

Another hour, or thereabouts, passed away. Then there was a great sensation in Court. *Choop, Choop*—make way, make way—passed from mouth to mouth. I thought the great man *had* come. No such thing. It was only the Sheristadar and the Nazir.

The sheristadar was a Mussulman—fat, fair and forty. The nazir was a Hindu, spare and dark, but with a countenance much more prepossessing and intelligent than his companion's. They were both exceedingly well drest, and presented a striking contrast to the mohurers and mookhtears. Rich satin waistcoats, spotless white turbans of the sort which Dwarkanauth Tagore brought into fashion, well polished shoes,—and all the robings *en suite*, of the upper and the nether limbs. Observing me, they both politely came forward, enquired the object of my visit, and then entered into a desultory conversation about the chances of the crop and the aspect of the weather.

Another hour—a still greater sensation—in truth “ a universal hubbub wild, of stunning sounds and voices all confused ” ;—and the magistrate himself was announced. When he entered the lobby there was deep silence. Every one seemed to hold his breath ;—but the hum began again when it was known that he had gone to the small room to the left, where he performed all sorts of work not directly connected with the distribution of justice.

Heavy—heavy—hung the minutes till the magistrate made his appearance in the hall, for I had nothing to do but to stare, having neither book nor paper in my pocket. At length, to my great relief, he came, and, preceded by an attendant, strode up to his chair. He doffed his hat when seated, quietly laid his huge walking stick on the table, and looked about him.

He was a young man of about eight and twenty ;—very tall and very fair, and with an expression of peculiar gentleness in his face. His hair was auburn—but why describe his person so minutely ?

When he observed me, he beckoned me forward, and politely requested me to take a seat beside him. My business was soon told and ended. He then asked me whether I should like to see his work for the day, and on my expressing some curiosity, desired his sheristadar to commence business at once.

The first case called in was a novel one. A couple of the guards of the jail were accused of eating the dinner of the convicts they had in charge. It appeared, that six convicts had been sent on some out-door work in charge of these two men; and that they had (oh the gourmands!) eaten up all the dinner sent from the jail for the six, while the unfortunate convicts were at work. The charge was clearly established, and they were fined in the sum of two Rupees each, or half a month's pay. Nothing seemed to me so extraordinary in the proceedings connected with this case, as the fact that six stalwart convicts should have been sent out in charge of two such meagre, weak, decrepid fellows. If the convicts had thought proper, might they not have escaped? Any one of them, to all appearance, could have levelled their two guards to the ground.

The second case called in was a case of theft. The prisoners were short, ugly men. They were accused of having stolen some clothes, and a couple of sheep belonging to a villager in the remotest corner of the district. They had been apprehended by the darogah, and sent down with the plaintiff, the witnesses, and the stolen sheep and clothes, to take their trial before the magistrate. A couple of badges had been found upon them, and these were placed on the table. The evidence against them was clear and decisive. It appeared that they had gone about the country with these badges, which oddly enough bore the name of a charitable institution in the metropolis, and, under the pretence of the authority with which they were thus armed, had extorted various sums from the simple peasantry. Wherever their pretensions had been questioned, and their badges been looked upon with suspicion, they had taken to different tactics;—the tactics of the thief. When questioned what they had to urge in their defence, they made a confused and scarcely intelligible reply; the purport of which was to establish that they had been deputed by their master to purchase sheep from the villages; that they had bought the animals found in their possession from the plaintiff; and that in consequence of a disagreement with him about the value, he had falsely accused them of theft before the darogah who had been

largely bribed to ruin them :—in a word—that they were the victims of a foul conspiracy. All this, of course, though delivered in the most piteous tones, and with all the airs of injured innocence, went for nothing with the magistrate. They were sentenced to two years imprisonment.

The voluminousness of the proceedings—the unnecessary voluminousness—struck me as the most remarkable feature in this trial. The depositions taken before the darogah had all been forwarded in original. They extended over some twenty sheets of paper. The depositions before the magistrate filled as many more. The papers forwarded by the darogah were, of course, not all read. Who could wade through such a heap of documents? They were just glanced at, but enough was seen in that cursory view to warrant the opinion that the most irrelevant questions had been asked, the most unwarrantable suppositions made, and that nothing else had been aimed at with so apparent an effort as—length! What is the use of such a big report from a subordinate officer? The magistrate places no reliance upon it, even if he condescend carefully to read through it. A simple *chullan* exhibiting the names of the prosecutor, the defendant, and the witnesses, would, to all intents and purposes, have answered just as well. And then the absurdity of making the magistrate's own proceedings extend over twenty sheets of paper in such a case! If it be reprehensible in a native official,—ignorant, because he has had no opportunities of education,—to be so utterly regardless of brevity, how much more in an European magistrate, who has been systematically trained to his work, has been made conversant with the most eminent writers on jurisprudence, and may possibly have seen justice dispensed in the most enlightened courts of Europe! The darogah has at least the Dutchman's defence. He really thinks it a very high honor to be able to write a book "as big as all dat cheese"—but what defence has the magistrate?

Many of my readers will perhaps be wondering at the miraculous rapidity with which depositions would appear from my statement to be taken down in the Mofussil. What! some twenty sheets of paper, and written in the course of half an hour or thereabouts? Yes;—but there is no miracle whatsoever in the matter. The secret lies in a nutshell. The apparent rapidity is only another evil which calls loud for pressing and absolute reform.

The depositions are *not* taken down before the magistrate. A mohurer on a salary of eight or ten Rupees a month takes

them down, while the magistrate is engaged on other duties. It is easy to conceive, but not easy to describe, the multifarious abuses to which such a system must, of necessity, give rise. When one considers the temptations to which the mohurer is exposed, one can hardly conscientiously lay any blame upon him. He is ignorant, never having had the opportunity to read a book; he is corrupt, never having been told by his religion that honesty is a virtue; he is unscrupulous, never having been taught, by force of the examples of those around him, that a man can be otherwise in his sphere; and with these qualifications he is placed in a situation in which he is absolutely without control, and in which, (with no obstacle in his way, except perhaps that innate sense of duty with which God has gifted us, but which alas! dwindles almost to nothing without care and culture,) he can fill his purse at the expense of ruined litigants, who learn too late that it is far less difficult to apply for than to obtain Justice. In such circumstances what can be expected but that he should betray his trust? And wofully, most wofully I fear, does he betray it. He writes down "no" when the witness says "yes," and "yes" when the witness says "no," as often as it suits his purpose. If he is *against* the prosecutor, he does not arrange the plaint in a proper way, but makes out a confused account, with as many contradictions as he can conveniently introduce: if he is *for* him, he makes the plaint a masterpiece of eloquence, squeezes in every possible argument, words it classically, and places in strong lights all those points which he, from experience, knows will *tell* with his superior. And the evidence, of course, is all arranged on the same principle.

It is impossible for the magistrate to discover that the case has been completely distorted when the witnesses are called before him. In the first place, the court jargon is Hebrew to the peasant,—and he generally grunts forth his assent to what is read out as his testimony, without understanding a single word of it: and in the second place, the deposition is sung out with such volubility, that even were his ear familiar with its language, and his mind undistracted by the novelty of his position and the indignity with which he is too frequently treated by the underlings of the court, he could not understand a single word of it.

It has been asserted by a writer in a local periodical, that in eight cases out of ten decided in every* magistrate's court, a *douceur* is paid to the mohurer that takes down depositions. It is impossible for me to say positively whe-

ther such is the fact, but from what I saw I can well believe it. It does not necessarily follow that in ten cases eight are wrongly adjudicated. The money is frequently paid by the party who is in the right, because every body knows that no person, however good his cause, can successfully terminate a lawsuit without such a bribe. The power of the mohurer entrusted with the important work of taking down depositions is so great, that he can carry his point sometimes even against the inclinations of the magistrate. If the magistrate thinks that his advice is wrong and corrupt, and passes orders which are not in consonance with it, the mohurer secretly instructs his baffled friend to institute an appeal before the Sessions Judge. The Sessions Judge calls for the records of the case, and as these are all drawn up with the express intention of favoring the appellant, the decision of the magistrate is naturally enough—reversed. The Sessions Judge has before him only the cut-and-dry depositions of the mohurer, and none of the vivid oral pleading which influenced the decision of the magistrate. He knows nothing of the secret springs at work; and he thus, without a murmur,—one might say of his own choice, save that he hardly has a choice,—becomes the tool of a corrupt and crafty native mohurer on ten Rupees a month.

The next on the list was a case of common assault. The defendant in this case had not been summoned, but the plaintiff and his witnesses were examined one after another, and with much minuteness. The plaintiff stated that the cattle of the individual against whom the suit was laid, had strayed into his fields and eaten up his vegetables; that on this account he had laid hold of them with the intention of sending them to the public pound, and had been violently assaulted while driving them thereto. The defendant, it was urged, was a man of substance, and had been aided and abetted by his relations and servants; and if ample redress were not granted in the present case, would be sure to let his cattle loose on the fields again, and to take summary vengeance on all who attempted to seize or drive them off. The witnesses corroborated all the main features of the accusation. A summons was granted by the magistrate.

It appeared to me singular in this case that the witnesses should be examined in the absence of the defendant. If this was a mere preliminary enquiry, why call any witnesses at all?—why not examine the plaintiff, and either reject the charge brought forward, or grant subpoenas for the witnesses and a summons for the defendant? The plaintiff had

been in the court once before to present his petition ; on that occasion the order had been to issue subpoenas to the witnesses. Would it not have been as well, or rather better, to have issued the summons then ? The plaintiff and the witnesses lived several miles away from the sudder station, and it was no doubt very harassing to them to be running backwards and forwards for several days, if they had to run backwards and forwards.

I could not help expressing my opinion to the magistrate, and enquiring whether the witnesses, whom he now gave leave to return home, would be required to attend again when the defendant made his appearance. I was informed that their presence would not be necessary, unless the defendant insisted upon it ; but that in all probability he would not insist upon any such thing, but be satisfied with the depositions which had been recorded. They were thus entirely at the mercy of the defendant. As he chose, he might again drag them forth from their homes and occupations—leaving “the yoke in the manger and the scythe in the hay,”—or might let them follow their pursuits in peace. The defendant himself, if an ignorant peasant, would be in a most awkward predicament. Nobody would tell him that he had a right of cross-questioning the parties whose testimony would be read out to him, and he would thus have no opportunity of refuting what they had said in the manner generally considered most convincing ; that is, by contradictory statements from their own mouths. He would be entirely dependent on his own witnesses for his exculpation.

On all these considerations, it seemed manifest that it would have been most convenient for all the parties connected with the case, if it had been ordered that on the defendant’s depositing the fees of the nazir’s peons, and the allowance to the witnesses as provided in the Regulations, the witnesses, as well as the defendant, should be brought into court. Such, however, I was told, was not the practice anywhere.

The fourth, and last case on the list was a serious one. A gomastah in the employment of an indigo-planter, stood accused of illegally carrying away and concealing, probably with intent to murder, a servant of the gomastah of a zemindar. The magistrate smiled when he observed the anxiety I betrayed to hear this case, and whispered that such complaints were exceedingly common, that they were generally very uninteresting, and instituted by the dependants of one landholder maliciously against those of another,

in consequence of disputes between their masters,—disputes which sometimes arose from the boundaries of their respective estates being unsettled; and sometimes from their encroaching and litigious dispositions, which led them to create other grounds of quarrel when such opportunities were not to be had. A number of witnesses were minutely examined both for the plaintiff and the defendant. The examination, however, was conducted in too desultory a manner to lead to any immediate result. The witnesses for the plaintiff manifestly gave false evidence, but they were such practised perjurers it was impossible to detect and expose them. All had the same story by rote, and no cross-examination could elicit any remarks grossly contradictory. They were engaged on their master's fields, they said, gathering in the harvest; when the defendant, with a number of labourers and up-country Burkandazes, appeared, some on foot and some on elephants, and attacked them without any provocation on their part. The man whom they were alleged to have carried away, remonstrated, and said he would bring an action against them for this wanton injury before the Judges of the land; but they paid no attention to him. When he grew clamorous, the defendant ordered him to be seized. The order was obeyed, and he was dragged away. All the witnesses confest without any apparent reluctance that they fled in fear from the scene of action when they beheld him thus dragged, and did not even attempt to rescue him. The defendant was evidently of the opinion which Sam Weller's father held;—he thought there was nothing so good for a defence as an *alibi*. He was not even in the district on the date on which the assault was alleged to have been committed. He was then at Dinagapore purchasing rice; he had most respectable witnesses; if the magistrate gave him time he could produce them all; the plaint was a tissue of falsehoods, and the man stated to have been carried away was living in the house of the zemindar of whom the plaintiff was a servant, but would of course be concealed somewhere else if any police officers were sent in search of him. The magistrate gave the defendant time to produce the rest of his witnesses.

The plaint in this case was a false one,—but the wonder was, that the defence was false also.* I enquired whether, if the defendant were acquitted, any of the perjurers who had given evidence against him would be brought to trial. I was answered in the negative; it would be most difficult to bring home the charge against them—and besides, what had they

done? They had only perjured themselves. Half of the witnesses that came unto the court did as much. If the plaintiff's witnesses were to be punished for perjuring themselves—why not the defendant's witnesses in their turn? They would be sure to take their oaths to as many falsehoods in due course.

The fact is, the punishment for perjury, according to the Regulations, is exceedingly absurd. If there be any crime in which a large discretionary power should be left with the bench, it is perjury. There is no crime to which there may be attached so many different shades of enormity as to the one under notice. The zemindar who deliberately seeks the life of a fellow-creature, and trumps up a malicious charge against him with that purpose, commits a crime very different from a peasant who tells a simple untruth to save a neighbour whom he knows to be innocent, and from a charge which he knows to be malicious; and it would be hard indeed if both were to be sentenced to imprisonment for from three to nine years as perjurers. A man deliberately swears that he saw A. give B. a stab in a dark night on the public highway, and rifle his pockets of their contents; well knowing in his heart that A. was at that time sound asleep in his bed. Another equally deliberately swears that C., a servant once in his employ, accused of stealing sweetmeats from a shop, always bore a good character while in his service, well knowing in his heart that C. once appropriated some cast-off clothes without leave. Would it be just to punish them both alike? Certainly not. Many a man, I fear, clearly guilty of having forsworn himself on a subject of small importance, has been acquitted by the Sessions Judge on technical grounds, because that officer was reluctant—and honorably reluctant—to crush him with the full weight of the penalty prescribed by the Law. Who knows, too, how many spirits have rejoiced over their punishment, and thought it ridiculously disproportionate to their offence: and how many have been astounded with the severity of their sentence as compared with their crime, and brooded over the inhumanity of the Government amongst their fellows in the jail, and haply appealed in silence to Heaven to witness their sufferings—sufferings inflicted without any adequate cause?

The magistrate noted down the depositions, in each case, in a small memoranda book of country paper. He wrote a fair legible hand, but on peeping over his shoulders, I observed that the evidence given was not the only thing recorded. The dull details of office work were relieved by vigor-

ous and graphic sketches of baboons, trees, huts, and mountains, all in that approved style which Punch says originated with idle clerks in the Treasury. There were human faces too, here and there, by way of change; some with immense pimpled noses, such as Bardolph himself might be ambitious to own; and some with extravagantly overgrown moustaches and beards which Sibthorp or Napier might be proud to sport! When the magistrate perceived me, he smiled and shut the book; and asked me if I should like to see the records left by his predecessors, which were on the rack behind us. I answered in the affirmative, and two or three memoranda books were immediately taken out of the shelf, cleaned, (for they were plentifully overlaid with dust,) and placed in my hands. There was a great deal of amusing matter in them. Some were richly illustrated with pictures; others had no pictures; some were written in a bold masculine hand; others in a small, thin, lady-like fashion;—but one peculiar feature pervaded and characterised them all. They were unintelligible, chiefly because they were illegible. Whether this peculiar feature was the result of accident or design, cannot be positively decided;—but a sinister, and perhaps unamiable suspicion flashed across my mind. It may have been uncharitable, but I could not check conjecturing for a moment, whether the magistrates might by any possibility have purposely disfigured their manuscripts, and made them unintelligible, in the fear lest they should, some day or other, fall into such unfriendly hands as might not hesitate to expose their deficiencies to the Government and the public.

The business of the Court ended, the petitions of the public were ordered to be taken and read. A number of natives now crowded round the bench, each anxious to present his roll of paper first. The sheristadar gathered the rolls together, and read out the abstract of each petition, which was written on the back of it; and in no case was an entire petition read out. The complaints were of various natures. One man complained that the bamboos and mangoe trees on his grounds had been forcibly cut down by a neighbour; another, that he had been robbed of a bag of rupees, which he was carrying to his master, by a servant of an indigo planter; a third, that he had been assaulted; a fourth, that a burkundaz employed in the jail had enticed his wife away—with (here was the unkindest cut of all!) all her jewels; a fifth, (he was a Hindu) that beef had been thrown into his cookroom by a Mussulman who resided next door, in consequence of a quarrel, which I was told, had

given employment to the magistracy for some years ; a sixth, of forcible dispossession of land ; a seventh—but it would be tedious to enumerate more.

The orders on all these cases were uniform. The plaintiffs were directed to deposit into Court the fees of the nazir's peons and the allowances of the witnesses, that the witnesses might be duly subpoenaed. A number of the ordinary complaints were directed to be transferred to the Principal Sudder Ameen and the Mohamedan Law Officer. The rest, with two exceptions, were made over to the deputy magistrate.

The magistrate was about to rise, when a man, whom I had before observed anxious to attract his attention, rushed in front, and with joined hands begged that an enquiry might be instituted in a case of murder committed in the interior of the district. The magistrate either did not, or pretended not to hear him, for he calmly put on his hat and placed his walking stick under his arm. He was about to descend, when I felt it my duty to direct his attention to the petitioner, who had now become perfectly importunate. At my request the magistrate sat down quietly again, and enquired into the matter. It appeared that the petition of the man had been received through the superintendent of Police in the Lower Provinces, and was amongst the records. It was sent for, and when brought, ordered to be read. As the sheristadar proceeded, the face of the magistrate became more and more flushed, for the document under perusal was full of the grossest abuse. It charged him not only with inefficiency but with corruption, and concluded with an earnest prayer, for his removal from the district ; for he had done much evil in it, both in what he had committed and what he had omitted, and among the last, had not even enquired into a case of murder, which had repeatedly been brought to his notice. When the sheristadar had done, the magistrate asked the petitioner whether he was aware he was liable to summary and severe punishment for such malicious accusations. The man folded his arms, looked on the ground for a moment, and then replied, he had said nothing but the truth. The case was then ordered to be transferred to the deputy magistrate. On enquiry I ascertained that this man was a hanger-on about the court, who had more than once enjoyed the society of the jail birds ; that his character was notoriously infamous, and that the charge of murder which he had so boldly brought forward was a malicious one, and had been repeatedly enquired into and found to be

such. There was much independence however about the fellow, whatever his character, and this I could not help admiring when I compared it with the servility of those around me,—but I was informed that the independence arose out of sheer desperation. He was the ryot of a very tyrannical and oppressive zemindar, whose exactions had roused him to opposition—and that opposition had been met by opposition, until the dreadful but unequal contest had ended in his ruin. Friendless, homeless, poor, he had in the pangs of starvation vowed eternal enmity to his oppressor and the oppressor of his brethren. And this enmity he now and then manifested by getting up a false charge in the magistrate's court for the destruction of his opponent—a method of revenge indicative no less of his own character than that of his countrymen in general.

As I came out of the court with the magistrate, I witnessed a spectacle which shocked me much. A poor fellow, about thirty years of age, was bound to a wooden triangle fixed on the ground, and in this miserable plight was beaten with the lash. He had been convicted of theft, and sentenced to receive thirty strokes of the ratan. The man who beat him was a stunted, dark, deformed creature, with frizzled hair like a French dandy, but though of a slender make, fully equal to his work. When he had applied just a stroke or so, his victim began to cry for mercy; but he went on smartly and lustily as ever, until the spectators had counted the full tale. The back of the prisoner became red with blood, and when they unloosed his arms he was scarcely able to stand. He flung himself on the ground, and wept aloud like a child. One of the guards, by direction of the native doctor present, came forward and walked over the prostrate body—treading on the sore as well as the uninjured parts in a manner which, though perhaps meant to alleviate, must have served to increase the agony of the sufferer.

Why has corporal punishment been revived in India, in such an age of reform? It had fallen into disuse for many—many years—and was in fact abrogated. There was a time, and a time within the memory of man, when a merchant or a lawyer, even in the metropolis of British India, had but to send a small note to the magistrate (magistrate forsooth!) to have a refractory servant beaten into a jelly. There was a time, and a time also within the memory of man, when if a respectable householder happened to be in bad odour with the myrmidons of the police, he was dragged as a thief into the police compound, and without the slightest

shadow of evidence, whipt and branded until his relations and friends thought it a disgrace to own him. But there came a time when the necessity of abolishing a punishment so humiliating to our nature, and so little susceptible of redress, in the event of its infliction from error, was felt and owned; and the punishment was virtually abrogated. What then, we repeat, caused its revival in such an age of progress and reform? Some say the Government felt constrained to revive it in order to support a favorite, though not very clever, magistrate, who had ignorantly acted upon the obsolete law,—but the rumour is too monstrous to be believed.

A number of up-country men surrounded the magistrate as he descended the stone steps, clamorous for appointment. He waved them off with his cane, and directed them to stand in a straight line. Then turning to the nazir, he enquired how many vacancies there were in the several *thannahs*. A book was handed over to him by that officer, from which he perceived that there were three vacancies; and he forthwith proceeded to make his selection. It was curious to observe the appearances and attitudes of the men as they felt his eyes fixed upon them. Some cringed, some bowed, some clasped their hands, some looked solemn and demure, and some put on a smile. The manner of the selection convinced me that the father of Frederick the Great was not the only man who thought the tallest people were the bravest and the best!

A *thannah burkundaz* receives a salary of four Rupees a month, but the eagerness and anxiety with which the appointment is coveted, clearly shews that the salary is not his only remuneration. If a Rupee were added to his pay, the place would probably be less sought, as there would then be less excuse for extortion, and extortion would necessarily be more exposed.

IV.

NOTES ON THE POLICE IN THE N. W. PROVINCES.

WE have on former occasions attempted to sketch the relative positions of an English Magistrate in Upper India and the body of the people, it remains now only to consider him *en rapport* to the Government.

There is much to tempt men in power in India, and, above all, Magistrates, to fancy themselves omnipotent, and to lead them to exclaim with the French Monarch, 'L'etat c'est moi.' But an Indian magistrate by no means escapes the conditions of modern power, and with many slaves he has too no short allowance of masters.

And here we come to a constitutional defect, if not an organic disorder, in our system of Government; for whilst the magistrate owns allegiance to a whole host of authorities, not any one of those authorities is in the position effectually either to support or to control him. The Government may smash the magistrate, the Nizamut Adawlut or the Commissioner of Police may snub him, the Sessions Judge may worry him, Inspectors of Prisons or of Road Police may trouble and perplex him; but not one of these superiors is able fully to test his merits or to remedy his failings.

The evil of this systematic defect may not be felt when, as at present, the Government is conducted by a Statesman who is closely acquainted with the merits of his subordinate officers. But when another Pharaoh comes who knows not Joseph, when the magistrates are left to prove their worth, if they can, merely through the regular channels of official routine, they will have little beyond their own sense of duty to guide or encourage them in labors as arduous as often fall to the lot of man. For, to consider *seriatim* the *custodes* of the *custodes* of Upper India:—

First. We have his Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. Provinces.

Now, we repeat, so long as we have in this noble office a man who studies the official character of all the more prominent officers under him, as a pilot studies his ground, not only by chart, but, so to speak, by actual soundings, so long as the foremost man in the ranks of the up-country service be chosen to rule at Agra, no good magistrate will be overlooked. But for all that, the exertions of able magistrates may fail to attract the same attention as the performances of efficient revenue officers. The cause of this is not justly to be traced to any indifference on the part of the Government

as to how the people of the country are treated, so long as the Government share of the resources of the country is duly realized. No, it is to a very different reason that we must attribute the insufficient hold which the Government of India has on the magistrate. English constitutional law has perhaps more to do with the matter than Oriental despotism. But this we can better shew when we come to consider the magistrate's second master, namely,

The Sudder Nizamut Adawlut, or Supreme Court of Criminal Judicature, which stands next in the rank to the head of the State. Before this tribunal the record of all the judicial acts of the magistrate, duly registered, monthly passes. The Sudder Judges also constantly have his proceedings in criminal cases under review. But in India, as in England, the Judges hold no administrative responsibility to the Government. They are virtually supreme and unfettered, and do not consider it within the limit of their ordinary jurisdiction to weigh nicely the merits of each magistrate or the nature of his work. The acts of the Government itself, as every one knows, are liable to be called in question before their tribunals, and, we repeat, virtually the Judges are independent of the administration of the State. Under these circumstances, which, be it observed, result from an imitation of the constitutional law of England, it were absurd to expect from a Judge of the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut a reasonable opinion as to the merits or efficiency of any particular magistrate. Ask such a Judge what is the public character of any one of the district magistrates, and he will candidly confess that he is unable to give a decided opinion.*

But the qualifications of the same man as a revenue officer are subjected to a far more close and immediate scrutiny by the Board of Revenue, which is directly subordinate to the local Government and responsible for the control of the Collectors of Revenue. It not only belongs to this Board to test accurately the qualifications of all their subordinates, but also to keep the Government informed of their estimate of each and all. .

We do not complain of the independence of the judicial officers, but merely offer this explanation of the causes which tend to exalt the office of collector over that of magistrate. The collector being more immediately and closely watched

* We allude here to the Sudder Judges at Agra ; in the Calcutta Court we have reason to believe that a closer watch is kept over the criminal proceedings in the Lower Courts.

by one powerful department has a better opportunity of proving his abilities than the magistrate, whose entire official career comes under no such immediate scrutiny. For all the *judicial* acts of the magistrate come under the review of the Sessions Judge or the Supreme Criminal Court only, and these Judges having no authority over the magistrate in *police* matters, are not in the position to form an accurate estimate of his calibre.

Let us go on now to consider,

The Commissioner of Police, who comes third amongst the superiors of our magistrate. This high official who is, or ought to be, responsible directly to the Government for the Police in his division,* has, on the whole, the best opportunity of appreciating the labors of the magistrate. But he has no power either to control or to support the judicial acts of a district chief. In fact, he can only see the magistrate's conduct officially from one point, and can test his efficiency simply as an administrator of Police, not as a judge in criminal cases. For all this, if the Commissioner habitually and systematically gives as much of his time and attention to the police as to the revenue concerns of his division, he may be an instrument of extensive good to the people. It belongs to him not only to exhort, encourage, or, if need be, rebuke the magistrates, but he should closely scrutinize by local enquiry the character of every native police authority in his jurisdiction. He should know minutely the peculiar strong or weak points in the administration of each district, and carry a good magistrate over every obstacle. The intimate acquaintance which, as the eye of the Government, he ought to have with the state of public feeling in each part of his division, will enable him to form a correct estimate of the relative value of the district officers. As for the mere figured monthly reports of crime, these alone will shew little. One of the first results of efficient district management following upon laxity may be an apparent increase of crime. The proportion between crime and punishment may be a surer test, but even this cannot always be implicitly trusted. One of the most unfailing of all possible criteria of a magistrate's character is the '*vox populi*,' which in India, as in other places, can hardly be mistaken in a matter where popular interests are so deeply con-

* The Revenue Commissioners are also Superintendents of Police in the Upper Provinces, and we hope, ere long, to see them invested with similar powers in Bengal.

cerned. But whilst we advocate the most anxious supervision, and recommend the Police Commissioner ever to keep a ready ear and open eye, we as distinctly deprecate anything like a needless spirit of meddlesome interference. If we may borrow a metaphor from naval life, we would dub our Commissioners as quarter-masters, whose part it is to guide carefully the vessel of the State so far as their own watch extends. It is their business to keep a sharp eye on the ship's head and compass, and to warn the helmsman of any error in his course, not to knock him on one side, to seize hold of the helm, or let the haul-yards fly.

In matters of police the Commissioner corresponds directly with the Government. Now, though judicious praise will do more good to a deserving officer than any other stimulant, we protest against its indiscriminate use, until it degenerates into the "*butter*" of vulgar life. The Annual Police Reports of some of our Commissioners present rather too much of this smooth and unctuous lubricity, and remind us of the confabulation between the Sudder Judge and the Registrar in the olden time.

Sudder Judge.—Is the annual report ready?

Registrar.—Quite ready.

Sudder Judge.—Have you praised *all* the Judges?

Registrar.—*All*.

Sudder Judge.—Then send it off.

The upshot then of our remarks is just this: the Commissioner may, as Superintendent of Police, if he pleases, do very much for the country. He ought to be the eye of the Government, but it depends on the man whether the office be a great or a small one. It is, as he may please to make it, the Proconsulship of a wide province or a species of Post-office *ambulante*.

The fourth superior under whom the magistrate labors is the Sessions Judge. This officer has power to do nothing in a district but to undo every thing if he pleases. Happily for the magistrates and for the people, Indian Judges act generally with generosity as well as judgment, and use their powers discreetly. But for this, so great is the encouragement to appeal upon appeal which the law gives, the magistrates would be unable to maintain public order. When a Judge ascends the bench who, from some defect of mind or temperament, is incapable of taking up cases except with the pettifogging animus of a small English attorney, the result upon the police of a district is most mischievous. For it is needless to say that in a state of society, such as exists in

India, men should be encouraged to the utmost to love equity, truth, and good faith, above all things. What can it do but harm to the Indian morale to see an English Judge exalting the letter of the law above its spirit? A quibbling hair-splitting Judge who instinctively prefers the legal to the equitable aspect of a question is a public misfortune. Such a man, throwing away the very arms with which his education as an Englishman might have furnished him, descends into the arena to combat crime and intrigue with weapons at which every little Indian lawyer is his master. At the same time it behoves the magistrate to beware, lest, by any fault of his, excuse be given for an over-zealous regard to the mere letter of the law on the part of the Judge. For if the executive authority be tempted to issue an illegal order, or to do an arbitrary act, who shall blame the superior court for setting things right. It may be a weakness to cling too fondly to the law, but it is a sin knowingly to neglect it. So once for all, we urge upon the notice of the magistracy old John Selden's rule "Eat within your stomach, act within your commission."*

Pass we on now to Number five of the magistrate's masters.

The Inspector of Prisons claims a share of his allegiance. District officers complain, but we think without sufficient reason, of the increased trouble thrown upon them by the Inspector's demand for sundry returns and prison statistics. It cannot be denied that the labors of the Jail establishments have been increased, but the health and safe custody of the prisoners have been secured in proportion. Indeed, if we were asked to point out a modern measure, combining in a remarkable degree economy, humanity, and progress, it is this appointment of a general Inspectorship of Prisons we should name.† The services of an able and intelligent officer have been secured for the sole object of reforming prison discipline, and a mass of statistical information has been acquired which cannot fail to supply the material for progressive improvement in this important but once neglected

* Seek above all things, — we would urge upon every young civil officer, — seek above all things to obtain a sound judicial animus, and to acquire the principles of English law as bearing upon the value of evidence and other cognate points. A legal education, strictly so called, may not be within your reach, but judicial training is open to your choice, and every opportunity should be seized of giving a judicial tone and temper to your proceedings.

† Let us hope to see a similar appointment made in Bengal where it is much wanted.

department. Already an advance is apparent in the condition of the convict population, who are gradually being protected from extra-judicial punishment in the shape of disease caused by filth or crowding, and at the same time are subjected to a more strict and equal penal discipline. But, to revert to our subject, the magistrate's labor and anxiety is not lessened, and a fifth superior is added to the list.

Number six, in districts through which the Grand Trunk Road passes, is the Superintendent of Police and Inspector of halting grounds thereon.*

It is the last straw which breaks the camel's back, and if under these many masters a Magistrate who, as Collector of Revenue, has also to obey a long list of fiscal authorities, sometimes gets bewildered or out of patience, 'tis no great wonder. Nay, the wonder rather is, that, on the whole, the volumes of official correspondence contains so slight a tinge of bitterness, and that so much good feeling pervades the relations of official life.

If our reflections are just, if the magistrates have too many masters and too little direct responsibility, it may be worth considering whether some remedy to this defect in our criminal administration can be devised. Our own persuasion is that such a remedy might be found, very near at hand, merely by demanding from the Commissioners of Police a more close account of their stewardship, and a more intelligent estimate of the state of local police in their several districts. They should be directed to send for a certain number of cases decided by the magistrate, and report specifically on his judicial as well as police capacity. Such reports embracing the whole field of administrative performance should be called for at least twice a year.†

* Road and Canal officers in some districts add much to the cares of the magistrate who has to keep matters smooth if he can, and to prevent the people from growing restive under the inconveniences caused by the progress of public works.

† As it is, some Commissioners of Revenue who are versed not only in every rule of their craft, but also in every shade of official aptitude displayed by their subordinate collectors, assume too often in Police matters the habit of those old Italian friars who dubbed themselves 'Fratres Ignorantie,' and answered all questions with their one word, Nescio.—Or, if they are not honest enough to avow their ignorance of the minutiae of police administration, as affecting the various classes of society in their Divisions, there is none the less an indistinct hazy atmosphere hanging over their annual Police Reports through which the ruling powers can hardly be expected clearly to see their way. Nothing like gross inefficiency or decided disorder would escape observation, but the relative degrees of excellence in district work are passed over in a manner disheartening to the ablest and most laborious amongst the public servants.

To return to our Police magistrate. He has, let us suppose, by combining tact with energy, succeeded in satisfying this long list of official superiors and in keeping the people of his district in good temper and order. There remains another and a very important task. He must secure if possible the comfort and safety of the innumerable travellers who, for many hours of each day and night, swarm along the high roads of his district.

Thanks to the incessant attention of the local Government in the North-West, this part of district duty is much simplified. Every magistrate has abundant instructions at hand, and every facility is given to him by his superiors to complete a chain of arrangements embracing the convenience of travellers of all ranks. And, as yet, the system of the up-country shines by contrast with the *laissez aller* fashions of the Lower Provinces.

No sooner does the traveller from Bengal or Behar cross the stream whose ill-omened waters* divide those Provinces from our North-Western territory, than he observes signs of comfort and security to which as yet he has been a stranger. Instead of an occasional dog-kennel-looking hut, or (as in Ramgurh) an elevated bird-watcher's platform, tenanted by a half-starved village watchman, the wanderer begins to see strong police stations every two or three miles along the road with stout, well armed patrols of horse and foot. Serais with open gates invite the weary traveller, whilst at convenient distances encamping grounds are marked out, and supplies for man and beast stored in commodious buildings.

Apropos to the matter of supplies, we must digress for a few moments to give due credit to the authorities for the pains which they have taken in arrangements which, to the mere English reader, may seem so far from, perhaps so far beneath, the notice of the Government. The disciple of Adam Smith may be inclined to remind us that in a populous and productive country, such as Upper India generally is, supply and demand will, under a good rule, regulate themselves, and that any interference on the part of the Government must be not only superfluous but mischievous. And so no doubt it would be, if the line of march lay betwixt London and Coventry instead of between Delhi and Benares. But, in India, such reasoning will not hold good, for so great is the dread in

* The Hindoos consider it a defilement to touch the waters of the Caramansa river.

the national mind, and doubtless so well founded, of men armed either with authority or with more material arms, that the supply will not answer to the demand in their case.

Under our Mahometan predecessors the march of an army caused at least as much misery as the utmost terrors of war cause in European countries. Nay, even in days of peace, the mere progress of an Emperor was marked by desolation, pestilence, and famine, and might be tracked by blasted harvests and smoking villages. Nor, as the English flag surmounted one by one the Imperial strong-holds, were matters in this respect at once and entirely altered for the better. No exertions of the British could restrain their soldiers and followers from the work of plunder and destruction. Even in later days, and in spite of the most stringent orders, the march of troops came like a fall of locusts on our provinces; and, owing to the increasing general tranquillity and civilization of the country, these visitations, year after year, were more severely felt. This was not the fault of the military authorities alone, for hungry men with arms in their hands who find the ordinary markets closed against them will naturally enough help themselves. As yet the civil powers had established no sufficient *system* for securing at once the comfort of the troops and the property of the country-people. When an army or a regiment was expected, hurried orders were sent to the district officers to prepare supplies, but how those supplies were to be got together nobody cared. The consequence was, that some tehsildar or police officer laid the country round under contribution, whereby he hoped to supply the troops with forage. Sheep, fowls, cattle, were hunted out and carried off to the encampment; the merchant was deprived of his cart, the ploughman of his bullocks, artizans and laborers were dragged from their homes, and a scene of injustice and extortion took place which the people did not forget for months after. To save their own credit, the native civil officers had to pay a *douceur* to the headmen of the military bazaar, which they (the civil subordinates) in their turn levied from the landholders in the neighbourhood. The natural result of all this was the desertion of villages along the line of march, and especially near the usual places of encampment. Such a state of disorder could not last long after the completion of the reform in the management of the land revenue which we have on former occasions described, and during the last few years especially the Government has taken a deep interest in the matter, and a regular system for the supply of all large

bodies of travellers has been matured and carried into execution.

Encamping grounds at regulated distances have been marked off.* Contractors for all sorts of necessary supplies have been encouraged by advances of money to settle, and have been furnished with convenient storehouses and shelter. Regular tables of price current have been prepared in the English and vernacular languages, duly countersigned, the weights and measures have all been tested and approved, even the very flour sieves have been stamped with the official seal. All these details may seem trifling, but the effect of attention to such trifles on the comfort of the troops and on the happiness of the people is immense. A regiment marches into a town now without causing any greater excitement than the arrival of a pleasure train from London causes to the good people of Brighton or Epsom. Decent civil officials, under the orders of an assistant or deputy magistrate, supplied with full credentials and with instructions how to act in every sort of emergency, attend alike to the wants of the general of an army or the humblest traveller. The military, seeing that due regard is paid to their comfort, meet the civil authorities with cordiality, and sternly repress all free-booting and oppression. And, as a natural consequence, land near the line of march, instead of being thrown out of cultivation as formerly, is daily rising in value, and the traffic which used to be a curse to the country has become a source of emolument.

And this reminds us of that unequalled Grand Trunk Road along which the commerce of the country rolls, as yet without a tax, in one continued stream. England has her immortal MacAdam, but all that he did for English roads was to throw down well-sorted stone fragments which it was left to the traffic to drive into a close binding soil. Now, in Upper India, we have no binding soil and no granite. But by elaborating the limestone of the country, (or whatever else *kunkur* may be) by pounding it up with water and by much beating, a road is made, with great labor and expense, but smooth as a bowling green. We wish that the patriots of Manchester who complain of the bad roads of India would come to see our chief lines of communication in the North-West. We would point with satisfaction to the merchant of Agra bringing his mountains of cotton along a road metalled

* Shady spots have been selected, or if such could not be obtained, young trees have been planted.

into one masonry-like embankment, his property guarded by day and watched by night* by the servants of Government, and, except at the pontoon or boat-bridges over the Jumna and Ganges, free from all tax or toll. It would be at once conceded to us that, at all events, in the N. W. Provinces of India, trade is less taxed and better protected than in any other country under the sun.†

* As a proof of the care taken of travellers we may remark that a correspondence lately came under our observation, in which the zealous Superintendent of Road Police complained to a district magistrate that police watchmen were not provided, *gratuitously*, by the night guard of native travellers encamping along the line of the G. T. Road. The arrangements for watching the G. T. Road in the district with which we happen to be best acquainted are as follows. Every two miles along the road there is a police station with three policemen. These men are drafted from the body of the district police, are well-armed, and wear a becoming uniform. The hours of their respective night-watches are fixed, and each man on joining a road police station has a written notice given him specifying the precise duties of his post. From 10 P.M. to 4 A.M. two of the three night guards patrol the road. Horse patrol are stationed at convenient distances, and, to keep them on the alert, a written and verbal parole is sent from the magistrate's court to each end of his district every night. The written parole is returned by the district post, so that the authorities have proof that once, at all events, each night the horsemen patrol their portion of road. To keep all up to their work, along the forty miles of road, three mounted jemadars are stationed, who send in written reports every morning of the exact spot where they passed each horse or foot patrol during the night. In the district to which we allude, in addition to the forty miles of Grand Trunk Road, there is at least an equal length of Branch Trunk Road which is watched and patrolled in the same manner. During the past year no one single case of highway robbery has taken place: and though the traffic has been great, the amount of property stolen at night from travellers at halting places, so far as can be ascertained, does not exceed twelve hundred Rupees, (nine hundred of which are the value of a bale of silk cut off a cart under the nose of a sleepy watchman). When it is considered that in this district there are no restraints put upon travellers as to where they shall halt, and that parties of wearied merchants are spending the night all along the road under the canopy of heaven, when the following table of traffic too is taken into account, it will be acknowledged that commerce is well protected along the road:—

Of loaded carts, of one to eight bullocks each, carrying every kind of merchandize, there were 28,168 drawn by 99,714 bullocks. The beasts of burden carrying loads amounted to 34,820. This is the account of what passed on the G. T. Road alone in the year 1851—*above*, i. e. to the west of the point where the branch road meets the G. T. Road.—Along the branch road proceeded an almost equal amount of traffic

Allowing then that each bullock and other loaded beast drow or carried on an average property worth ten rupees, the losses of merchants by theft on the two roads cannot be set down at more than ten pie per hundred rupees, and by robbery *nil*. Is there a tradesman in Calcutta who can shew a cleaner bill than this?—We believe the losses in shops by pilferers are far heavier than those to which travellers in the N. W. Provinces are exposed; And it is to be observed that no single instance of cattle-stealing along the road is believed to have occurred during the period under notice.

† The truth is, that in the Agra Presidency men of commerce and capital are cherished and cared for to an undue extent. The merchant princes of Upper India, thanks to our settled Government, excellent bridges, roads, and

So far we have followed the steps of the magistrate, as head of the local police, through the course of his duties both to the public and to the Government under which he serves. A few words may now be spared to the detail of his everyday life. One characteristic marks it; hard work, both for mind and body, but for the mind especially. Were it not for the variety of the distractions which make up his day, it would be impossible for the magistrate to support the amount of wear and tear to which he is exposed.

The early morning sees the up-country magistrate riding or walking, far or near, to examine some road or other public work in progress, to visit some disputed tenement, or, failing these objects, to inspect his jail or prison-factories. On the road he is beset by people who, notwithstanding the many hours daily spent by him in cutcherry, vow that they have been unable to obtain a fair hearing. On his return home a heap of police reports, which the district *dák* has brought in, is waiting, and the public post comes in too with its own budget of demands for statements, explanations, and so forth. The police diaries, with their list of crime, being read and disposed of, native visitors begin to send in their names before the morning meal is over. It is time to go to cutcherry, but three or four applicants for an interview remain unsatisfied. One word only they have to say, but when once they find themselves inside the house, the one word swells into a long story. At length the magistrate makes a rush to the door, but there he meets a tehsildar from a distant post with returns which require immediate attention. After some half hour of examination the tehsildar is dismissed, and once again our functionary, already half fagged, sets off for cutcherry. At his gate a police report is thrown into his carriage, from a glance at which, and at a dead body stretched

vigilant police, enjoy advantages which their forefathers never even dreamt of. We grudge them not their wealth and prosperity, nor would we see the Government relax for one moment in its efforts to open out the resources of the country. But we confess that we should gladly see the commercial classes *share* with the agricultural population the direct burdens of the state. The progress and stability of our Government have alike opened out new sources of Revenue, and we can see no reason why those who profit most from a strong and settled Government should directly share no part of its expenses. The landed communities in general care far less about the security of person and property, which a good system of police has effected, than the commercial classes. The complaint of the landholder is not that he has to pay so much, but that he is called to contribute so exclusively to the State. That statesman will deserve well of India and of England who will summon courage to make *all* who benefit by British rule contribute *equally* to its support.

on a litter, and carried by four villagers, he finds it necessary to go at once to the civil surgeon to ask for details of a *post-mortem* examination which must be made without delay. He is already late for cutcherry, and when he gets there has to pass through a long line of impatient suitors. It takes an hour to receive, read, and explain the orders passed on the petitions thrust upon him by the people. Then comes the regular work of the day. The list of criminals under trial, of witnesses in attendance, of cases ready for orders, is produced; letters to the Commissioner of Police, Inspector of Police, &c. are written, and the day is wearing on when the headman of the Revenue office makes his appearance and produces a goodly bundle of papers. The magistrate asks whether the parties interested in these cases are in attendance, and is answered in the affirmative. The papers are ordered to be brought forward. It is the rule to keep no man waiting. But, before the suitors and their witnesses have been collected, the head jailor brings his books, after him comes the stamp-keeper, then the man who prepares the road-making accounts, each with a pressing request for one moment's attention, and to them succeed the record-keeper. The rule is, as we have said, to detain, if possible, no witnesses or people over the day; so the magistrate works on and finds it nearly dusk before he gets home, weary and worn out. He takes his ride or drive round the same road and sees the same people that he has seen for the last nine months, eats his dinner, tries to get through an article in the Quarterly or a more than usually tempting official printed report. If he goes into society, he is too tired to enjoy it, and wishes himself in bed. Such is the every-day life of the magistrate.

The morning of one day only in the week greets the worn official with some hope of leisure and repose. The magistrate thanks God for Sunday, though the week-day din and rattle of business is still in his ears, and he cannot help to contrast unfavorably an Indian with an English Sunday. In spite of himself, recollections will come up of the merry church peal, the rural scene dotted with honest villagers hastening up gladly to the house of God; in short, of all the loved sounds and sights of a Sunday at home. Still he has rest, and is thankful. Beyond this sacred day no real holiday does he know, for, though all other business may be brought to an occasional stand, crime takes no rest, and some indeed of the magistrate's most anxious days are those of festival and rejoicing to all around him.

We cannot conclude these notes without a word to the members of the Civil Service in India. To you we address ourselves, whether young or old, whether high in rank or only entering upon public life, because you can best give effect to any suggestions for the improvement of the people. Few men appreciate the circumstances in which you are placed. Vulgar opinion may still attach the idea of wealth and money getting to a writership in India, but the delusion is fast wearing away. The days have gone by when the orchestras of Calcutta or Madras used to salute the toast of "the Civil Service" with the popular air of "Money in both pockets." Such a greeting now-a-days would be accepted as rather a smart piece of irony, so far is any thing like pecuniary affluence from distinguishing your service. Indeed, whilst we could count on our fingers the men whose pockets could jingle responsively to the old fashioned tune, we might try in vain to enumerate the civil servants who are struggling against the difficulties of impecuniosity. So much the more shame for the service some may say. But the truth rather is that, considering what is expected of a man in office, the young civilian, nay, the middle-aged civilian, is but moderately paid. It read very well when Jacquemont wrote to his friends in Paris, how Lord Wm. Bentinck administered the Empire of the East with all the simplicity of William Penn. But if a Governor General can afford to go about like a quaker, it does not follow that a young assistant to a magistrate may rightly adopt an equal contempt of appearances. He can hardly trudge on foot to cutcherry whilst his subordinate officers have their decent conveyances, nor can the native officials put down their palanquins or poneys so long as the suitors who throng about them travel in good style.

No. It is not money that flings a charm round civil power in India in these days. Even the most able servants of Government, who have grown gray in the study of local laws, manners, and languages, who have worn out a life in heaping up knowledge for which, beyond the limits of their own Presidencies, there is neither use nor demand, even these men are not better paid than their fellow-men of equal talent and application at home.* But none the less, there is much to reconcile a generous mind to the sore labors and privations which wait upon civil life in India.

* The civil servant labors under this disadvantage, that his professional knowledge is useless to him out of India. The soldier, the divine, the surgeon, can find employment at home, but the civilian cannot.

Power,—a shade, a pretence, a slavery in England,—is a reality here. The power of doing good, not to one or two persons or parishes, but to thousands, is what every civil servant may justly aspire to. The power of mitigating the ills of life, of smoothing its inequalities by lessening injustice,—by putting down tyranny, and by encouraging honest exertion,—all this lies in the civilian's daily path. All round the world, in every other country, English statesmen debate, deliberate, argue, or protest; in India alone they seem still privileged to *act*.

To *action* then we invite every man charged with civil power. Once again we remind you that a noble field lies open to your exertions. Other hands have performed the work of destruction and have wiped away the ancient empires and monarchies of the East. These have fallen unpitied because stained with innocent blood and polluted by injustice. To you belongs the double work of restoration and reform, not by a blind introduction of the law or policy of England, but by grafting English honor and justice upon the institutions of the East.

The work of conquest has been completed, the work of regeneration must begin. Let our soldiers wear, as they have boldly won, the laurels of victory; for the statesmen of India a glorious oaken crown remains. To raise up a degraded race, to cure the plagues of past bad Government and bad morals, to prepare—if you may be so blessed—the way for real virtue and true religion, to this you are called, and, look round the world as you may, you will never find a more glorious vocation.

V

BISHOP COPLESTON.*

WE run the risk of saying something very trite when we venture a remark on the value of Biography. We will say it, notwithstanding, that there is something very elevating and very *salutary* in the kind of converse with a great and good man to which you are admitted by means of a biography consisting, as most modern biographies do, chiefly of extracts from the diary and correspondence of the individual. In such a representation you see the best points of the man's character; and if your own short-comings, whether of temper, of self-denial, of right purpose, or of worthy achievement, should humble you as you draw the unavoidable, though perhaps almost unconscious, comparison between the hero and yourself, why, you will rise (like Antæus from his mother earth) all the stouter for that invigorating humiliation.

Edward, eldest son of John Bradford Copleston, Rector of Offwell, in the county of Devon, was born at Offwell on the 2nd of February, 1776, and was educated by his father till he arrived at the age of fifteen. In 1791 he went to Oxford, and in 1793 he gained the University prize for Latin verse. The letter in which he announced his success to his father is, as his biographer remarks, "a pleasing specimen of the artless and eager joy of the young scholar." We here subjoin it:—

"MY DEAR FATHER,—I am happy to inform you that your expectations with regard to my getting the university prize are verified. This morning I received the enchanting news, and I have taken the earliest opportunity of imparting it to you. Indeed, one of the greatest sources of pleasure to me from so distinguished an honour, is the thought of the satisfaction you will feel, as well as all the family. I have just been to Mr. Crowe, the public Orator, who has paid me the most flattering compliments. I know you will excuse this slovenly and short letter, and impute it to the flurry of my spirits, which you will easily believe are rather agitated at so unexpected an event; and indeed it almost appears to me like a dream. I am so impatient that you should be informed of this, that I almost fancy every line I write retards your seeing my letter. And I am convinced no other intelligence after this can be any ways interesting to you. I will write again in a day or two,

* Memoir of Edward Copleston, D.D., Bishop of Llandaff, with Selections from his Diary and Correspondence, &c., by William James Copleston, M.A., Rector of Cromhall, Gloucestershire, and late fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. London, John W. Parker and Son. 1851.

and be more particular; at present, I can only add my duty and kindest love to my mother, love to my brothers and sisters,

And I am, my dear Father,
Your ever dutiful and affectionate son,
E. COPLESTON."

It is not unworthy of remark, in these times when every one makes it a point of honour to write an illegible hand, that Bishop Copleston, from his boyhood upwards, made it a matter of principle to write legibly. "That any person, able to handle a pen, should habitually do otherwise, he thought showed some degree of arrogance, or else of selfish carelessness." As we value ourselves on the legibility of our own handwriting, we transcribe this just sentiment with the greater satisfaction.

In 1795, Mr. Copleston was invited by the Provost and fellows of Oriel to be chosen into their society, when he had not entered his name on the list of competitors. In the next year, his probationary year at Oriel, he gained the prize for the English Essay. The subject was "Agriculture"; and his manner of treating it won for the author "a compliment quite unique in the history of university prizes essays," for the thanks of the Agricultural Society were communicated to him by Sir J. Sinclair, the President. In his twenty-first year Mr. Copleston undertook the office of college tutor; and at the same time he became Captain in a regiment of Volunteers, 1797 being the year of the expected French invasion, when all England was in arms. He made a capital officer, it seems, being at this time a person of very active and vigorous habits,—thinking little of accomplishing in five hours the first twenty-two miles of a walk from Oxford to Upton. In the year 1800 Mr. Copleston was admitted to priest's orders, and preferred to the vicarage of St. Mary the Virgin. At this time he makes the following entry in his diary:—"Jan. 1, 1800. Upon settling accounts, found myself possessed of £21." He lived to be richer; but neither for itself nor for himself does he appear to have valued money. He valued it for other ends;—but we are anticipating.

In 1802, when he had just completed his twenty-sixth year, he was elected Poetry Professor. His "*Prælectiones Academicæ*," delivered during the next ten years, and published in 1813, are well known. During 1802, and the two following years, Mr. Copleston amused his leisure hours with genealogical inquiries relating to his own family, his

particular object, in this somewhat whimsical pursuit, being to trace up his own line of descent through a junior branch to the ancient stock of Copleston, of Copleston, in the county of Devon. For this purpose he ransacked the archives of the Tower, the Rolls Chapel, and Doctors' Commons, "hunting between whiles over parish registers, and monuments in different parish churches." His diligence was rewarded by his being able to trace himself up as high as the year 1574. We need not wonder that Mr. Copleston was at this time recognised, as a kindred spirit, by the Antiquarian Society, who elected him a Fellow on the 5th of March, 1805. It is not to be supposed that, when he traced his pedigree up to 1574, he was content to believe that it really went no further back, for he was well acquainted with the old distich (the more likely to be genuine that it takes an assonance for a rhyme) which marks the Saxon origin of the family—

"Crocker, Cruwys, and Copleston,
When the Conqueror came, were at home."

In 1806 Mr. Copleston was elected senior treasurer of his college; and, being elected for six years, instead of, as usual, for one only, he was enabled to effect an important and beneficial change in the financial arrangements of the institution. It was probably now, as conjectured by his biographer, that he "began to work out those philosophical principles which enabled him afterwards to write with so much effect upon the monetary affairs of the nation."

In 1807 he published his "*Advice to a Young Reviewer, with a specimen of the Art*," a playful satire on the principles and practice of the *Edinburgh Review*. This is reprinted in an appendix to the volume before us, and we cannot resist transcribing a few passages. The way in which he subsides from the serious into the sarcastic is amusing.

"You are now about to enter on a profession which has the means of doing much good to society, and scarcely any temptation to do harm. You may encourage genius, you may chastise superficial arrogance, expose falsehood, correct error, and guide the taste and opinions of the age in no small degree, by the books you praise and recommend. All this, too, may be done without running the risk of making any enemies, or subjecting yourself to be called to account for your criticism, however severe. While your name is unknown, your person is invulnerable: at the same time your own aim is sure; for you may take it at your leisure; and your blows fall heavier than those of any writer whose name is given, or who is simply anonymous. There is a mysterious authority in the plural *we*, which no single name, whatever may be its reputation, can acquire; and under the sanction of this imposing style,

your strictures, your praises, and your dogmas, will command universal attention, and be received as the fruit of united talents, acting on one common principle—as the judgments of a tribunal who decide only on mature deliberation, and who protect the interests of literature with unceasing vigilance.

Such being the high importance of that office, and such its opportunities, I cannot bestow a few hours of leisure better than in furnishing you with some hints for the more easy and effectual discharge of it: hints which are, I confess, loosely thrown together, but which are the result of long experience, and of frequent reflection and comparison. And if anything should strike you at first sight as rather equivocal in point of morality, or deficient in liberality and feeling, I beg you will suppress all such scruples, and consider them as the offspring of a contracted education and narrow way of thinking, which a little intercourse with the world and sober reasoning will speedily overcome.

Now, as in the conduct of life nothing is more to be desired than some governing principle of action, to which all other principles and motives must be made subservient, so in the art of reviewing, I would lay down as a fundamental position, which you must never lose sight of, and which must be the mainspring of all your criticisms—*write what will sell.*”

“To this golden rule,” he goes on to say, “every minor canon must be subordinate, and must be either immediately deducible from it, or at least be made consistent with it;” and he contends that the principle is as honest and virtuous as it is discreet, for how can you render service to mankind, as a reviewer, if men do not read what you write? “Your utility, therefore, it is plain, depends upon your popularity; and popularity cannot be obtained without humouring the taste and inclinations of men.” One great advantage resulting from the adoption of such a principle is, that it greatly lightens the reviewer’s labours, seeing that it is much easier to *follow* the public taste than to *direct* it.

“It has been idly said, that a reviewer acts in a judicial capacity, and that his conduct should be regulated by the same rules by which the judge of a civil court is governed: that he should rid himself of every bias; be patient, cautious, sedate, and rigidly impartial; that he should not seek to show off himself, and should check every disposition to enter into the case as a partisan.

“Such is the language of superficial thinkers; but in reality there is no analogy between the two cases. A judge is promoted to that office by the authority of the state; a reviewer by his own. The former is independent of controul, and may therefore freely follow the dictates of his own conscience: the latter depends for his very bread upon the breath of public opinion: the great law of self-preservation, therefore, points out to him a different line of action. Besides, as we have already observed, if he ceases to please, he is no longer read, and consequently is no longer useful. In a court of justice, too, the part of amusing the bystanders rests with the counsel: in the case of criticism, if the reviewer himself does not undertake it, who will? Instead of vainly aspiring, therefore, to the gravity of a magistrate, I would advise him, when he

sits down to write, to place himself in the imaginary situation of a cross-examining pleader. He may comment, in a vein of agreeable irony, upon the profession, the manner of life, the look, dress, or even the name of the witness he is examining: when he has raised a contemptuous opinion of him in the minds of the court, he may proceed to draw answers from him capable of a ludicrous turn, and he may carve and garble these to his own liking. This mode of proceeding you will find most practicable in poetry, where the boldness of the image, or the delicacy of thought, for which the reader's mind was prepared in the original, will easily be made to appear extravagant or affected, if judiciously singled out, and detached from the group to which it belongs. Again, since much depends upon the rhythm and the terseness of expression, both of which are sometimes destroyed by dropping a single word, or transposing a phrase, I have known much advantage arise from not quoting in the form of a literal extract, but giving a brief summary in prose of the contents of a poetical passage; and interlarding your own language with occasional phrases of the poem, marked with inverted commas. These, and a thousand other little expedients, by which the arts of quizzing and banter flourish, practice will soon teach you. If it should be necessary to transcribe a dull passage, not very fertile in topics of humour and raillery, you may introduce it as a 'favorable specimen of the author's manner.'

After giving instructions how to "cut up" books of travels as well as poems, he continues—

"You will perhaps wonder why all my instructions are pointed towards the censure, and not the praise of books; but many reasons might be given why it should be so. The chief are, that this part is both easier, and will sell better. Let us hear the words of Mr. Burke on a subject not very dissimilar; 'In such cases', says he, 'the writer has a certain fire and alacrity inspired into him by a consciousness, that, let it fare how it will with the subject, his ingenuity will be sure of applause; and this alacrity becomes much greater, if he acts upon the offensive, by the impetuosity that always accompanies an attack, and the unfortunate propensity which mankind have to the finding and exaggerating faults.'—*Pref. Vindic. Nat. Soc.* p. 6. You will perceive that I have on no occasion sanctioned the baser motives of private pique, envy, revenge, and love of detraction; at least I have not recommended harsh treatment upon any of these grounds; I have argued simply on the abstract moral principle which a reviewer should ever have present to his mind; but if any of these motives insinuate themselves as secondary springs of action, I would not condemn them: they may come in aid of the grand leading principle, and powerfully second its operation."

"But it is time," he continues, "to close these tedious precepts." Example, he thinks, is better than precept;—and we must enrich our pages with a few passages from Mr. Copleston's example of the art of reviewing. "It is hastily done," he says, "but it exemplifies well enough what I have said of the poetical department, and exhibits most of those qualities, which disappointed authors are fond of railing at, under the names of flippancy, arrogance, conceit, misre-

presentation, and malevolence: reproaches, which you will only regard as so many acknowledgments of success in your undertaking, and infallible tests of an established fame and rapidly increasing circulation." Here follows the opening of the model review:

"*L'Allegro, a Poem. By John Milton. No Printer's name.*

It has become a practice of late with a certain description of people who have no visible means of subsistence, to string together a few trite images of rural scenery, interspersed with vulgarisms in dialect, and traits of vulgar manners; to dress up these materials in a sing-song jingle, and to offer them for sale as a poem. According to the most approved recipes, something about the heathen gods and goddesses, and school-boy topics of Styx and Cerberus, and Elysium, is occasionally thrown in, and the composition is complete. The stock-in-trade of these adventurers is in general scanty enough, and their art, therefore, consists in disposing it to the best advantage. But if such be the aim of the writer, it is the critic's business to detect and defeat the imposture; to warn the public against the purchase of shop-worn goods, and unsel wares; to protect the fair trader, by exposing the tricks of needy quacks and mountebanks; and to chastise that forward and noisy importunity, with which they present themselves to the public notice.

"How far Mr. Milton is amenable to this discipline, will best appear from a brief analysis of the poem before us."

The reviewer proceeds to analyse the poem from the opening, and we wish we felt ourselves at liberty to copy straight on. But we must not encroach too far upon the space that may belong to others; so we jump to the reviewer's reception of the heroine, "buxom, blithe, and debonair,"—one, who, (he remarks,) "although evidently a great favourite of the poet's, and therefore to be received with all due courtesy, is notwithstanding introduced under the suspicious description of an *alias*."

In heaven yclep'd Euphrosyne,
And by men, heart-easing Mirth.

"Judging, indeed, from the light and easy deportment of this gay nymph, one might guess there were good reasons for a change of name, as she changed her residence.

"But of all vices there is none we abhor more than that of slanderous insinuation; we shall therefore confine our moral strictures to the nymph's mother, in whose defence the poet has little to say himself. Here, too, as in the case of the *name*, there is some doubt: for the uncertainty of descent on the father's side having become trite to a proverb, the author, scorning that beaten track, has left us to choose between two mothers for his favourite; and without much to guide our choice; for, whichever we fix upon, it is plain she was no better than she should be. As he seems, however, himself inclined to the latter of the two, we will even suppose it so to be:—

Or whether (as some sages sing)
The frolic wind that breathes the spring,

Zephyr with Aurora playing,
As he met her once a-Maying ;
 There on beds of violets blue,
 And fresh-blown roses wash'd in dew, &c.

Some dull people might imagine that the wind was more like the breath of spring, than spring the breath of the wind ; but we are more disposed to question the author's ethics than his physics, and accordingly cannot dismiss these May gambols without some observations.

" In the first place, Mr. M. seems to have higher notions of the antiquity of the May-pole than we have been accustomed to attach to it. Or perhaps he thought to shelter the equivocal nature of this affair under that sanction. To us, however, who can hardly subscribe to the doctrine ' that vice loses half its evil by losing all its grossness,' neither the remoteness of time, nor the gayety of the season, furnishes a sufficient palliation. ' Violets blue,' and ' fresh-blown roses,' are to be sure more agreeable objects of the imagination than a gin-shop in Wapping, or a booth in Bartholomew Fair ; but in point of morality, these are distinctions without a difference : or, it may be, the cultivation of mind, which teaches us to reject and nauseate these latter objects, aggravates the case, if our improvement in taste be not accompanied by a proportionate improvement of morals."

After this grand flourish of morality, the reviewer proceeds to tell us that " we are next favoured with an enumeration of the attendants of this ' debonair' nymph, in all the minuteness of a German dramatis personæ, or a rope-dancer's hand-bill :"—

" Haste thee, nymph, and bring with thee
 Jest, and youthful Jollity ;
 Quips, and cranks, and wanton wiles,
 Nods, and becks, and wreathed smiles,
 Such as hang on Hebe's cheek,
 And love to live in dimple sleek :
 Sport that wrinkled Care derides,
 And Laughter, holding both his sides

" The author, to prove himself worthy of being admitted of the crew, skips and capers about upon ' the light fantastic toe,' that there is no following him. He scampers through all the categories, in search of his imaginary beings, from substance to quality, and back again ; from thence to action, passion, habit, &c., with incredible celerity. Who, for instance, would have expected *cranks, nods, becks, and wreathed smiles*, as a part of a group in which Jest, Jollity, Sport, and Laughter figure away as full-formed entire personages ? The family likeness is certainly very strong in the two last, and if we had not been told, we should perhaps have thought the act of *deriding* as appropriate to laughter as to sport.

But how are we to understand the stage directions ?

Come, and trip it as you go.

" Are the words used synonymously ? Or is it meant that this airy gentry shall come in at a minuet step, and go off in a jig ? The phenomenon of a *tripping crank* is indeed novel, and would doubtless attract numerous spectators."

To come to the end of this pleasant review, the reviewer declares that the poem concludes with a couplet which would not have disgraced Sternhold :—

“ These delights if thou canst give,
Mirth, with thee I *mean* to live.

“ Of Mr. M.’s good *intentions* there can be doubt ; but we beg to remind him that in every compact of this nature there are two opinions to be consulted. He presumes perhaps upon the poetical powers he has displayed, and considers them as irresistible ;—for every one must observe in how different a strain he avows his attachment now and at the opening of the poem. Then it was,

If I give thee honour due,
Mirth, admit me of thy crew.

But having, it should seem, established his pretensions, he now thinks it sufficient to give notice, that he means to live with her because he likes her.

“ Upon the whole, Mr. Milton seems to be possessed of some fancy and talent for rhyming ; two most dangerous endowments, which often unfit men for acting an useful part in life, without qualifying them for what is great and brilliant. If it be true, as we have heard, that he has declined advantageous prospects in business, for the sake of indulging his poetical humour, we hope it is not yet too late to prevail upon him to retract his resolution. With the help of Cocker and common industry he may become a respectable scrivener ; but it is not all the Zephyrs, and Auroras, and Corydons, and Thyrsises, aye, nor his junketing Queen Mab, and drudging Goblins, that will ever make him a poet.”

In 1810-11 Mr. Copleston encountered the *Edinburgh Review* more sternly, in his three “ Replies to the calumnies of the *Edinburgh Review*” in regard to the course of education pursued by the Oxford University. We may have occasion to revert to this controversy ; but, for the present we restrict ourselves to quoting Mr. Copleston’s declaration that “ to exercise the mind of the student is the business of education, rather than to pour in knowledge.” Discarding the chronological order, we do ourselves the pleasure to transcribe here the honourable recantation of Sir D. K. Sandford, who had been one of the offenders in the attack of the *Edinburgh Review* on the University. The book referred to in the letter was Dr. Copleston’s *Inquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination*.

“ College of Glasgow : December 22, 1823.

SIR,—Though I have too much reason to fear that a letter with my signature may not be acceptable to you, I cannot refrain from giving the simple expression of my gratitude for a very essential service you have rendered me. My mind (as I suppose, at some season or another, must be the case with all serious thinkers on religious subjects) had been much agitated by the mysterious questions of predestination

and election. Till lately, I confess with shame I had not read your book on this topic. Its recent perusal has put an end to my doubt and hesitations—I hope for ever. The very work which, when unknown to me, I dared to mention in a slighting manner, has thus, under Providence, been the happy instrument of removing all my hesitations, and yielding peace to my disquieted thoughts. You will, perhaps, receive with indifference this tardy atonement for former petulance and error. But great will be my satisfaction if to the other members of the university, with whom my sincere confession of a heavy fault has reconciled me, I shall be enabled to add the name of Dr. Copleston.

I am, with much respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

D. K. SANDFORD."

Dr. Copleston, of course, responded with such alacrity as was befitting; and Professor Sandford had "no words to express the heartfelt pleasure" with which the reply affected him;—but just as befitting the occasion was it that the full expression of Dr. Copleston's feelings was conveyed to his friend Berens, and not to the penitent Professor, when speaking of Sandford's letter as "one which surprised and gratified me more than any I ever remember to have received."

In 1813, Mr. Copleston declined an offer of the headship of Magdalen Hall, made him by his friend Lord Grenville, whose election to the chancellorship of the University, over the heads of Lord Eldon and the Duke of Beaufort, Mr. Copleston had been very instrumental in effecting. He looked to succeed to the provostship of his own College, to which, when it fell vacant in 1814, he was advanced by acclamation. On this occasion he was created D.D. by diploma, an honour the highest that the university can bestow. During the latter year Dr. Copleston visited the Continent, his route lying through Paris to Switzerland and Northern Italy. "I close the notice of this tour," writes his biographer, "with a specimen of playful humour—the whim of some "mountain hour." Anything more exquisitely Wordsworthian than the specimen we have never read. Here it is.

❖ "Extract from 'The Excursion.' ❖

Nor mountain *scenes* alone exalt the mind
To blissful musing, but such incidents,
As mountain wanderers meet with, oft beguile
Their weary steps, and whisper better things
Than from the craggy steep of Grindelwald,
Or Grimsel, can be gathered. Such, I ween,
Befel me, as one day I walked alone
Part of the way from Zurich on to Zug.
'Twas a steep hill, and they had much to do

To drag the carriage—I went on before,
 And presently, between the hazel boughs,
 Bright colours caught my eye—ere long I found
 It was a pedlar's tray—such as sometimes
 One sees on turnpike roads in England—there
 Emperors and kings with barking curs were mixed,
 And gaudy parrots, and a Sappho's head,
 And an old cart-horse, lean as lean could be.

A few steps more, and I was near the gate
 At which the pedlar stopped, but he was stooping
 To take his load of gewgaws up again ;
 Whilst two sweet children wistfully looked on,
 Eyeing the gorgeous medley. Little souls !
 Their hearts went with him as he turned away
 With all his treasure, and they felt a pang
 As whilom Orpheus, at the parting look
 Of lost Eurydice, or as some saint,
 Whose slumbers angels bless and charm the sight
 With smiles and radiant glory—straight he wakes.
 And all the heavenly vision melts in air :
 So stood these artless children hand in hand
 With look of disappointment, as the man
 Mov'd off : for he, forsooth, had asked too much,
 The father said, a prudent cottager,
 Who lean'd upon his spade, and stood a while,
 As if he, too, would fain have bought a toy
 To deck his parlour mantel-piece. Then I,
 Suspecting what had happened, stopped the pedlar,
 And bade each bashful child chuse what it liked.
 Scarce did they seem to understand my speech,
 Because 'twas French : but signs are eloquent
 When they interpret wishes ; soon they saw
 That I would undertake to pay the price,
 And each pounced on a parrot. Happier they
 Than when some connoisseur at picture-sale
 In Bondstreet sees a Rembrandt or Vandyke
 Going for a song, and to himself knocked down.
 Though Phillips lies his best and buyers throng
 The auction. Each then quickly turned, and said
 In German *patois* what to me did sound
 Melodious ; for it spoke of gratitude,
 And undissembled pleasure felt at heart.

And long shall I remember those glad eyes
 Which glisten'd as they spoke, now on the parrot,
 Now upon me full-turned. And long, whene'er
 A pedlar's tray shall pass me on the road,
 By quick association I shall see
 These happy children—and shall hear them lisp
 Their *patois*, and their oft-repeated '*dank*.' "

The man who can read that without delight—we most
 heartily pity. Its beauties do not require to be pointed out,
 but we cannot refrain from dwelling on them for a few mo-
 ments. The picture of the children—as "each pounced on

a parrot"—is exquisite;—and then the moral loveliness of the equally simultaneous "quickly" turning to speak their gratitude,—their glistening eyes oscillating between the parrot and Dr. Copleston, as delight and gratitude rose uppermost in their little hearts,—or as they sought unconsciously perhaps to blend and harmonize the two feelings,—investing the doctor, no doubt, with half the glories of the parrot. There were very gorgeous parrots in those days:—we remember them well, about the year 1815. Dr. Copleston must have come across them about the time of their first migration from Italy. It is long since we have seen any of the kind, so that we fancy they have now become extinct, like Queen Elizabeth's pippins and the megalosaurus. The mention of "better things than from the craggy steep of Grindenwald, or Grimsel, can be gathered," has reference, we suspect, to the botanical pursuits of some of his fellow-travellers. At all events, Mr. Philip B. Duncan, who travelled with him in 1817, records that he "enjoyed the grand scenery of nature more than any details of natural history—of plants or animals, seen in the open air or in museums." Mr. Duncan goes on to say:—

"His patience, I fear, was sometimes severely taxed by my brother's and my devotion to botany, and anxiety to get every rare plant to be found in our different excursions. I remember one of our adventures with particular delight. We had set out to ascend the Bhigi mountain, but unfortunately the day was so foggy that our friend wished to abandon the undertaking as useless, but on my resolving to persevere, in hopes of adding to my store of rare plants, he agreed to accompany us, and on arriving at the chalet, near the summit of the mountain we found several unfortunate male and female travellers, who had been waiting three days in hopes of witnessing the magnificent scenery displayed from this most interesting of all the Swiss mountains. We continued to ascend to the highest point, when on a sudden, to our great surprise and delight, the curtain of the dark was drawn up, the sun burst forth in its most splendid brightness, and illuminated the grandest scene of lakes, mountains, and cities I ever beheld. The German ladies who witnessed it were extravagant in their raptures of delight, and screamed forth some German poetry, expressive of their enthusiasm, that wakened the echoes all around us."

The consideration that Dr. Copleston was never married renders the following letter the more touching. He is writing, after having been a householder somewhat more than a year, to his friend the Rev. W. N. Darnell, an old fellow-collegian, after a severe illness, and having just parted with his sisters, who had come up from Devonshire to nurse him.

" Oriel College : June 2, 1815.

... Let me not, with contemplation of my own solitude, forget to congratulate you on the happiness which you are about to derive from a different state of life, and which, from the anticipation of that state, must have already begun. . . . Whether I am ever destined to enjoy a similar blessing I know not, but I feel most sensibly the truth of that saying, which proceeded from more than human wisdom, 'It is not good for man to be alone.' Celibacy is tolerable to a man who lives in society, but it is a dismal state for a householder; and it requires both better health and a stronger mind than I can boast to support it cheerfully. If ever I am so happy as to change it for a married state, you shall certainly hear from me before it takes place, for I am sure you will not be indifferent to the interests of an old friend. It is kind of you to send me such flattering testimony to the success of my professional labours. The prælections have drawn more notice, and been more commended, than I had any reason to expect. This is a sufficient compensation for the labour and anxiety of mind which the composition of them cost me. I am sure that my spirits would now be unequal to the same task—glad, therefore, am I that I have no such duty now before me. God grant that I may have strength and spirits for those which belong to my station!

Ever, my dear friend,

Most sincerely yours,

E. C."

Nowhere, throughout the volume before us, do we find any other allusion to this subject. Whether, therefore, Dr. Copleston loved and was unfortunate; or whether his conception of connubial comfort in the abstract ever tended, in his own case, to any thing more definite than a regret that some worthy woman or another did not take upon herself to marry him, must be left to conjecture. His sketch, already quoted, of the two children "hand in hand" mournfully watching the departure of the pedlar—reminds us of poor Charles Lamb's "Dream-children";—but no man, with a warm heart, was ever less of a sentimentalist than Dr. Copleston.

In a letter to his brother, written in the course of his continental tour in 1816, he gives a curious account of the observance of the Jewish Sabbath in Holland, while remarking on religious observances in general.

"In all the places of worship I have attended (except one, which I will speak of presently), I must say that there was greater appearance of devotion than the English church ordinarily presents. The people seem to make it more their own business. They come before the service begins. Many sit there an hour with their books, and seemed to be engaged in private prayer. I confess I cannot understand the ground upon which the English boast themselves to be a peculiarly religious people. To be sure, on the Continent, Sunday is re-

garded as a festival, and all sorts of innocent amusements go on in the evening, after divine service is over. This is the case as much in Protestant as in Catholic countries, and I believe Heylin, in his *Treatise on the Sabbath*, is right in saying that the day was never, in the history of the Church, considered as profaned by the practice, till about the latter end of our Elizabeth's reign, when the Puritan notions began to prevail. The place of worship I meant to speak of is the Jew's synagogue at Amsterdam, such mockery of religions I never beheld. There are two synagogues, one for Portuguese, the other for German Jews, being the two classes into which they are divided; they are 23,000 and upwards in all. The Portuguese are reckoned much superior in respectability to the others. We went to that first on Friday evening, when their Sabbath begins. It was nearly full of a dirty rabble, all either bawling aloud, or gabbling over books, or talking and laughing with each other—a perfect image of Babel. The priest, who had something of a dress, led the way occasionally, but did not seem to wear the slightest appearance of reverence or seriousness, and, after shutting the book, slapped one of his acquaintance on the shoulder as they were going out of the place. An exchange, or a crowded market for old clothes, might as well pass for a religious assembly. And yet there is not a Jew in Amsterdam who would not, I dare say, rather suffer severely, or even lose his money, than miss his synagogue, or work on a Saturday."

At Antwerp Dr. Copleston ascended the spire, which is one of the highest in the Netherlands, and the view from which is remarkably extensive. Here he fell in with a new theory of the picturesque.

"The sexton of the Church amused me not a little—[he writes to his sister].—From the affinity of the Flemish to the English, we contrived to understand one another tolerably well, with the aid of a little French. He thought highly, as you may suppose, of the prospect from his tower, continually repeating, as he looked round with an air of exultation, 'tout plat, tout plat, tout plat.' I asked him if he had ever seen a hill. He told me he had once at Brussels, but he evidently considered it a defect in nature."

Remarking, to his sister, the change in the shape of the hills and valleys, in the kinds of the grass, the mode of cultivation, &c., and the prospect of reaching strata still more primitive as their ascending route lay along the Rhine, he adds an observation on geological phraseology.

"Of course you know that, in geology, *above* means *below*! What was *originally* above, is *now* below, in consequence of the partial elevation of those lowest strata which form our highest mountains, and which of course, lifted with them the intervening strata. Thus a river which, like the Rhine, takes its rise in the highest ridges, travels successively from one stratum to the other till it arrives at that which is now lowest, but which, supposing no disturbance to have taken place, would be at the top."

In 1819 Dr. Copleston published two letters to Sir Robert Peel,—the one '*On the pernicious effects of a variable*

standard of value,—the other on the *Poor-laws*. The high testimony that was borne, in Parliament, by Mr. Tierney, Sir James Macintosh, Mr. Baring, and others, to the value of these writings, we have not room to quote; nor is it perhaps necessary. They established his character as a Political Economist. Thus we now find in his diaries such entries as the following:—

‘May 22, 1821.—Interview with Mr. Peel and Sir A. Baring, on finance.’

‘April 8, 1822.—Interview with Mr. Huskisson, by appointment, on finance.’

In 1821, Dr. Copleston published that *Inquiry, into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination*, to which reference has been already made. The work is one well adapted to give to many minds the same relief and satisfaction which we have already seen Sir D. K. Sandford so warmly acknowledging; and we hope to have an opportunity of giving our readers, some other time, an outline of its argument. His Prelections as Professor of Poetry have been already mentioned; and here, while noticing these later exertions of his intellect, we may record the judgment pronounced on Dr. Copleston by Sir James Macintosh as “the only writer of our time who has equally distinguished himself in paths so distant from each other as classical literature, political economy, and metaphysical philosophy.”

Our liking for the name of Copleston first arose from the affectionate and reverential mention of him in the works of Whately, to whom we owe personally a debt of gratitude for having given us, through those works, our earliest satisfactory views of subjects the study of which has long been to us a source of delight. We looked, therefore, with interest, for the correspondence of these two friends; and we are somewhat disappointed at the smallness of the amount presented to us. In a letter written in 1824 we find some speculation on a question which, though often likely to present itself to the mind, we do not remember to have met with any previous attempt to view with any precision.

“Oriel College: October 24.

MY DEAR WHATELY,—Whether I answered the letter I received from you in Devonshire, announcing the birth of your third child, I really do not know; but I had some qualms of conscience on that score, and was about to write at a venture, when your letter of the 20th. arrived. The postscript serves to lessen the anxiety naturally excited in the breast of a friend by the general tone of this letter. Before many days are over, I trust you will be able to tell me that your alarm is at an

end. A little change of air, and scene, and occupation, as soon as Mrs. W. is able to bear it, will, I dare say, re-establish her health.

I can easily enter into the feelings you describe, which impel Mrs. W. to exertions beyond her strength; but after so severe a lesson, even the sense of duty must be satisfied in permitting many things to go unattended to, which, if the means were in our hands, we should be glad to regulate. It seems absurd to mount to metaphysical principles for a guide in the common familiar concerns of life. Yet I have frequently been led to reflect on the wide prevalence of evil in the world, as a proof that God cannot expect us to harass ourselves incessantly in resisting it. He doubtless permits it, as affording an arena for our energies, directed as they should be in obedience to his will. But it could never be meant that our own enjoyment is to be nullified by it.

These reflections used to occur to my mind when engaged in active duties as a college officer; and it often appeared to me the most difficult question, with what degree of evil existing under one's eyes one might fairly indulge a feeling of complacency, and a desire for repose or enjoyment. No one will say that these feelings are not to be indulged at all, while any degree of evil exists around us which we may by possibility counteract. Our Saviour himself was not always teaching or relieving distress, and much both of moral and physical evil he must have witnessed without interfering to correct it.

Whenever, therefore, a service of this kind exceeds the measure of our health or spirits, we ought to be satisfied that another duty withdraws us from it, and endeavour to forget, by diversion to other subjects, the imperfections and blemishes which are inseparable from earthly things.

It is seldom, indeed, that one has occasion to inculcate this sort of duty, but the best motives require a moderating hand—even benevolence itself may grow up into fanaticism."

In November 1821 Dr. Copleston received, from Lord Goderich, the offer of the bishopric of Llandaff, and the deanery of St. Paul's. The acceptance of this preferment constrained him, by a sense of duty, to resign the provostship of Oriol College. Here his biographer remarks, that, "Affectionate and reverential attention towards his parents was a marked and most pleasing feature in the bishop's character. Whenever he had anything agreeable to communicate, it seems to have been his first thought to write to them. Nor is it by any means a trifling indication of this habit of mind, that in these letters he always subscribed himself 'Your dutiful and affectionate son'—no less when he signed 'E. Llandaff,' than when, a scholar of C.C.C., he wrote home to announce his Latin verse prize."

From the Bishop's diary of 1828 we take what follows.

'Nov. 6.—My father and mother arrived from Exeter, both in good health—one near eighty, the other eighty-two.'

'Sunday, Nov. 9.—My father and his grandson John served the Church in the morning: my brother read prayers and I preached in the afternoon. This remarkable union of three generations in my native place,

made a strong impression upon us all, and upon the whole parish. Only two individuals of the congregation were there whom my father found at his first coming to Offwell, in 1774.

"May, 13.—Dined at Dr. Blomberg's. The Duke of Cumberland and a small party. The duke affable, and apparently much pleased with his entertainment. Mr. Sadler, the member for Newark, there, with whom I had much talk about the principle of population, free trade, &c., in the course of which he maintained many paradoxes, but said he could demonstrate them by the surest evidence of facts. The duke joined us in the drawing-room, and entered very particularly with me into the Catholic Relief Bill, and his renunciation of the Duke of Wellington. Upon this subject he was unusually explicit. Upon my observing that the king's speech was a sufficient indication that the king's consent to the measure had been obtained, he said, 'Not a bit of it. The king never gave his consent, nor does he now approve of what they have done. He has been deceived by them. I arrived in England on the 14th and the next day waited on the king, and took the liberty of expressing my regret that I must vote against Catholic Emancipation, which he, the king, had sanctioned. The king replied sharply, 'I have sanctioned no such thing. They have never proposed it to me. The laws affecting the Roman Catholics are to be reviewed, but that is not Catholic Emancipation.'" All this the duke amplified and reiterated with great earnestness, telling me that the ministry were at one time on the point of being dismissed, so much did the king resent this duplicity. He then took his leave very graciously."

In the diary of 1832 it is refreshing to find the following—

* "February 22.—On this day, following the example of almost all the bishops, left off my wig."

In a letter of this year from Archbishop Whately, we find the felicitous expression "that *rashly-cautious* man the Archbishop of ———." The existence of two Archbishopricks in England renders the blank here not a mere crystal screen; yet those better acquainted than we are with the characters of the day, will no doubt see through it as clearly as if it were such.

Bishop Copleston's delight at the Electric Telegraph is characteristic.

"February 2, 1840, Sunday.—My sixty-fourth birthday. Attended the cathedral. Administered the sacrament. May the remainder of my life correspond to the resolutions there made!

Last night I was hardly able to sleep, from the strong impressions made on my mind by the stupendous discoveries and results of experiments by Mr. Whetstone on electricity, and his most ingenious mechanical apparatus for an electric telegraph. He had kindly met me by appointment in the lecture-room of King's College, and for an hour and a quarter was incessantly occupied in explaining to me ~~some~~ the whole doctrine, and the admirable application of it to this purpose of a telegraph. The velocity with which the communication takes place is almost inconceivable. By some curious experiments, however, he

seems to have ascertained that it travel 160,000 miles, or more than eight times the circumference of the globe, in one second. Gas and steam have done much, but this agent is destined to do much more, and to work an incalculable change in human affairs."

The latest verification that we have seen of the bishop's sanguine anticipations is the fact that travelling by railway has been diminished since the telegraph was put in operation. Commercial men find it a waste of time to go whisking through the air at a rate of sixty miles per hour, or to wait for the report of a messenger who can go no faster,—when the telegraph is available. Even Puck himself would be ashamed of his brag—

'I'll put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes'—

when the telegraph will put it *forty* times round the globe in an eighth part of that number of *seconds*. Well might the bishop say, as beautifully he does say, of the telegraph—

"It far exceeds even the feats of pretended magic, and the wildest fictions of the East. This subjugation of nature, and conversion of her powers to the use and will of man, actually do, as Lord Bacon predicted it would do, a thousand times more than what all the preternatural powers which men have dreamt of, and wished to obtain, were ever imagined capable of doing. Happy am I in having commenced my sixty-fifth year with this bright vision, which promises to introduce a wonderful reality, and an accession to our intellectual dominion, boundless both in extent and value."

In a letter of February 1841, we come across Dr. Chalmers and the Free Church. The bishop is writing of a dinner party.

"Among them were two Edinburgh clergymen, Dr. M'Farlane and Mr. Cunningham, introduced to me by a letter from Dr. Chalmers, whose errand was to interest the Bishops and other M. P.'s for the non-intrusion party. We had much friendly discussion, but I told them I thought their sensitive objection to the interference of the civil power, to the extent to which they pushed it, an over-refinement. The fact is—Chalmers and others—men of the greatest weight and respectability—have committed themselves a little incautiously, and cannot, without loss of character, now recede an inch. There is not time to enter fully into the question, for I am summoned to the House of Lords to hear our friend the Bishop of Exeter on the Canada-popish question."

He had not "time to enter fully into the question," but he touched it pretty nearly, we incline to think, in this brief notice of it.

In the year 1841 the bishop's letters speak of the infirmities of age stealing on, while they give at the same time lively proof of unabated vigour and activity of mind.

"Two or three years ago, after recovery from illness, I could ride at a good trot or canter for many miles, and walk some hours in a day, not only without fatigue, but exhilarated by it. Now I feel my limbs aching after an hour's exercise, however gentle, and I can no longer look to a walk as a ready and sure recreation after any weariness of reading or business, or any cares and molestations. But I will drop this strain, and encourage myself by the example you set of cheerful perseverance under many domestic anxieties, for which you have my sincere sympathy, although I do not often advert to them in my letters. What do you think of my going last Monday evening, by railway, seventy-seven miles in three hours, to Southampton, merely to witness Colonel Pasley's operation on the Royal George, an explosion of seven hundred pounds' weight of gunpowder? I went to the *lump*, as they call Pasley's shapeless raft, in the port-admiral's yacht; had a very pleasant day, and returned the next morning to London in three hours, reading the whole way, except when conversation with intelligent fellow-travellers intervened. Above all, there was not the slightest sensation of fatigue; and it is no trifle that this expedition is obtained without any animal suffering, as it is in posting, or coach-travelling, at one-third of the speed; for the most tender-hearted sentimentalist need not sympathize with the puffing and groaning engine."

Having recently ourselves ridden sixteen miles on the back of an elephant, we can the more thoroughly appreciate the felicity of the bishop in his railway-carriage. After sixteen miles on such an elephant as we last rode,—puff he or groan he as he may,—there is but one object of sympathy to the miserable rider—and it *isn't* the elephant.

Passing over eight years more, and that the Bishop's vigour of mind, in spite of bodily [redacted] continues to show itself. In his reply to a letter of congratulation on his birthday in the year which was to be his last, he writes as follows:

"Deannery, St. Paul's: Feb. 5, 1849.

MY DEAR PROVOST,—Thanks for your friendly congratulations. I certainly feel, on entering my seventy-fourth year, that I have more than the average share of health and mental vigour usual at that age, but perhaps less than the average share of bodily strength, considering how great that was during the best part of my life. Repose is now as necessary (I do not say as grateful) as exercise used to be. Walking, or even standing, fatigues me in a few minutes. Yet I feel the truth of Paley's remark, in his chapter on the goodness of God, that there is enjoyment even in the dozing chair of age, as well as in the alacrity of youth. You speak of your mother as arrived at eighty-two: my own died in her eighty-second year. The last faculty that suffered no decay was affection and gratitude to God and man, especially to those of her own house."

*

A month before his death he writes to his nephew:—

"As I am quite alive to the egregious folly of the Peace Congress, unless they propose to alter human nature by some discoveries in

science, I can calmly appreciate your views as to John's profession. At present, however, and for some years to come, I would advise nothing to be done, as introductory to a particular profession, but to lay that sound and firm basis of liberal education in the best literature, and in the elements of science, which distinguishes England. I would discountenance all ambition for various attainments and desultory reading (except for recreation and to excite the faculties, especially the imagination), and, more than all, would seek to inculcate the simple truths of Christianity as undoubted historical facts. This will serve as a firm foundation for that purer sense of its divine character, which alone can influence the heart and regulate the conduct. Another homely principle, too much neglected, is to make a boy thoroughly master of what he learns—to read the best parts of the best authors over and over, and to ascertain the exact meaning of words (not by general definition, but) according to the use of them in the context in which they occur."

What he had particularly in view when he made the disparaging allusion to 'general definitions' just quoted, we may have occasion to consider if we have an opportunity of giving some account of the bishop's *Inquiry*.

On Sunday, the 14th of October, 1849, Bishop Copleston breathed his last. Shortly before his final release, he received the sacrament with his two meces. After the conclusion of the holy rite, he said,—“I expect soon to die, and I die in the firm faith of the redemption wrought by God in man through Christ Jesus, assured that all who believe in Him will be saved.”

What remains to be said, we must despatch briefly. To the duties of his diocese Bishop Copleston was entirely devoted. “Placed in the see of Llandaff,” writes Archdeacon Williams, “when translations were frequent, and when this diocese was regarded but as a stepping-stone to another, he early expressed his resolve to abide amongst us; and here he has remained to die.” The bishop had no nepotism:—“His preferments were given away on public grounds alone. None of his own name or kin, though there were among them men well meet for office, were either beneficed or placed.” His nephew and biographer, perhaps undesignedly, supplies the reason of this. “A noble generosity may be more shown,” he says, “in what a person allows, than in what he bestows. And surely it was a rare excellence in the bishop's character, that in matters upon which he himself held strong opinions, he allowed his younger and dependent relatives to follow their own convictions, and could see them taking a line divergent from, or even opposed to, his own, not only without positive displeasure, but without the slightest alteration in his affection, or any diminution in those sub-

stantial acts of kindness, which he was always either doing or devising." It is handsomely said,—and the Rector of Cromhall is worthy of the name of Copleston. Of the bishop's liberality, to use the words of Archdeacon Williams, "it would be difficult to speak in adequate or appropriate terms. It was abundant and overflowing." He expended, indeed, on his diocese, more than its whole episcopal revenues, his deanery of St. Paul's sufficing for more than his own wants. To his diocese "he gave his time, his talents, and his substance;"—and to these duties, the Archdeacon justly, as well as characteristically, adds, "he made a yet larger and more costly sacrifice—that of literary distinction, easily within his grasp."

SONNET.

Θεοῦ γεωργίου. Θεοῦ οἰκοδομῆ ἔσσι.

IN hope the husbandman his yellow grain
 Scatters, in Autumn, on the well-eared ground,
 And, ere the Winter's frost his fields hath bound,
 His hearth beholds him back to peace again,
 Trustful, by help of God, that not in vain
 The patient labour of his sturdy hand—
 God, in Whose Name he scattered, shall command
 Increase, by early or by later rain.
 So hopefully if on the fallow heart
 We shed the good seed of the Word, depart
 In trust may we, to comfort ministrual,
 That foison, in due time, shall clothe the mould
 Or thirty, sixty, or an hundred fold
 Thro' Him whose touch can thaw the world's cold thrall.

VI.

THE S'ABDA KALPA DRUMA.

THOUGH it be an undeniable fact that public spirit is an exotic in India, still it is too often our wont to commemorate an exhibition of native munificence, not distinctly centering in self, with an air of condescending patronage but little removed from the familiarity of contempt. Yet this style of procedure must imply, to every considerate mind, not merely bad taste, but something of bad policy. The Englishman may hug himself in the conceit that the Hindu character is more open to flattery than his own; but the accuracy of this judgement may perhaps be fairly questioned. If the merc animus of oriental adulation could be conveyed, apart from the warping influence of words, to the mind of a European, it may reasonably be suspected that it would not appear excessively wide of the tenour of our own most endurable compliments. Even on the contrary assumption, however, it would surely be courteous, as well as prudent, in cases where our sentiments may be intelligible, to aim at inoffensiveness by tempering disdain with reticence. A keen susceptibility to kindness is likely to be accompanied by equal sensibility to disparagement; and a single sally of petulance may undo the work of the most laboured encomium. It might be well, then, to keep these considerations more frequently in view, now that so large a number of our fellow-subjects are daily bestowing increased attention on our language, and are thus qualifying themselves the better to understand and to canvass our recorded opinions on Indian topics. To the enterprising class of natives here alluded to, belongs the intelligent author of the S'abda Kalpa Druma, whom we feel it to be both our duty and our interest to conciliate and commend in every way that the nature of the case will admit.

The work which we purpose to introduce, with a few remarks, to our readers, stands, in many respects, by itself, amongst the literary achievements of our age. It may be that none but the orientalist by profession will discover that he has any personal reasons for feeling grateful to the author of this work. Still, as an index of the undeniable aid and influence, in certain directions, of our European civilization, the gigantic result of this gentleman's undertaking may well arrest the attention of the general reader, and demand, at any rate, the tribute of a passing applause. Probably we may seem to be too sanguine in our expectations, and possibly we are, when we reflect that this is the first time in India

that the work in question,—which would, in almost any other country, have been hailed as an era in its letters,—has been named to the public with greater particularity than a frigid congratulation at its completion.

The S'ABDA KALPA DRUMA, by the RA'JA' RA'DHA'KA'N-TA DEVA of Calcutta, is a work somewhat resembling our Encyclopædia Metropolitana, in respect that it embraces both lexicography and the consideration of general science and literature. The "Cornucopia of Vocables" is written in Sanskrit, and professes to treat of the classical learning of the Hindus, so far as it has survived to the present time. The work occupies seven quarto volumes, comprising a total of 7318 pages of double columnus, besides a preface. The first volume was published in 1821; and the last left the press during the past year. Such are the tangible dimensions of this huge work; and from these alone the infeasibility of criticizing it with any tolerable thoroughness must be apparent. We shall, therefore, restrict ourselves to a few desultory observations, suggested principally by our own limited experience of the Encyclopædia.

The researches of Mr. Colebrooke and Professor Wilson on Sanskrit lexicography prove to have left but scanty gleanings to subsequent investigators. It might be supposed that a considerable amount of new information on this subject, in the form of rare or ancient dictionaries, would have found its way into the Rájá's hands in the course of an inquisition of thirty years. Yet, on examining the list of accessible authorities, detailed in the preface prefixed to the last volume of the Encyclopædia, we recognise but very few materials that were unknown to the compiler's European predecessors. Among the new materials,—unless we have occasionally been misled by unusual titles applied to familiar works,—are vocabularies by Náráyana Dása,* Nanda Bhattáchárya, and by the unnamed author of one of the several works called Ratna málá. The names of the grammatical treatises consulted by the Rájá, we designedly pretermit. The Rájá's lists of lexical authorities, known only by citations from them, while they omit many that are spoken of by Mr. Colebrooke and Professor Wilson, mention some which they have not noticed.† Such are the commentaries attributed to Malli-

* The Rája-vallabha, which treats of the materia medica. This work, which is of very common occurrence, has been printed at least twice in Calcutta, together with a Bangálí translation. The two impressions vary mainly, if not solely, in respect of arrangement.

† In the list of the Medini's authorities, which the Rájá extracts, we find the name of Gomí. Professor Wilson, (Preface to 1st Ed. of Sanskrit

nātha, Bhagīratha, Kolāhala A'chārya, Ś'ābara Swāmin, and Vidyāvinoda; and the Sandeha-bhaṅgikā;—all in elucidation of the Amara Kośa,* and classified under the unsatisfactory title of "procured and unprocured." A few remarks on these works, indicating at least by what later writers they have been referred to, would not have been unacceptable.

That there are not a few Sanskrit dictionaries which, from their extreme infrequency in these parts of the Peninsula, the Rājā has no knowledge of, is certain and only natural. Of these we may mention the Nānārtha of Ś'ās'wata, the Nāma-saṅgraha-mālā,† the Ś'iva-prakāś'a,‡ the Nānārtha-ratna-tilaka,§ the

Dictionary, p. xxxi.) by giving Soma instead of Gomī, seems to have preferred the authority of his MSS. to that of the printed edition of the Medinī, with which the Rājā's reading accords. Or is Soma an error of the press? This point we have been unable to decide, as not a single entire MS. of the Medinī, so far as we can learn, is to be had in Benares. The influence of typography on the transcription, and attendant accuracy, of Sanskrit literature, is a topic deserving of serious consideration. In the case of a work that is not a regular text-book, when an impression has been nearly or quite equal to the immediate demand, it has sometimes happened that, not only has the work been copied no more, but the existing MSS. of it, of whatever age, have been treated with much less care than would otherwise have been taken of them. This has resulted, partly from the supposition that a printed copy could at any time be procured at the expense of a little painstaking, and partly from the extreme heedlessness of modern pandits with regard to the correctness of the text of most secular and many scriptural compositions. An illustration of these remarks is afforded in the fate of the Hitopadeś'a, of which not a single MS. is now forthcoming in this vicinity, though we have been assured that MSS. of it were very common in these parts fifty years ago. Hence the imperative desirableness that Indian editors of Sanskrit writing should be critics as well, which they have but too seldom been. As for popular text-books, there is no danger that their readings will degenerate, so long as the hereditary method of native tuition continues in force. The majority of students, who have more time than money, can better afford to copy the works they read than buy them. They are also occasionally required, by their preceptors, as remuneration for instruction, to write copies of the text-books in use, for others. The system of oral instruction further enables the student to correct his own MSS., under his master's eye, to a degree of accuracy seldom to be met with in print.

* See the Note at the end of this paper.

† This seems to be a commentary on the Nāma-saṅgraha, which we have not seen. It is by Appaya Dikshita, not A'ryya Dikshita, as in the catalogue (p. 6,) of the Bengal Asiatic Society's library. In the same catalogue, at p. 5, the non-distinctive epithet *nirūpa* (a blunder for *nirupama* 'matchless,') is given as part of the name of Daṇḍadhīnātha, the author of the Nānārtha-ratna-mālā.

‡ A medical vocabulary, by Ś'iva Datta, son of Karpūriya Chaturbhūja. The author annotates his own work, which bears date in the year 1599 of the era of Ś'ālivāhana, or A.D. 1677.

§ By Mahāpa, if a very illegible MS. may be trusted. The date of this work is 1430 of an unspecified era. One of its authorities, Bhādra, is a new name. Others of them are very ancient, as Bhāguri, who is said to have been consulted by Amara Sinha.

Gaṇa-nighaṇṭu of Chandra Chandana, the Madana-vinoda-nighaṇṭu of Madana Pāla, the Nāma-ratnākara of Koī Deva, the Dravya-ratnākara-nighaṇṭu,* and the S'abda-prakāś'a,†—all of which we have ourselves had opportunities of examining.

But our author has by no means limited himself to a collective reproduction of the lexicons and catalogues of verbal themes which he found already existing. This would have been light labour in comparison with what he had the courage to design and has gone far to accomplish. His plan embraces the entire compass of the Sanskrit language; and this is very imperfectly displayed in the productions of former lexicographers, by whom the exposition of technical phraseology is left entirely to commentators and glossarists. The works of these annotators may, almost without a figure, be designated as endless; and an ordinary life-time of unremitting toil would suffice to digest but a portion of them. Many of them, moreover, are of great rarity; a large proportion of them are, one is almost tempted to imagine, purposely obscure; not unfrequently their discrepancies are beyond all reconciliation; and, without exception, they labour under that uncertainty which must necessarily characterize a manuscript literature in a state of decrepitude and decay. It would, therefore, be unreasonable to arraign the work before us for its faults of omission. That, in the course of our reading, we have observed many such blemishes in it, we will not dissemble;‡ but, as the Rājā has promised a supplement, there is ground to hope that the Encyclopædia may eventually be brought to something like practicable per-

* This may be the same work as the Dravya-guṇa-vichāra, in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The only copy that we have seen is imperfect at the end; and the author's name does not occur at the beginning. It is also very incorrectly transcribed. Among the writers of medical vocabularies referred to in it, are the unknown names of Hārīta, Agnives'a, Charaka, Dvandwa, Bheda, Atri, Dāmodara, Kharapa, and Bopadeva. This work is posterior to the Siva-prakāś'a, whose author is also cited in it.

† This is a dictionary of homonymous (or, more properly, polysemantic) terms, and purports to have been written by Khān Nripati. By this name the anonymous author no doubt intends his patron, who seems to have been some Muhammadan sovereign. The MS. inspected, which is incomplete, was copied in the Samvat year 1575, or 334 years ago.

‡ We write with a collection before us of several score of mathematical terms which the S'abda Kalpa Druma has omitted. And we suspect that no general student of the Sanskrit can read for a week together without being able to make a list of miscellaneous addenda equal to the following:

आमोषक a proverb; आरा a spoke; किड oxide; चाकचक्य brilliancy; छावा metaphor, copying nature; पण्ड the gonorrhœa;

fection. Its most conspicuous and regretted defect, in the eyes of European scholars, is, certainly, its extreme reserve with regard to the Vaidika writings, which the pious author draws back from with most provoking reverence. Some of its essays are also disproportionately long, and would be better received in independent volumes than in the body of a compilation which, being intended for perpetual use, could advantageously be cut down to a less unwieldy bulk. Taking, however, the Sábda Kalpa Druma as it is, every student of the Sanskrit that pushes his enquiries beyond the rudiments, must feel extremely thankful for it; and, among other reasons, for this, as not the least, that it furnishes references by which its interpretations may be verified.

The Rájá takes occasion, in his preface, to apprise the reader that he has discriminated between the characters *ja* and *ya*, *na* and *na*, *ba* and *va*, and *s'a*, *sha*, and *sa*: although these sets of letters are, in enunciation, confounded, respectively, in his vernacular, the Bangálí. Nevertheless, in adjusting the conflicting claims of *ba* and *va*, he confesses that he had some trouble. Demurring to Durgádása's canon as inadequately comprehensive, he resorts to etymology to settle the question. Here, again, fresh difficulties present themselves; as there is the best authority for believing that several roots are written optionally with *ba* and *va*. If, again, we trust to the decision of those pandits who pique themselves most on their pronunciation, we shall often be obliged to refer derivatives, beginning with *ba*, to primitives in *va*. The learned in this part of the country are notoriously careless in distinguishing these two letters. In the west and south of India, on the contrary, their appropriation has been so rigidly determined by indefinite tradition, that there is hardly a word in the Sanskrit language, containing either of them, with regard to which any doubt is entertained. And this tradition derives a certain weight from the circumstance that, in the dialects of the provinces where it prevails, the *va* in words borrowed from the Sanskrit is frequently corrupted into *ba*. The theory that the distinction of these letters, and of other sets approximate in sound, is indifferent in Sanskrit, would, if carried into practice, completely unsettle all orthography

पिच्छिका *a whisk used in magic*; मानुका *an exemplar*; मुकय *an ichneumon*; लोहचुम्बक *a magnet*; वल्लता *a damsel*; वेतवृक्ष *an elephant*; सारणी *a mathematical table*; स्तिमित *firm*.

and orthoepy, and the grammar at large. The verse and a half which are cited by Professor Wilson, (Preface to 1st Ed. of Sanscrit Dic., p. xlii.,) were never meant as a rule for spelling; being intended for the ear, not for the eye. It is one out of many convenient formulas that have been devised to render assistance in unravelling the complicated equivoques which disfigure and perplex the more modern poetry. It is, in fact, impossible that it could ever have been framed with any different or ulterior design.

A great drawback on the utility, to Indian students, of the S'abda Kalpa Druma, is its being printed in a local alphabet, which very few pandits out of Bengal can be induced, by mere prospective advantage, to make themselves acquainted with. We were, accordingly, prepared for the author's intimation that he has repeatedly been solicited to republish the work in the Devanāgarī character. To this request the author objects that there is but little chance that he would live to see the reprint brought to a conclusion. But he freely makes the project over to any one that would try the experiment. It is to be hoped that the Rājā will think better of his objection. Surely, he cannot be indifferent to fame among his countrymen beyond the limits of his own province. And here we must not forget to record the laudable liberality of the estimable author in reference to his Encyclopædia. Never has he allowed a single copy of it to be sold; and so freely has it been presented to applicants for it, that the first and second volumes are now quite out of print. Here, then, is an excellent opportunity to commence reprinting the work in the Devanāgarī character. Even though the Rājā might not survive the accomplishment of this scheme, still the merit of it could not well devolve on any one but himself. It is, further, desirable that, in a new edition, the terminology of Bopadeva be set aside in favour of that of Paṇini, and that the definitions be given in Hindī as well as in Bangālī. In suggesting the first of these changes we are certain that we express the wish of all European students of the Sanskrit, and of a very large majority of the learned of India. A more complete treatment of the verbal roots may also be proposed as an improvement still to be effected. Here, too, Bopadeva may profitably be exchanged for better authorities, or, at all events, not allowed to supersede them. M. Westergaard's excellent collection, would with the help of a little Latin, be found of the greatest assistance. The aid afforded by European scholars is no more to be declined than by Rājā than are the labours of his countrymen

out of Bengal, against whose systems he suffers himself to be a little too much prejudiced by local predilections.* The recent revolution of studies in the Sanskrit College at Calcutta, for which we have to thank the well-advised firmness of its Principal, Pandit Īśwara Chandra Vidyāsāgara, gives every promise of producing a marked effect, within a generation or two, on the culture of the classical language in Bengal. Firm as is the hold which a peculiar system of grammatical instruction has obtained there, still there is no reason to despair of supplanting it by a more rational one ; and the good results that would spring from such a uniformity as it is attempted to establish, are neither few nor of slight importance.

Note referred to at p. 269.

The Rājā, writing under the ungenial constraint of orthodoxy, antedates the vocabulary near the end of the Agni Purāṇa, to all works of a similar nature composed by mere Mortals. We have compared this vocabulary with the Amara Kosā, of which it is obviously nothing else than a bungling and beggarly abridgement. The pandits contend that Amara Sinha is proved to have been no Hindu, by the fact that he gives the deities of the Bauddhas the precedence, in his arrangement, to those of Brāhmanism. Be it so. The Agni Purāṇa observes the same order ; and is, accordingly, the work of some *nāstika*. Otherwise, it is posterior to the Amara Kosā, and put it in requisition. Fortuitous coincidence, in points like this, is out of the question. Another circumstance that has weight with the Hindus as presumptive that Amara Sinha belonged to some heterodox sect, is the undefining catholicity of the invocation in the exordium to his work. So strong, indeed, is the popular impression that he was a Bauddha, or a Jaina, that many devout Hindus abstain, with scrupulous caution, from consulting his dictionary on the holidays termed *ekādaśī*. Some there are, however, that ascribe this tra-

* Such is the inveteracy of attachment to their own schools of grammar, (those of Bopadeva and Kumāra,) entertained by the Bangālīs, that not a single student of their race has, for several years, been connected with the Sanskrit department of the Bonāres College, though its professors are acknowledged to be men every way qualified for their posts. At the same time, just one half of the students in the English department of this institution are Bangālīs. The number of Bangālīs resident in Benares is roughly estimated at 16,000. Out of this number there may be a hundred students of Sanskrit. These read under masters from their own province, or under their literary successors. Their favourite pursuits are the Tantra, Grammar, and, above all, the Nyāya.

ditional restriction to motives of respect, alleging that it was on an *ekádas'i* that the author died.

The age of Amara Sinha has been diligently investigated by various scholars, but without leading to any positive result. Mr. Bentley (*Asiatic Researches*, VIII, p. 242,) and Professor Wilson (Preface to the 1st Ed. of *Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. vi.,) have published a couplet, current in the mouths of the pandits, in which Amara is classed among the nine literary celebrities of King Vikramáditya's court. This couplet, so far, at least, as we are aware, has not hitherto been traced to documentary authority. It is to be found in the last chapter of Kálidása's *Jyotirvidáyabharana*, an astrological treatise of exceedingly rare occurrence, and which is said to be quoted in no known work." That there have been two or more writers of the name of Kálidása, is commonly admitted by learned natives. But it is insisted that the Kálidása of the *Jyotirvidáyabharana* is the same person as the distinguished poet and dramatist so called. Nor do the pretensions of the work itself tend to discredit this opinion, as will appear from the following extracts.

वर्षे स्मृतिश्रुतिविचारविवेकरभ्ये
 श्रीभारते खधुतिसम्मितदेशपीठे ।
 मत्तोऽधुना कृतिरियं सति मालवेन्द्रे
 श्रीविक्रमार्कनृपराजवरे समासीत् ॥
 ब्रह्मः सुवाग् वररुचिर्मणिरंशुदत्तो
 जिष्णुस्त्रिलोचनहरी घटकर्पराक्षः ।
 अन्येऽपि सन्ति कवयोऽभरसिंहपूर्वा
 यस्यैव विक्रमनृपस्य सभासदोऽमी ॥
 सत्यो वराहमिहिरोऽनृतसेननामा
 श्रीबादरायणमणित्तथकुमारसिंहाः ।
 श्रीविक्रमार्कनृपसंसदि सन्ति चैते
 श्रीकालतटकवयस्त्वपरे मदाद्याः ॥
 धन्वन्तरिः क्षणकोऽभरसिंहब्रह्म-
 वेतालभट्टघटकर्परकालिदासाः ।
 आतो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां
 रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नैव विक्रमस्य ॥

"In this fortunate Bhārata-varsha, delightful by reason of the study and investigation of the law and scriptures, and numbering 180 districts, now has this treatise been composed by me, in the reign of the august Vikramārka, lord of Málava, and most eminent king of kings; in the assembly of which same King Vikrama are, as assessors, S'anku, the eloquent Vararuchi, Mapi, Ans'u Datta, Jishnu, Trilochana, Hari, and Ghatakarpara, and also other belles-lettrists, among whom Amara Sinha is the first. And these also belong to King Vikramārka's court: Satya, Varáha Mihira, S'ruta Sena [or Siddha Sena, a Jaina], Bádaráyana, Mañittha, Kumára Sinha, and other astronomers, such as myself. Dhanwantari, Kshapaṇaka, Amara Sinha, S'anku, Vetála Bhaṭṭa, Ghatakarpara, Kúlidāsa, the celebrated Varáha Mihira, and Vararuchi, are the nine gems in the court of King Vikrama."—Ch. 22, verses 7, 8, 9, 10.

Then follows an enumeration of Vikramāditya's royal resources, in which probability is strangely bleuded with computation by myriads. Thus, the monarch is stated to have about him only sixteen eminent pandits of general acquirements, ten astronomers, six physicians, six doctors in theology, six jesters (*thaṭṭhin*), and sixteen readers of the Veda. But his governors of districts are reckoned at eight hundred, his chosen warriors at ten millions, his boats at four hundred thousand, his horses at a hundred millions, and his elephants at 24,300. He is also said to have slain in battle the whimsical aggregate of 555,555,555 S'akas or Scythians, and then to have established his era (*s'aka*). (See Colbrooke's Essays, Vol. II., p. 475.) Mention is next made of his conquest of "the lord of the country of Rēm, the king of the S'akas," whom he is represented as having brought to his capital, Ujjayaní, and as having liberated, after carrying him about, apparently in triumph. Further on are the ensuing verses, with which the work concludes:—

शङ्खादिपण्डितवराः कवयस्त्वेनेके
उद्योतिर्विदः समभवंश्च वराहपूर्वाः।
श्रीविक्रमार्कनृपसंसदि मान्यबुद्धि-
स्तैरप्यहं नृपसखा किल कालिदासः॥
काव्यचयं सुमतिक्रुद्धुवंशपूर्वं
पूर्वं ततो ननु कियद्भूतिकर्मवादः।
उद्योतिर्विदाभरणकालविधानश्चाहं
श्रीकालिदासकवितो हि ततो बभूव॥
वर्षैः सिन्धुरदर्शनाम्बरगुणैर्भाते कलौ सम्मिते
मासे माधवे सञ्ज्ञके च विहितो यन्त्रक्रियोपक्रमः।

नानाकालविधानशास्त्रगदितं ज्ञानं विलोकादराद्
उज्ज्वलं यन्महामाप्तिरत्र विहिता ज्योतिर्विदां प्रीतये ॥

“Many poets, such as the eminent pandits, S'anku, &c., and astronomers, Varaha and others, have been in the court of King Vikramārka. By these even am I, Kālidāsa, whose friend is the king, held worthy of honour for my understanding. In the first place, the three poems, conferring sound wisdom, the Raghuvans'a, &c., and then somewhat of a work on scriptural observances, and subsequently an institute of astrology, the Jyotirvidābharana, have originated from the poet Kālidāsa. At the expiration of 3,068 years of the Kali age, [or B. C. 33,] in the month called Mādhava, was the composition of this treatise begun. Having reverently acquired the information delivered in many astronomical institutes, in the month of U'rja of the same year, for the gratification of astrologers, have I completed the work.”—Verses 19, 20, 21.

It is not our intention to enter into any lengthened disquisition on the genuineness of the work from which we have taken the foregoing verses. We will, however, record such additional indications of its age as the work itself affords.

1st. In the first half of the 53d verse of the 4th chapter, the author calculates a certain conjunction of the sun and moon prospectively. The passage adverted to is as follows:—

त्रिखेन्दुभिर्विक्रमभूयतेर्मिते
शकेन्वितीह क्षयमासको भवेत् ।

“After the era of King Vikrama shall have been measured by 103 (years), there will occur a *kshaya-māsa* (month of deficiency).”

For a definition of the term *k'shaya-māsa* we refer, for brevity, to the Gaṇitādhyāya of the Siddhānta S'iromani, p. 60.

2dly. The author dates his work, as we have seen, from the era of the Kali Yuga. “Hence,” to use the words of Mr. Colebrooke in a similar connection, “it is to be argued that he flourished before this era was superseded by the introduction of the modern epochs.” Essays, Vol II., p. 475.

3dly. The work contains no allusion to modern writers of any description, nor to any that are conceded to be ancient, with the single exception of Varāha Mihira, whose age has, with some hesitation, been fixed, on the strength of astronomical data, by Mr. Colebrooke, about the end of the fifth century after Christ. Essays Vol. II., p. 482.

In all this no signs of fraud are very apparent; nor, if a forgery be supposed, are its motives of easy conjecture. The self-complacency of the writer has, it is true, a rather suspicious air. Some importance may also be attached to the

circumstance that the commentary on the Jyotirvidābharāṇa (the Sukha-bodhikā, by Bhāva Ratna, written only 141 years ago,) takes no notice of the verse in which the Raghuvans'a, &c., are spoken of. But the spuriousness of this verse, if established, would be insignificant. The scholiast, we should add, furnishes no clue to a resolution of the point in discussion. The only copy of his work to which we have had access, is, for the most part, quite illegible. We have been able to gather from it but little more than the information, bracketted in our translation, that S'ruta Sena is another name of Siddha Sena, who was a Jaina.

The treatise on scriptural observances, attributed above to Kālidāsa, is, we believe, entirely unknown. Another work which is reputed to be by the same writer, is the Prākṛit poem called Setu-bandha. This poem may be by Bhoja's Kālidāsa; but it is, at all events, older than the Akbarī Kālidāsa and the Abhinava Kālidāsa, so called, who are, perhaps, one and the same person. Proof of its priority to these poets is the fact that it is mentioned in Kāvyaḍars'a of Daṇḍin, (written probably in the 11th or 12th century,) where it is spoken of as belonging to the first rank of compositions in the most polished of the Prākṛits, the Mahārāshtrī.

Benares, April 10th, 1852.

H.

HOC EST IN VOTIS.

“Tranquillity! Thou better name
Than all the family of ‘Fame!’”
Oh that I were as tranquil now,—
Smiles at my heart, serene my brow,—
As I have seen a gentle child,
With its own heaven of feelings mild.
Fancy's bright pinions lit with love
Of heaven, whence came the holy Dove,
To bring on earth
The second birth
Of Love Divine, Tranquillity
Of God's own Spirit from on high.

* Coleridge.

VII.

RECENT WORKS ON MOHAMMAD.*

SAVE only the history of our blessed Lord Himself, and the several disclosures and heresies which have emanated from His career and His Apostles' preaching, there is not a single subject more worthy of complete investigation by the Christian student, than the rise and progress of the Mohamadan faith. For that has with justice been considered to be the only great and successful rival of Christianity; doing its work upon the nations with a proportionate rapidity, and through agencies, according to human reckoning, as disproportionate to their triumphs; and presenting, after twelve centuries of unslackened warfare, a front so well compacted as to afford a pretence for the sarcasms of the infidel, and even, not unfrequently, to abate the confidence, and over-shadow the prospects, of the true believer. The detail of the Islâm, therefore, as comprehended in the life of its founder, in the evidence of his mission, in the peculiarities of his teaching, in the combination of causes which gave effect to that teaching, and which still render it so powerful an antagonist to the faith which it travesties, are subjects of which we can never know enough; and even had that been correct which Mr. Washington Irving asserted not long ago, that no new *fact* could then be added to those already known concerning Mohammed, (a position, however, which Dr. Sprenger has abundantly disproved in his erudite biography) we should still have reason to be grateful to any author of moderate eloquence and ability who might invest his researches on this important theme with the tone which it assumed from his own focus of observation. What is true of the life of Christ, holds also, in a degree, in reference to that of Mohammad; and who will say that our literature is not enriched, or that our grasp of the Saviour's divinest traits may

* THE LIFE OF MOHAMMAD. *From Original Sources.* By A. SPRENGER, M. D. ALLAHABAD, 1851.

MOHAMMED DER PROPHET, *sein Leben und seine Lehre. Aus handschriftlichen Quellen und dem Koran geschöpft und dargestellt* Von DR. GUSTAV WEIL, *Bibliothekar an der Universität zu Heidelberg, Mitglied der asiatischen Gesellschaft zu Paris.* STUTTGART, 1843.

ESSAI SUR L'HISTOIRE DES ARABES AVANT L'ISLAMISME, *Pendant l'Époque de Mahomet et jusqu'à la Réduction de toutes les tribus sous la Loi Musulmane.* Par A. P. CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, *Professeur d'Arabe au Collège Royal de France, et à l'École Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes.* Tome Premier. PARIS, 1847.

MOHAMMED, THE ARABIAN PROPHET. *A Tragedy, in Five Acts.* By GEORGE H. MILES. BOSTON, 1850.

not be strengthened, by the learned enthusiasm of Bishop Taylor, and by the sententious paragraphs of Joseph Hall and Christopher Sutton, though they may have added no new *facts* to those commended to our faith by the inspired evangelists?

The crisis of *Mohammad's* convictions, or hallucinations, or pretences—(which they were we shall examine at some length presently, through the evidence collected in the volumes before us)—is thus set forth in *Mr. Miles's Tragedy*, which takes up the story of the Prophet's life from the period when the thought first seems to have struck him that he would prosecute an active religious mission. Though it has many faults of detail, as we shall by and by show, the drama is, on the whole, powerfully written, and not unworthy of the liberal premium of a thousand dollars which *Mr. Edwin Forrest*, the American tragedian, offered for the best original Tragedy, and for which *Mr. Miles's* work was selected from nearly a hundred competing manuscripts. The scene from which we are about to quote is laid on the *hill*, says *Mr. Miles*—but, as other authorities have it, in the *valley* of *Aqabah*, a short distance from *Makkah*, where, in the height of the *Makkians'* jealousies, the *Hijrah*, or flight to *Madynah*, was resolved upon in concert with some pilgrims from that city to the annual solemnities held by the several members of the *Haramite* league within the precincts which the *Ka'bah* consecrated. *Saad* and *Osaid*, two nobles of *Madynah*, having sworn an oath dictated by *Mohammad*,—

“ By *Moses* and by *Father Abraham*,
By the *Black Stone*, by *Zemzem's* hallowed fount,
By the wept ashes of your sires, by all
You realize below and hope above—
That ye will cling to me, though all desert,
Through bliss and woe, defeat and victory!”

go to prepare the way for his reception in their native city; leaving the prophet, in the solitude of midnight, to his soliloquy.

“ Now at last
Off with this feigned and foreign apathy,*
My swelling heart, and vent thy ecstasy!
Ha! Ha!—and yet they deemed me unconcerned—
When every word was brimmed with life and death,
When my pent bosom laboured like a sail

* The persuasives by which *Mohammad* is said in the play,—though with much inaccuracy—to have won the *Madynian* pilgrims to favour his flight, were the accumulated raptures of his sensual Eden, as the reward of their fidelity; and the imprecation of kindled pitch and everlasting fire on recusants. Of personal concern or solicitude he affected to entertain none.

Filled by a hurricane! Ha! ha!—Safe—Safe!
 Roar, breakers, roar!—I stand upon a rock
 Ye cannot bury, whose commanding front
 Shivers your crested helms. Frown, mortals, frown,
 Threaten, plot, hatch, mature, attempt—and fail!
 Mecca's Sophian's, but Medina's mine.

(*Distant Thunder.*)

I hear thee, Allah—yes, *thy* finger steeped
 My tongue in eloquence—*thy* majesty
 Rebuked their fear. I *am* a Prophet now!
 I hail, in this success, achieved by thee,
 Thy recognition! and, once recognized,
 Imposture ceases. Say, then viewless King,
 Does not the man, who, rising self-impelled,
 Plucks from thy throne the mantle he has earned,
 Excel the infant prophet, who receives
 The unmerited distinction in his cradle?
 The future holds thy answer."

The *religious* sentiment of this we believe to represent very correctly the conscientious persuasion of Mohammad just before his Hijrah; though in other parts of the same scene, and especially in the simulation that the prophet *instigated* his Madynian converts to promote the means for his flight, it is evident—as indeed in too many passages of the tragedy—that truth has been compromised for the sake of scenic effect. It appears from Dr. Sprenger's "*Life*," that two men of Madynah, professors of the Islâm, one of whom was named As'ad, were in Madynah some two years and three months before the Hijrah, and were the prophet's first proselytes from that city. But they returned, apparently, without the remotest contemplation of being accessaries to Mohammad's escape, though they were the heralds of so specious a report of him, that "the new sect spread rapidly in Madynah, and in a short time there was hardly a family in which there were not some professors of it. On the year after As'ad and his companions' return, twelve men met the prophet in the valley of 'Aqabah, formally to acknowledge him as their prophet, and to enter into a positive engagement; the form of which was: 'We will not acknowledge a God beside thy God; we will not steal; we will not commit fornication; we will not kill our children; we will not invent or give currency to falsehood; and we will not disobey the reasonable orders of the prophet.'" These twelve returned to Madynah, with a personal friend of the prophet, their instructor in the Qorân. They made so many proselytes, that at the next pilgrimage seventy-two men and two women were formed into a deputation from the faithful to meet the prophet and his uncle, Al

Abbas, the son of 'Abd al Mottalib; who, though an idolator, yet, as the natural protector of his nephew, addressed the pilgrims on his behalf. Then first do we hear of the projected Hijrah. Al Abbas enjoined on the pilgrims their duty to protect his nephew, who, in joining them on their return, was merely conceding their own wish, and accepting their own invitation; he being, in his native town, adequately protected, both by those who believed in him and by those who did not believe. Then Mo'hammad, after perusal of the Qoràn, said, "I join you under the condition that you defend me against that from which you defend your wives and children." Their elder and spokesman then swore the oath of allegiance—"By him who has in truth sent thee, we will protect thee even as we protect our family! Come to us and receive us as thy lieges, O Messenger of God. We are men of war and unanimity; we have inherited these qualities from our ancestors."

This, notwithstanding a good deal of pretension to fidelity and accuracy, is a fair sample of the degree in which Mr. Miles has attained these qualities; and his portraits, as we shall shew by and by, are not much more faithfully sketched. But this note of him has, we find, brought us to the very end of the first, and only published fasciculus both of Dr. Sprenger and of M. Caussin de Perceval; and we are warned at once to revert to an earlier period of Mo'hammad's career.

As our purpose is, in the main, to exhibit the light which recent research has thrown upon the Islâm and its author, we may pass by most of those well-known features which find place in the popular biographies. But considering that the first essential to a correct estimate of Mo'hammad's work and mission is an appreciation of the masses, and of some of the more prominent individuals, among whom he laboured, we must devote a few pages to the discussion of these points.

His birth-place, Makkah, the city of the Ka'bah, and the capital of the Haramite idolatry, which embraced, in Mo'hammad's time, no less than three hundred and sixty numina, was, as Dr. Sprenger has happily discovered, by no means the place which it has been usually considered to be. We have all heard those fables, the less extravagant parts of which even Weil and De Perceval still bring forward with an excess of gravity, how the Ka'bah, the type of which existed in heaven before the creation, having been demitted to Adam's Peak in Ceylon, the exact terrestrial counterpart to

its position above, stood there from our first parents' time to the flood; that it was then again received up into heaven, and there deposited until Abraham commended its reconstruction on earth, by command of God, to Ishmael, and the Amalekites environed it with the foundations of Makkah.* But few have thought to find that up to the very end of the fourth century after Christ, the Ka'bah was probably not founded, and certainly had never been roofed in, or made the apotheca of those idols which subsequently found place in it. The *Haram*, on which is the site of the present Makkah, was then a sacred forest some thirty-seven miles in circumference, covered, according to Wáqidy, with "salam and thorn trees." The guilty were safe from arrest within its limits, where common habitation and commerce were alike prohibited. In it the wandering tribes of the *Hijaz*, with hands elsewhere against every man, and every man's against them, found motives to pacification in the rites of a confederate religion. For four months in every year these universally acknowledged ties restrained their angry excitations; and in due succession, at 'Okätz, or Majannah, or Majáz, or near the hallowed site of their tutelary deities, they made their mutual compromises and exchanges of prisoners, sung the prowess of their heroes, and the pedigrees of their tribes, or represented the circles of the planets and satellites in the complicated gyres of the Sabæan dance.

Their religion, which thus became the strength and bond of their polity, was further consolidated by the institution of offices whose tenure was a mark of eminence among the confederated tribes. The chief of these, the guardianship and high-priesthood of the sacred territory, with which was in after times associated the charge of the keys of the Ka'bah, was originally entrusted to the head of the association which farmed the transport of the commerce between *Hadramaut* and *Aylah* in *Arabia Petræa*. These farmers having been always, in the earliest times of which we have any record, merely colonists in the *Hijaz*, an interest in the

* *Caussin de Perceval*, it should be said, is clear on the point that there was no city on the present site of Makkah until the era of *Qocayy*. "*La vénération des Arabes pour la Cûba*," he writes, "et pour le sol même qui l'environnait, était si grande, qu' ils n' avaient pas osé jusqu' alors prendre de demeures fixes, ni construire de maisons dans le voisinage de ce sanctuaire. * * * * *Cossay* persuada aux *Coraychites* que s'ils fixaient leur domicile et bâtissaient des maisons autour du temple, aucune tribu Arabe ne pourrait entreprendre de les attaquer dans ce lieu saint." But the very reason he gives why the city was not built seems to indicate that he had not surmised the Ka'bah itself to be of contemporaneous date.

territorial superstitions was thus extended among various foreign races. Such were the Minæans, whose parent residence seems to have been on the sea of Bab el Mandel, somewhere east of *Hadramaut*, but a colony from whom having settled in the *Hijaz* some two centuries before our era, to maintain a safety of mercantile communication through the western frontier provinces of Arabia, became thus associated in the *Haramite League*. The Bedouins, however, could never thoroughly amalgamate with these mercantile interlopers; and though inclined to succumb to their honourable reception, as long as their own interests and aggrandizement could be advanced by the enterprize of the colony, evinced no indisposition to expel that colony when it could be no longer useful to them. In the third century of our era, therefore, when the increasing navigation of the Red Sea afforded a more economical transit for the treasures of India westward than the tedious caravan journey of seventy days between the Straits and *Petræa*, the transactions, and with them the importance of the colonists, (who were then known as the *Jorhomites*, and appear to have been the descendants of the Minæans) began to dwindle, and the Bedouins made no scruple of expelling them. The guardianship of the *Haram* thus devolved on a family which, though not of pure Bedouin blood, adopted the nomadic life, and otherwise so assimilated itself to the habits of the *Hijaz* that its exotic descent was soon lost sight of. This was the *Khoza'ah* family, a branch of the *Ghassânites*, which people happening to be pursuing a migration from southern to northern Arabia at the period of the hostilities between the Bedouins and the *Jorhomites*, strengthened the hands of the former, and left among them (*Khoza'ah*) a portion of their strength, which, in recognition of their services, was invited to the charge of the *Haram*. This they maintained for a period little short of two centuries, and were then in their turns supplanted by the intrigues of one *Qocayy*.

It is pretended by *Mohammadan* authors that this man was of pure *Kinānah* blood, of the tribe which had from the beginning taken the lead in the *Haramite confederacy*, and, lineally, of the stock of *Ishmael*. It is however certain that he entered the *Hijaz* as a needy adventurer from *Petræa*, and with the reputation of being of the *'Odzrah* tribe. He was an immediate ancestor, in the fifth degree, of *Mohammad*; and as it has always been considered important among professors of the *Islām* to establish the descent of their prophet from *Ishmael*, there is hardly a doubt that the very improbable story on which *Qocayy* is affiliated with the

Kinànah tribe, is purely fictitious.* Qocayy, almost beyond question, was an immigrant to the *Hijaz* from the north, and had no connexion whatever, originally, either with the Kinànah tribe, or with Ishmael. And if *he* had not, neither had his descendant Mohammed (except in as far as his mother was a descendant of Qocayy's elder brother); and thus the whole of the ingenious, but unconvincing theory which Mr. Forster has developed in his "*Mahometanism Unveiled*," falls to the ground upon a point of fact; for the very foundation of his argument is that the relation between Mohammad and Ishmael is the precise parallel of that between Jesus Christ and Isaac; whereas if Qocayy was an 'Odzrite, he can have had no common ancestor with Ishmael nearer than Eber; as the 'Odzrite tribe traces its descent not, as does the Abrahamic family, through Peleg, the *elder* son of Eber, but through Joktan, his *younger* son. The Kinànah tribe, probably grown jealous of the advancement of the Khoza'ahites, were willing to enlist confederates for their deposition; and such Qocayy consented to be; for, having been so fortunate in his money transactions as to warrant his aspiring to the hand of the Khoza'ahite chief's daughter, he was well able to appreciate the impotency of his wife's brother to maintain the ascendancy of his tribe, now that his more sagacious father had died. He was not disinclined, therefore, to make the best of this expectation of his brother-in-law's fall for his own promotion; and so proposed himself as a confederate with the Kinànah tribe, on condition of his investiture with all the privileges of birthright, and with the ascendancy in the tribe also, if by his generalship it should compass the downfall of its rival. On the strength of this compact, he summoned his four half-brothers, and three hundred of their followers, to his standard from Petrea, with whom the Khoza'ahites, after some skirmishes in which they fought only second best, and the challenge to a general action, agreed to arbitrate the dispute. The umpire, among other arrangements, made over charge of the *Haram* to Qocayy, whose foreign allies greatly promoted his superiority in the tribe which had espoused him, and brought a great power

* Its leading features are that Qocayy's mother was twice married; first to a Kinànah man, by whom she had two sons, the second of whom, Qocayy, was much junior to his brother;—and secondly, to an 'Odzrite, with whom Qocayy, then a child, migrated to Petrea. But as his mother's second family advanced in years, he was ill-treated by them, and taunted with his foreign origin. On which he resolved to join his own tribe in the *Hijaz*, where, upon his arrival, he was recognized by his brother, now blind from age, by the sound of his voice!

to bear upon the future disposition and regulation of the sacred territory. He narrowed the limits of the League, and suffered no office in the *Haram* to pass out of a new tribe, which he formed exclusively of Kinànah families, and called the Qoraysh. Many of his partizans preferring the comforts of home to the nomadic habit, he founded Makkah. The discoveries of Dr. Sprenger on this important point are so much in extension of any thing which has before been written that we had better render them in his own language :—

“Qoçayy chose a valley within the *Haram* as the site of the new city ; for he thought that living within the sacred territory would relieve him from his enemies. The other Kinànah tribes objected that it was unlawful to dwell in the *Haram* ; and even his own tribe hesitated to cut down the wood with which it was covered. Qoçayy laid the first axe to the tree, and the Qorayshites followed his example. He sketched the plan of the town, and allotted to every family its own quarter. To raise the sacredness of the town he rebuilt the Ka'bah ; or, what is more likely, he founded it. At all events, he was the first who covered it with a wooden roof, and placed a number of idols in and around it.”

Qoçayy managed his policy with great wisdom and design, introducing all the best features of the Bedouin code in his new constitution ; consolidating his society by a nice discernment of the balance to be maintained between independence and *interdependence* ; inculcating a fine appreciation of honour and of equity ; and imposing with new bonds the expediency of blood-revenge, which, in Burckhardt's opinion, has continued to the present day the greatest preventative to the extermination of the warlike tribes of Arabia. Dignity and consideration were heaped upon him ;—

“His moral influence was so great,” says Dr. Sprenger, “that he ruled in Makkah with almost absolute authority. He was the proprietor of the Town Hall, and had, besides, four or five of the offices of the *Haram*. He and his sons were the hereditary leaders and standard-bearers of the tribe in war, and the stewards in the entertainment prepared by the Qorayshites for the pilgrims, whilst they performed their religious ceremonies at Makkah and in Minà. He also had the management of providing them with water on those occasions. Most authors give him credit for having first introduced these two offices ; but as hospitality is with the Arabs the privilege of the strong, and the first attribute of power, we may suppose that they are as ancient as the *Haram*.”

When he died, the sod which covered his remains marked the centre from which the tombs of the Qorayshites must radiate, while his honours and his emoluments were allowed to

devolve upon his eldest son 'Abd al Dār. But that son's incapacity and inaptitude for government, soon rendered him little better than the nominal ruler of Makkah; all real power and influence devolved upon his younger brother, 'Abd Manāf.

With the descendants of these men, as might be presumed, faction and dissension began in Makkah. The sons of 'Abd al Dār claimed pre-eminence upon their hereditary prestige; and their cousins on the superior moral worth and the more successful enterprises of their father. The Shaykh of this latter house, which constituted the liberal party, was a man of great administrative capacity and princely munificence, whose fine qualities, displayed during a famine in the *Hijāz*, are memorialized in the name by which he is historically known, Hāshim, the bread-breaker. So strong was the popular presentiment in his favour, that the conservatives, with 'Āmir at their head, were compelled to purchase his amity by the surrender to him of the two most lucrative offices of the Ka'bah, the stewardship, and the right of furnishing water to the pilgrims. In this latter capacity, we learn from Dr. Sprenger, he may be considered as the mover to the sinking of the well Zamzam, which has since obtained so great a legendary celebrity. It marks the spot where, for the accommodation of the travellers to the Ka'bah, Hāshim constructed leathern reservoirs, to be filled with water from the city wells;—and was the dutiful memorial which his son and successor rendered him. The whole administration, political, commercial, and economical, was confided to Hāshim. On his demise, his great offices were administered by his brother Al-Mottalib, the son of his old age, Shaybah, (Grey-hair—so named from his father's hoariness) being still a minor. His uncle, Al-Mottalib, who desired to undertake his guardianship, brought him to Makkah from his mother's house in Madynah; and there, from the prevailing ignorance of his paternity, he became known as 'Abd al Mottalib, the slave of Al-Mottalib. But when upon his uncle's death, he claimed, as his inheritance, the stewardship of the Ka'bah, the variances which had begun in Omayyah the grandson of 'Abd Manāf, from jealousy of Hāshim, and which were for a time smothered by his compulsory exile in Syria, revived; and cemented the foundations of that animosity which two generations after, in the persons of Mohammed and Abū Sofian, became so fatal to the peace of Arabia. A spirit of rivalry, too, had grown up in another branch of the house of 'Abd Manāf. Its cadet, Nawfal,

dissatisfied at the acclamation which attended his brother Hāshim, espoused the cause of the Omayyides, in opposition to Al Mottalib, who, as heir-presumptive to the family dignities, maintained his allegiance. And on the succession of 'Abd al Mottalib to his hereditary rights, Nawfal would have usurped his office, except for the powerful succour afforded by his maternal uncle, Abū S'ad. These complicated factions in the junior but dominant branch of the house of Qocayy commended the prudence of an alliance with the Khoza'ahites to his great-grandson, 'Abd al Mottalib, b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf, which was sustained for a long period with great fidelity, and proved of extreme importance to the interests of Mohāmmad. He was the grandson of 'Abd al Mottalib; his father, (who died two months before his birth) being Abdallah, and his mother, Aminah, a descendant of the Kinānah Shaykh Kilāb, and therefore herself also of the Qoraysh tribe. His guardianship devolving on his grandparent, his mother, on communicating his birth to that relative, also mentioned the well-known vision which she believed herself to have had of a light proceeding from her body. And the old man, confirmed of the reality of the spectacle, introduced the infant to the interior of the Ka'bah, where, standing before the idol Hobal, he invoked its blessing upon him, naming him MOHAMMAD, THE PRAISED. On the not very important point of his birthday, authorities are a good deal divided. Weil follows the majority of the traditions and also De Sacy, in fixing the month and year to be April, 571; but declines any opinion on the precise day, about which, he says, the Musalmans themselves are not at one. Caussin de Perceval, after elaborate calculations, founded on the conjecture that the Arabs had borrowed from the Jews their system of triennial inter-calendation, is clear that the day, month, and year must stand 29th of August, 576. Dr. Sprenger hesitates between April, 13th, 571, and May 13th, 569, stating that this question must be resolved by reference to another on which the traditions are not accordant—namely, whether Mohāmmad died at the age of 63 or 65.

The story of his infancy need not be recapitulated here. The most noteworthy circumstance connected with it is, that the fits which certainly on one occasion, and possibly on a second, so terrified his Bedouin foster-nurse as to cause her to decline further charge of him, did, as far as we can gather, not return upon him till after his fortieth year. Probably therefore, thinks Dr. Sprenger, they were of a different type from those attacks by which he was

visited after assuming his prophetic office, and were caused "by the heat of the sun, and gastric irritation." But be this as it may, *Halimah*, who had charge of him, and her husband, were persuaded that the child was a demoniac, and therefore first took him to a soothsayer, and then returned him upon his mother's hands. She dying shortly afterwards, when her son had attained his sixth year, he became an inmate of his grandfather's house, and for two years experienced every fond attention, when the old man also died, at the advanced age of 82, having recommended the orphan to the patronage of his own son, *Abú Tálib*, a generous-minded guardian, who, as we shall by and by find occasion to notice, remained true to his charge to the last, though that may have cost him his presidency in the *Ka'bah*. Accident, or what we call accident, may possibly have given the cue to *Mohammad's* subsequent reveries as early as his twelfth year. He was accompanying his uncle on a caravan journey from *Makkah* to *Syria*, but, (*why* does not appear) his progress was suddenly interrupted. There, in the neighbourhood of *Bostrn*, he fell under the notice of one *Bahyra*, or *Sergius*, who was certainly a monk, and, Dr. Sprenger thinks he has authority for saying, of Arabic origin; though *Weil's* conjecture seems to us ingenious and at least probable, that he was a man of Jewish birth, whose original name was *Báhir*, and who, on his conversion to Christianity, received the name *Georgius*, which the Arabs corrupted into *Sergius*. This man, it appears to us likely, may have made some vague prediction of the future eminence of his young guest as a religious reformer,—for it is but reasonable to presume that the germ of *Mohammad's* future idiosyncrasy may have been developed in his twelfth year, with sufficient character to attract the notice of a mind somewhat genially constituted, and which may have watched the future prophet's "reachings and graspings," as he first caught the sentiment of the Divine Unity; but, by the common consequence of often rehearsal, whatever *Sergius* *may* have predicted of him at length assumed the form of a most extravagant legend. All, it seems, that can be depended upon as authentic is this;—that in an interview with *Abú Tálib*, *Sergius* "told him respecting the prophet *what he told him*, and recommended him to take care of him;" and that consequently *Abú Tálib* sent his ward, with *Sergius*, back to *Makkah*. But that something transpired beyond the common run of conversation is pretty clear, as well from the concurrence of several early Christian

biographers, as from the amount of mystery with which the "Faithful" environ this first interview of their prophet with a worshipper of the living God.

At the age of twenty-five, he was married to Khadyjah, on her own proposal. She had already reached forty, and had been twice a widow. Before their union was projected, she had shown her partiality for Mohammad by engaging him as the superintendent of her Syrian caravan, at a double rate of hire. The tradition of his intercourse with a hermit named Nestor on this journey we consider to be almost certainly fabulous; and we presume, from the collocation he assigns to it, that Dr. Sprenger is of the same opinion, as Weil, too, certainly is. Its points, both of agreement with, and difference from, a former interview on the same line of road; and the embodiment, in the tradition, of the same repudiation of idol worship, which Wáqidy attributes to another occasion, cast suspicion on the whole narrative.

Mohammad's union with this trustful, affectionate, and high-minded woman, was happily calculated to prepare him for his future mission. Her intellect, and power of control, which she displayed in accomplishing her marriage, notwithstanding the indignation of her father at her election of one whose family was, pecuniarily, of low estate: and again by appeasing his threatened vengeance on the whole house of Hâshim, for that defeat of his desires; was bent considerably on shaping her husband's preparation for the office to which she conscientiously believed him to be called. While her easy competence placed the house in which she reigned (for Mohammad never ceased to treat her with the consideration due to her years and to her acquirements,) beyond the reach of worldly anxieties, her own wise administration of that competence relieved the future prophet from the solitudes of business. We know little beyond these generalities on the first ten years of their wedded life, during which six children were born to them—one every year, till Khadyjah had attained the age of five-and-forty; but Dr. Sprenger conjectures that, probably by example, as well as by encouragement and opportunity, she led him "to follow the natural bent of his mind, which was to ascetic exercises and religious speculations." Long prior to his marriage, indeed while he was yet a youth, the truths which he may have imbibed from the conversations of Sergius assumed a more important bearing on his convictions from the direct preaching of Qoss the Iyâdite, on the Divine Unity, at the fair of 'Okâtz; a doctrine which Qoss first undertook to promulgate in the sacred

territory, after his own conversion thereto by intercourse with the numerous Christian disciples in Arabia Deserta. The justly-earned celebrity of this propagandist, as a poet, an orator, a philosopher, and a righteous arbiter, no doubt gave considerable effect to his instructions, in the most enlightened minds throughout the *Haram*; though few, perhaps, expressed thus early any direct assent to the matter of his discourses. Nevertheless, the sound which had thus gone forth could not again be silenced. A spirit of enquiry grew gradually more popular, and new accessions were made to the ranks both of preachers and of hearers. Omayyah of Tayif must have made open profession of similar tenets, almost contemporaneously; a man no less distinguished than Qoss for his genius and his talents. Mohammad probably adopted from him a good many of the peculiarities which mark the Islam, such as the prohibition of certain meats and drinks (which Omayyah had no doubt adopted from the customs of the Jews in Arabia Petraea and Syria); the common intitulation of his records and documents (which is apparently only an extended form of the heading commended by Omayyah to the Qorayshites, "*In the Name of the Lord*") ; and the application of the epithet *orthodox* to his peculiar institutes, the term which Omayyah had previously applied to the faith of Abraham and Ishmael. Indeed there is good reason for supposing that there was for some time an active rivalry between the systems of Mohammad and of Omayyah; and that while the former allowed there to be considerable resemblance between their doctrines, a defeat of the latter's expectation "to be chosen by Providence to be a prophet to his countrymen, ripe for a better faith," instigated his personal enmity on the assumption of that office by his more venturous or persuaded competitor.

Among the enquirers of the same period, who certainly operated very remarkably on Mohammad's speculations, were Waraqah, a cousin of Khadyjah, who was the first to notice an approaching crisis in the prophet's theosophic development; and Zayd the Sceptic, of the house of Adyy. These were two of four men, who, on occasion of the Qorayshites' celebration of an annual festival before one of their idols, kept secretly aloof, under persuasion of the emptiness of the ceremonial ~~intending~~. "By God," said one to the rest, "our tribe does not know the true religion. They have corrupted the religion of Abraham, and are worshipping a stone and walking round it, though it does neither hear nor see, and can do neither good nor harm. They consequently,"

adds Dr. Sprenger, "went in search of the orthodox faith of Abraham."

Waraqah became a Christian; and, somehow or other, it is allowed on all hands, obtained a considerable familiarity with the Gospel, as well as with the Old Testament. We confess that we are *unconvinced** that he was not the original translator of the Gospel of St. Matthew (or at least portions of it) from Hebrew into Arabic, as is the opinion of Weil, and other competent scholars; though at the same time we acknowledge the erudition of Dr. Sprenger's criticism, elucidating his own opinion that Waraqah did no more than "make or transcribe an abstract of the Gospels, as much as he thought proper." It is very true that the Hebrew original of St. Matthew, which, with more or less of corruption, seems to have been generally read by the Ebionites till the disappearance of that sect in the fifth century, is not recorded as existing after them. Still, as St. Jerome tells us, (See *Lardner's Works*, vol. iv., p. 442,) that by permission of the Nazarenes of Beroëa in Syria, he transcribed a copy of that Hebrew as late as the very end of the fourth century, we cannot think it past probability that it may have been still extant, and in use, among some of the oriental heretics at as late a date as Waraqah's. But whether he constructed a version of one, or of parts of one, Gospel, from the Hebrew, or to speak more precisely, from the Aramaic;—or whether (as perhaps, on the whole, *is* more likely) he made an Arabic abstract of the Syriac translation of the four evangelists;—we may rest assured that no sources of information which he could command were secluded from his kinsman. For it was he who counselled Moḥammad's election by Khadyjah, as being the prophet designate to his nation; and he, the first convinced that the "Great Law" would be revealed in Moḥammad, desired long life, that he might shield him in the persecutions which he gathered to be impending, from instances of the fate of former seers. And if, as Dr. Sprenger concludes, Moḥammad had a version of portions of the Scriptures, both genuine and apocryphal; and if, as Tabary informs us, Khadyjah

* It must, nevertheless, be allowed that the passage cited from Zarkashy's commentary on Bokhàry, in a subsequent page of Dr. Sprenger's "Life," adds considerable probability to the conjectural emendation on which the opinion is founded, that Waraqah's labours on the New Testament were confined to the Arabic character; and that he did not transcribe it in Hebrew. Still we see no reason why he may not have obtained a Syriac, if not an Aramaic, copy from some one of the Christian tribes (Ghassânites, Kalbites, Tayyites, &c.) to the North-West of Arabia, for subsequent use in constructing an Arabic version of one or more of the Gospels.

had read the Scriptures, and was acquainted with the history of the prophets, before her husband had entered on his office, it is more than probable that each was encouraged in such investigations in the course of friendly confidences with their kinsman Waraqah, and by a copy placed by him at their disposal, in part, perhaps a version, and in part an abstract.

And therefore we say that, by the balance of probabilities, Waraqah must be concluded to have used, and to have either epitomized or to have translated from, the Scriptures in the Syriac version. For that Mohammad used either that version, or one immediately constructed from it, is, we think, capable of demonstration. Dr. Sprenger refers to the celebrated passage in the Qoràn (lxi. 6.) which states Christ to have said that he brought tidings of an Apostle who would come after him, and whose name would be Ahmad. The allusion is to John xvi. 7.; and the perversion of the text originated in the fault of the Greek copyist of the manuscript, which formed the basis of *that* Syriac copy, who substituted *περικλυτός* for *παράκλητος* the *Famous* for the *Comforter*.* And the error was, perhaps innocently enough, transferred from the Syriac to the Arabic version. The passage travestied from the fiftieth Psalm, which is also pretty well known, founds its corruption, it has been said, in a similar manner, on the Syriac. The verse rendered, with sufficient accuracy, in our *Bible* version, "Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined," finds place in the Syriac as "Out of Zion hath God shewed a *glorious crown*;" and the Arabic, which has rendered the italicised phrase, from the Syriac, by *Iklil al mahmūd*,—may be presumed to have been the origin of the application which Musalmans make of the passage to their prophet, as though its tenour were, "Out of Zion hath God shewed the crown of Mohammad."† Such instances as these, added to the *à priori*

* This fact is perhaps corroborative of the conjecture that Professor White made long ago, that the apocryphal Gospel of Saint Barnabas, having been originally forged by heretical Christians, was interpolated to favour the views of Mohammad. Thus much is certain, that it is defaced by the same inferences which have elsewhere been drawn from the substitution of *Periclyte* for *Paraclete*.

† We are not of those who think with Mr. Forster, that Mohammad was a designing and unscrupulous corrupter of the sacred Scripture. The large majority of the (so-called) *coincidences* of the Qoràn, which that author quotes, with "the sentiments, the images, and the phraseology of Scripture," have, it is not too much to say, but a very fanciful analogy. Others, embracing the precepts of universally recognized morality, might be matched as happily from Plato, and we dare say from Zoroaster or Confucius. Of the few remaining

probability, place the conjecture that it was the Syriac, or a copy formed upon it, which administered to the Biblical knowledge both of Waraqah and Mohammad upon a rational foundation.

Zayd b. 'Amr, another of the four repudiators of the faith of the *Haram*, who went in search of the religion of Abraham, had perhaps an even more important bearing on the future fortunes of the Islâm. His earnest zeal for truth is conspicuously marked by his determination to counteract the obstacles by which his family would have prevented his proposed travels. His grandfather, Nofayl, had two sons, Khattâb and 'Amr, by two different wives; the entertainment of one of these, the mother of Khattâb, on her widowhood, devolved upon 'Amr, her husband's son by *another* wife (by the common law of pagan Arabia); and she bore him Zayd, who was thus both the half-brother of Khattâb, (they being sons of the same mother,) and his nephew, as the son of Khattâb's half-brother 'Amr. Khattâb, was so jealous of all scrutiny into the faith prevailing in the *Haram*, that no sooner was he aware of Zayd's scepticism than he confined him to Mount Harâ, and placed a strong guard over him, with injunctions that he be arrested should he attempt either a return to Makkah, or a progress to other parts. He escaped, however, and after various travels, approached a monk in Balkh, who is said to have made the following remarkable declaration:—"Thou seekest a religion with which nobody can now acquaint thee—but stop! a prophet has arisen in the country whence thou comest, who, just at this time, has been sent with the true and orthodox faith of Abraham." Zayd at once returned to the *Hijaz*, and became, it may be said, the messenger to prepare the way before Mohammad. "He disapproved," says Waqidy, "of the Christians and Jews;* as well as of idolatry and the

which bear marks of resemblance, more or less, some may be traced to the Apocryphal New Testament—for instance, the adoption, by Mohammad, of the opinions of the Docetæ, in reference to Christ's Passion, to the Pseudo-Gospel of St. Barnabas—as Sale has shewn.) The passage which, more than any other which we have noticed, seems to have been purposely perverted (not by Mohammad, but by his disciples) is Dcut. xxxiii. 2, which, they pretend (reading *Harâ* for *Paran*) is a prophecy of the coming down of the Gospel to men, at Jerusalem (Seir), and of the Qorân, at Makkah, (Harâ) just as the Law had come down on Sinai.

* Passages of this sort in the Arabic traditions are founded on the degraded and corrupt worship which prevailed among all the oriental sects, Jewish and Christian, of the era of Mohammad. The former asserted their privileges with a repulsive exclusiveness, at the same time that the whole spirituality of their theism was supplanted by the absurd and impious tradi-

worshipping of stones; and he publicly attacked the religion of his countrymen, and would not worship their gods, nor eat the flesh of animals which had been sacrificed to idols." He professed to worship the God of Abraham and Ishmael, and, adds the same tradition, to expect a prophet from among their descendants in whom he believed, and to whom he bore witness, though he had no hope of living to see him. Zayd introduced into his religious phraseology terms which Mohammad adopted from him, as *Islàm* and *Hanyf*. The general meaning of the former term in the Qoràn is exactly that which it bears in the *confession* of Zayd, "I *submit* to (Islàm) him to whom the earth submits; it carries heavy rocks, and God has expanded it; and when he had seen it, he placed it in the water, and made it firm by putting mountains upon it. I *submit* to him whom the clouds obey, which carry sweet water, and if a cloud goes to any country, it is by his orders; and it pours pails of water upon it." The curious cosmological features of this extract, which we owe, as well as most others, where it is not otherwise stated, to Dr. Sprenger, have been adopted in the Qoràn. To be a *Hanyf*, as both Zayd and Mohammad professed themselves, is to have none other but the true God.

The third of the four inquirers for the faith of Abraham, 'Obayd Allah b. Jahsh, was also a cousin of Mohammad; he being the son of 'Abd al Mottalib's daughter Omaymah. No decided result was consequent on his investigations, until his cousin had announced his mission, when he for a time followed the Islàm; but taking refuge in Abyssinia from the persecutions of the Qorayshites, he embraced Christianity, apparently with much sincerity, commending it to the adoption of his Moslim neighbours, by saying "We see, but you attempt to see." The fourth, 'Othmàn b. Howayrith, who was also a kinsman of the prophet, as the cousin of Khadyjah, must have been a *notability* in Makkah, as, when the increasing commercial and political importance of the Hijaz rendered a concentration of the legislative and executive functions desirable, he was appointed by the Byzantine Emperor to reign there. As the result of his religious scrutinies, he embraced Christianity, and it seems highly probable that he thereby lost his crown.

Such were the men among whom Mohammad spent his prime of manhood—the metest possible advancers of the

tions of the Talmud; the latter had deserted the simple declarations of Evangelists and Apostles, caring for little beyond the forward extravagance of their monks and marvels, myths, mysteries, and metaphysics.

doubts and yearnings which, for all his outward, and perhaps devout, observance of the rites of the Ka'bah, must have been gathering in his mind from his very first dawn of independent thought. For we cannot be persuaded that the mind of such a cast as his, from the twelfth year upward, with more or less regularity subject to the influences of Sergius and Qoss, and those others more or less nearly his familiars for eight-and-twenty years, whom we have just been signaling, *could* live to the age of forty without entertaining a doubt upon idolatry, as Dr. Sprenger, as it seems to us, has unguardedly asserted. His rank among the Quorayshites,—*their* jealous hostility to all novelties of opinion and ceremonial,—his own fortuitous designation as the favoured individual who must re-lay the Black Stone which the mountain torrents had dislodged,—above all, his singular indecision, irresolution, and incapacity for action, for one of such a noble enthusiasm and fine imagination,—may account for his perseverance in the prescribed routine of exercises and observances; and it is perhaps impossible that one in whom, if in any, the religious idea appears to have been intuitive, could persevere, even under the suggestions of policy, and the case-hardening of self-imposed constraints, in *any* forms of ritual, without a constant effort to discourage a growing persuasion of their incongruity. Mohammad, therefore, we think it most likely, *did* long encourage a melancholy delusion, and, from a habit of immobility—(for as Dr. Sprenger very properly allows, “even after his mission, he was led in all practical questions by his friends,”)—*did seek* to disclaim his real convictions, lest they might attain strength enough to impose on him the duty of action. On the same principle we can very well conceive that “to abjure the gods” of his ancestors “caused a great struggle” in his mind, and made him “dejected, and fond of solitude.” But this, we think, was *the crisis* which he had long and successfully smothered, of convictions too strong for him to master any longer. It is our persuasion that if the “Transition Period” of Mohammad’s life, which Dr. Sprenger has so ably illustrated, and thrown so new a light upon, take date from his first consciousness of a religious struggle, its first stage must be considered to have begun at a period much earlier than Dr. Sprenger assigns.

But before entering more fully on his intellectual development, we should record some few features of the outward man, for never was there a frame more instinct with character. The fleshiness without stoutness—the “broad shoulders, wide chest, and large bones”—the head whose

massiveness was "disguised by long locks of hair in slight curls coming nearly down to the lobe of the ears"—the broad forehead, long eyelashes, widely-slit eyelids, and sparkling blood-shot eyes—the wide mouth, and slouching careless gait—the flexure of the whole body, when the eye would glance backward—the "mild countenance, gaining the confidence of every one"—all these many of our own day have seen in one who, with some points of difference, had still many in common with Mo/ammad,—the Herculean Scottish enthusiast, Edward Irving, whom it took our mad modern Babylon, with all her engines, twelve years to waste and wear away, with his "Prophecies of Milleniums, Gifts of Tongues,—whereat orthodoxy prims herself into decent wonder, and waves her Avaunt!"* In his social habits, his household furniture, and his meals he was simple;—dining, most frequently, off chupatties flavoured with dates or honey, oil or vinegar; spreading, for a table, a rounded skin upon the ground; eating with his fingers, and licking them after dinner—sometimes the platter also; ready to accept the hospitality of men in stations far beneath him;—by all which he set forth his indifference to worldly conventionalities, and his contemplations fixed beyond the things which perish in the using. At the same time, his careful toilet, frequent baths and washings, his tinsure after the manner of Jews and Christians, and the fine texture of his plainly-cut apparel, are all marks of the growth of that fanatic egoism which was so singularly developed towards the close of his career. The delicacy of his large and prominent nose, and his acute sensibility to, and stertorous sobbings under pain or illness, are common indications of the habit of depressed reflective silent melancholy. The gentleness of his natural disposition, contrasted with "the dark and bloody fanaticism" of his declining years, is the evidence of his fall from that integrity of purpose which prompted his first impulses as a religious reformer. For there cannot, we imagine, be a reasonable doubt that his original motives towards the prophetic designation were founded on his ardour to make of the Arabs a people which could truly be considered such, "on condition of expressing an idea, which, infusing itself into all the elements which compose the interior life of that people, into its language, its religion, its manners and customs, its acts, its laws, and its philosophy, give to that people a common character, a distinct physiognomy in

history.”* The idea which he would have had represented by the collective unity of his nation was—“Beside Jehovah there is no God ; I know not any.” On contemplation of Him, in Dr. Sprenger’s own language, “his mind dwelt constantly ; he saw His finger in the rising sun, in the falling rain, in the growing crop ; he heard His voice in the thunder, in the murmuring of the waters, and in the hymns which the birds sing to His praise ; and in the boundless desert and ruins of magnificent cities he saw the traces of His anger. His imagination peopled these fastnesses with jinn, who were created like ourselves, to praise God.” It might be wished that this were the most offensive of his superstitions, but it is far otherwise—collectively, and beside his more genial convictions, they denote a mind entertaining a singular combination of strength and weakness. He fostered an unaccountable credulity with the absurdest fancies on the varieties, the practices, and the faith of these jinn ; and seems positively to have believed that spitting three times over the left shoulder will convert a bad dream, into a good one ; and that the elements of health and of disease find their mysterious hypostases in the wings of every fly.

Such was the man who, at forty years of age, harried by doubts, and incomprehensibly credulous of the most incongruous speculations, saw, or seemed to see, a vision of an angel saying unto him, *Read !* Probably he had just been visited by one of those extraordinary attacks of which Dr. Sprenger furnishes so many interesting particulars, the result, he judges, of long continued mental excitement and rigorous ascetism ; attacks preceded by great depression and despondency.

“His face was clouded ; and they were ushered in by coldness of the extremities and shivering. He shook, as if he were suffering of ague, and called out for covering. His mind was in a most painfully excited state. He heard a tinkling in his ears, as if bells were ringing ; or a humming, as if bees were swarming round his head ; and his lips quivered ; but this motion was under the control of volition. If the attack proceeded beyond this state, his eyes became fixed and staring, and the motions of his head became convulsive and automatic. At length perspiration broke out, which covered his face in large drops ; and with this ended the attack. Sometimes, however, if he had a violent fit, he fell comatose to the ground, like a person who is intoxicated ; and, (at least at a later period of his life) his face was flushed, and his respirations tertorous, and he remained in that state for some time. The bystanders sprinkled water in his face ; but he himself fancied that he would derive a great benefit from being cupped in the head.”

Dr. Sprenger has done good service by his critical comment on the texts of Bokhàry and Moslim, completely establishing the fact that no inference can be drawn from the phrase which they adopt, that Mohammad could not read until after his fortieth year. The meaning of his reply to the angel commanding him to *read*, evidently is not "*I cannot read*," as Weil has rendered it after some modern paraphrasts; nor yet "*What shall I read*," as Caussin De Perceval expresses it, from the inaccurate work of Ibú Ishàq; but, "*I am not reading*." A book may have been before him, over whose revelations he had been intently pondering before his catalepsy. We see no ground whatever to doubt that he may have been confirmed, and incited to persevere, in his stretchings toward the Infinite, by such a dream as we are discussing. Before the present period of his life, the intense conflicts in which his mind had engaged appear to have injured its healthy balance; he had become, essentially, a man of one idea, of which he felt his calling to be the witness and the confessor; and that mind never regained its normal tone, but rendered him, to all practical intents, a monomaniac. Hence, so far from being inconceivable, it is perfectly congruous, that with all his other faculties in order, and the talents to suggest the sublime vein of poetry which we find in some of the nobler passages of the Qoràn, he might yet, on that single topic upon which he made involuntary abandonment of intellect for phantasy, be, even in his waking hours, the victim of the wildest hallucinations. But holding so much in common with Dr. Sprenger, that Mohammad *did* believe himself to have received of an angel the command to *read in the name of the Lord—for the Lord is most beneficent*; we doubt, for reasons which we have before rendered, if we must date from this his *first determination to study* the tenets of a faith hostile to that of his fathers. And by the explanation which Dr. Sprenger gives of the technical meaning of *qara*—(to read or chant a sacred book) we may perhaps conceive there to have been now disclosed to the prophet's mind the first faint glimmering of his approaching *mission*. We say his *mission*;—for we *do* believe with Mr. Mauricè, that it was a "grand thing," and one which only the Divine mind could compass, that when, in all the church of the East, Jewish and Christian, "the sense of a Divine, Almighty Will, to which all human wills were to be bowed, had evaporated amidst the worship of outward images, moral corruptions, philosophical theories, religious controversies;"—when, though "*notions of God were*

more or less occupying them, He Himself was not in all their thoughts; and the awe of an Absolute, Eternal, Being, to be obeyed as well confessed, was passing away in some, and in others had been scarce awakened;"—a man who, prior to that announcement, was of the meanest conceivable importance, should go forth proclaiming GOD IS, and by that, in the persons of himself and his successors, achieve a thousand victories over superstition and unbelief. "We must not" (again to shield our sentiments under Mr. Maurice's authority);—

"We must not speak of men's readiness to receive an imposture; in yielding to this assertion they were bowing to a truth. This was no verbal copy from older records; it may have been the oldest of all verities, but it was fresh and new for every one who acted upon it. It was no mere phrase out of a book—no homage to a mortal hero—no mere denial of other men's faith. Let us go further yet, and say, it is a mercy of God that such a witness, however bare of other supporting principles, however surrounded by confusions, should have been borne to His Name, when His creatures were ready, practically, to forget it. The first Mahometan conquests, the continued Mahometan dominion, have borne witness to this everlasting truth; have proclaimed that it is no mere dry proposition, that it is capable of exercising a mastery over the rudest tribes, of giving them an order, of making them victorious over all the civilization and the religion which has not this principle for its basis.

We do not pretend to unravel the paradox, *why* God, after the complete declaration of Himself, His Kingdom, and His Will, by His Son, should again resort to an incompletely furnished instrument, and then abandon him to his own perverse imaginations, and at length permit the lustre of the very Name whose honour He had thus revived to grow dull in the apprehension of the very herald He had chosen, before the vainest superstitions, and the most degrading sensualities; but, regarding the Islam as a great fact, and viewing the relation which history will declare it manifestly to have had to the establishment of vital Truth, we must accede our assent that it has been among God's inscrutable ways that His Name may be known upon earth, His saving health among all nations.

But, however far Mohammad many have carried his theosophic studies, before receiving his first revelation, he must manifestly have done so under considerable secrecy, or he never would have ventured to pretend that he had read no part of the Scriptures previous to the commission of the complete *Qorân* to him. This circumstance adds to the probability that he was indebted to Waraqah and Zayd for the instruction which he received; as, during the life-times of these

persons, he might have enjoyed the confidences of private intercourse, with the former during his probably frequent visits to his kinswoman Khadyjah, and with the latter, in his periodical retirements to mount Harà, where Zayd remained under espionage of the Qorayshites. And as both these men were dead, the one before, the other very shortly after he declared his mission, he might profess that *they* had not instructed him, at least without apprehending *their* confutation. He had also other aids, both oral—Dr. Sprenger has indicated the names of some four or five of them on strong presumptions—and written—for the Qorayshites soon discovered that he had access to a volume from the Greek—the *Asátyr*, (a plural form from *istárah*—which looks like a corruption of *ιστορία*) of the *Ancients*, a work which, “besides Biblical legends, contained the doctrine of the resurrection, and, according to the imputation of his enemies, who evidently knew its contents, all the rest which he ever taught.”

No doubt the extent of Mohammad's plagiarism has been much exaggerated : nevertheless the suspicion has set his disciples on various resources, to prove either the very strong presumption which they conceive there to be against its tenability to any extent, or even its absolute impossibility. The proof of his adoption of earlier records would of course damage the Islám exactly correspondingly with the measure of that adoption, and the absoluteness of his own repudiation of it ; and therefore, any evidence that he had the means of ascertaining the facts and doctrines of Holy Writ, and incorporating its sublime descriptions in the Qoràn, without that actual revelation of them which he assumed to have had, is of overwhelming consequence. We have shewn, we presume, that *if Mohammad could read*, there is the strongest ground for believing that the Bible must have been among the books which he perused ; and *if he could write*, it is abundantly evident that the apparent coincidences with it which almost ever súrah of the Qoràn betrays must have been the work of his own hands. Therefore, it has been a point with orthodox Musalmans to demonstrate that their prophet *could neither read nor write*. To establish this, they have fixed on a passage of the Qoràn comprehending a word of hitherto doubtful etymology—*ummyy*, which they have interpreted very variously. The passage announces of Mohammad, that he is “the prophet of the ummyys, and himself an ummyy.” Some commentators, it would seem, persuaded that the evident relation of the disputed word with *ummah*, a nation, could not long escape de-

tection, have paraphrased it by *Makkian*, or *Arab*. Others of bolder principles, both in etymology and interpretation, have fixed on *umm*, a mother, as the radical form, and interpret that *Mohammad* was as unskilled in reading and writing *as when he came from the womb*, and the prophet of such ! And the several advocates of these opinions have backed them, by using the word *ummy* in collocations to support their own glosses. The importance of Dr. Sprenger's discovery of the true interpretation we regard as very great. Upon a large collation of passages in the *Qoràn*, and the oldest traditions and grammarians, in which *ummy* occurs, he has incontestibly proved it to mean *gentile* ;—so wresting from the "Faithful" their only pretence for establishing their prophet's ignorance on his own authority.

It is needful that we now revert to the vision "Read in the Name of the Lord ;" for that introduces a most important era of *Mohammad's* life, of which, as we have before intimated, Dr. Sprenger's great learning and discrimination have enabled him to present an entirely new phase to the European reader. This he has properly characterized as the "Transition Period." Differing from him, as we do, about the time of life when *Mohammad's* doubts concerning idolatry commenced, we are quite prepared to admit that it was in his thirty-eighth year that "the labors under which he gave birth to a new religion" first acquired their full intensity. So severe were these, that they "brought him to the brink of madness ; and in all likelihood many of the poetical effusions of this period were subsequently, by himself as well as others, considered as revelations, and inserted into the *Qoràn*." The earliest stage of this advancing acuteness seems to have been devoted to the silent contemplation of Nature ; by which his convictions on the personality and indivisibility of the Divine Essence were greatly strengthened, and his long and impotent struggle to reconcile that conviction with a reverence for his fathers' faith finally gave way. At length he felt the impotency of notional creeds, which, with *symbols* of the Divine Presence innumerable, could realise nothing of His *individuality* even in dreams and speculations. He must for the future apprehend Him as *being, speaking, doing*, the Guide and Ruler of His People—revealing himself unto them—enacting their ordinances—appointing His ministers among them—going out with them against their enemies—announcing, as well His favour as His vengeance, by signs and wonders and mighty works among them. The curious reference which Dr. Sprenger makes to

Mohammad's having "for sometime considered the idols round the Ka'bah to be daughters of God, who intercede with Him for their worshippers;"—which belief, we are told, "he gave up, principally because he could not reconcile himself to the idea that God should have only daughters, which was ignominious in the eyes of an Arab," must, we should judge, be an excrecence of his early monotheistic *speculations*, which had withered and dried up long prior to his affiance in the distinctive tenets of *practical* monotheism. For, either we must believe that the first vision—"Read" was actually revealed to him by an angel;—or, conceiving it to be a mere dream, we must acknowledge that he was already, at the time of dreaming it, a believer in the *subjectivity* of the Almighty *Being*; inasmuch as he characterizes Him as *most beneficent, teaching by the pen, revealing what man does not know*:—all which expressions involve the recognition of not a mere Almighty *Essence*, but of a distinct, undivided, and indivisible *Personality*. And if this conviction had before *no* place in his mind, and was not merely *confirmed*, but *suggested* and *implanted*, by the vision "Read," then that was not a *dream*, but a *revelation*. These are the grounds of our persuasion that Mohammad was, long before the vision "Read," a practical monotheist, and had, all but *in form*, finally renounced idolatry.

This, according to universally concurrent tradition, brings us to Mohammad's fortieth year. He then passed through a singular state of what has been called *fatrah*, or *intermission*, which seems to have lasted somewhat more than two years, during which he had no visitations which he took to be of a supernatural character. "It is certain," writes Dr. Sprenger, "that he composed many *súrah*s of the *Qoràn* during this time; and it must have been during this period that the tenets of the Jews and Christians seriously occupied his mind." No doubt. But this does not convey to us a demonstration that "before the vision he was" (in very heart) "an idolator;" or that not till "after the *fatrah*, he possessed the acquaintance with scriptural history which we find in the *Qoràn*." We quote the rest of this paragraph in Dr. Sprenger's own language:—

"Even after he had declared himself a prophet, he shewed, during the beginning of his career, a strong leaning towards, and singular belief in, the Scriptures and Biblical legends; but in proportion to his success, he separated himself from the Bible. This is the second phase in the progress of the prophet's mind. His belief in the Scriptures does not imply that he ever belonged to the Jewish or the Christian Church. We never could reconcile his notions of God with

the doctrine of the Trinity,* and with the divinity of Christ; and he was disgusted with the monkish institutions and sectarian disputes of the Christians. His creed was: 'He is God alone; the eternal God; he has not begotten, and is not begotten; and none is his equal.' Nothing, however, can be more erroneous than to suppose that Mohammad was, at any period of his early career, a deist. Faith, when once extinct, cannot be revived; and it was his enthusiastic faith in inspiration which made him a prophet. Disappointed with the Jewish and Christian religions, he began to form a system of faith of his own; and this is the third phase of the Transition Period. For some time, it seems, he had no intention to preach it publicly, but circumstances, as well as the warm conviction of the truth of his creed, at length prevailed on him to spread it beyond the circle of his family and friends."

As far as this passage tends to shew the simple believing confidence of Mohammad's nature; and that he never was, in any part of his career, a cold inferential deducer of an Almighty Power, by mere methods of reasoning upwards from Nature to Nature's God; we entirely believe it. *Whatever* the creed to which his heart, for the time, assented, in the inspiration, and divine communication of that creed, he *must* have had an implicit faith; for *that* the very cast of his genius exacted. But still it appears to us that having, in early life, acquired his first notions of the Divine Unity, he may yet have doubted for a while, or even, as far as that might be, have cast aside the idea, from homage of his country's traditions; until at length, finding that it held too strongly to him for *complete* abandonment, he trifled with it, and would fain conquer his submission to it, until his "enthusiastic faith in inspiration" shewed him the need of yielding himself to its instigations, or at least to mature enquiry as to the authority of those motions. Hence, we conceive, the heart-rending struggles of the *fatrah*. And much the same discipline seems to have been undergone by Saint Augustine during his connexion with the Manichees. Not to enter on the point whether they were worshippers of the Divine Unity; or whether, as Pearson says, "dividing all things of this world into natures substantially evil and substantially good, and apprehending a necessity of an origination conformable to so different a condition, they *imagined one God essentially good*, as the first principle of the one, *another God essentially evil*, as the original of the other;"—we have Augustine's own word for

* The ecclesiastical exposition of the Trinity *never could appear to any one* who viewed it from without, from the stand-point of an abstract Monotheism, and not as a form to be comprehended by Christian consciousness, otherwise than as a species of Tritheism.—NEANDER.

it, that notwithstanding great strivings to invigorate the faith in which he had been nurtured, it waned so considerably as to emit hardly, if any, light at all. "O Veritas, Veritas," he exclaims in his *Confessions*, "quam intime etiam tum medullæ animi mei suspirabant tibi, cum te illi (Manichæi) sonarent mihi frequenter et multicipliter voce sola, et libris multis et ingentibus. Et illa erant fercula in quibus mihi, esurienti te, inferebantur *pro te sol et luna, pulchra opera tua.*"—(III. 6.). Of the great value of the rest of Dr. Sprenger's elucidation of the Transition Period, we have already expressed our deliberate opinion.

"The mental excitement of the prophet," he continues, "was much increased during the fatrah; and like the ardent scholar in one of Schiller's poems, who dared to lift the veil of Truth, he was nearly annihilated by the light which broke in upon him. He usually wandered about in the hills near Makkah, and was so absent that on one occasion his wife, being afraid that he was lost, sent men in search of him. He suffered of hallucinations of his senses; and, to finish his sufferings, he several times contemplated suicide, by throwing himself down a precipice. His friends were alarmed at his state of mind. Some considered it as the eccentricities of a poetical genius; others thought that he was a *Kâhin*, soothsayer; but the majority took a less charitable view, and declared that he was insane; and, as madness and melancholy are ascribed to supernatural influence in the East, they said that he was in the power of Satan and his agents, the *jinn*. They called in exorcists; and he himself doubted the soundness of his mind. 'I hear a sound,' he said to his wife, 'and see a light—I am afraid there are *jinn* in me.' And on other occasions he said, 'I am afraid I am a *Kâhin*.' 'God will never allow that such should befall thee,' said Khadyjah, 'for thou keepest thy engagements, and assistest thy relations.' According to some accounts she added, 'thou wilt be the prophet of thy nation.' And in order to remove every doubt, she took him to her cousin Waraqah; and he said unto her, 'I see thou' (i. e., thy explanation) art correct; the cause of the excitement of thy husband is the coming to him of the great *nomos*, which is like the *nomos* of Moses. If I should be alive when he receives his mission, I would assist him; for I believe in him.' After this Khadyjah went to the monk 'Addâs"—(of Nineveh, but settled at Makkah, and, Dr. Sprenger suspects, one of Mohammad's chief authorities for the Biblical legends);—"and he confirmed what Waraqah had said."

Convinced or unconvinced by these assurances, (and we see no reason to doubt of her good persuasions) Khadyjah now discerned that there was no other resource—either her husband must profess himself a prophet of the Lord, or he accredited by his neighbours as a minister of Satan. This latter was not the most desirable prospect for a lady of ample fortune and high endowments, and both by birth, and by alliances, a leader of society in Makkah. For however necessary, among a people of unbridled lawlessness,

and only partially under constitutional restraints, it might be to foster a race of fanatics whose imprecations inspired terror, and whose arbitrations and adjustments carried a certain weight with them ;—still, a profession which was inevitably, in many instances, resorted to by idle rogues and disreputable jugglers would match but ill with the pretensions of the house of Qocayy. Khadyjah, therefore, had every motive to advise the former course ; for, as Dr. Sprenger well remarks, in addition to all prudential considerations, and the persuasions of her confidants, her husband's "pure notions of the Deity, his moral conduct, his predilections for religious speculations, and his piety, were proofs sufficiently strong to convince an affectionate wife that the supernatural influence under which he was, came from heaven." Mohammad himself however had still his misgivings, which broke his resolution, and made his melancholy intense. At length—

"One day, whilst he was wandering about in the hills near Makkah, with the intention to destroy himself, he heard a voice ; and in raising his head, he beheld Gabriel between heaven and earth ; and the angel assured him that he was the prophet of God. * * * Frightened by this apparition, he returned home : and feeling unwell, he called for covering. He had a fit, and they poured cold water upon him ; and when he was recovering from it, he received the revelation, 'O thou covered, arise and preach, and magnify the Lord, and cleanse thy garment, and fly every abomination,' and henceforth, we are told, he received revelations without intermission ; that is to say, the fatrah was at an end, and he assumed his office."

It is commendation enough of Dr. Sprenger's learning and diligence to say, that not a single trace of this investigation of so much interest and consequence for arriving at a correct estimate of Mohammad's psychological peculiarities, is to be found in any previous European biography. Weil notices the *two* visions, and in their proper order ; but represents them as contemporaneous, or at most, but with a very short intermission. The French critic, apparently, has derived his account from an inaccurate conception of the tradition of Jâbir, to which, by casting it in the form of a communication from Mohammad to Khadyjah, he has imparted an additionally erroneous gloss. Jâbir tells us that "the prophet, once hearing the fatrah mentioned in conversation, said, 'Whilst I was walking,' (of course *during* the fatrah, and *after* the vision 'Read') 'I heard a voice from heaven, and I raised my eyes, and there was an angel *who had appeared to me on Mount Harâ*, sitting on a throne between heaven and earth : and I was much frightened, and threw myself on the ground ;

and when I came to my family, I said, Wrap me up; and then I received the revelation, O thou covered, and this ended the fatrah." But Caussin De Perceval, understanding the "voice heard" as mentioned in this tradition to be the voice which was heard in the vision "Read," has concluded, like Weil, that the two visions were contemporaneous;—or rather, with even less discrimination, has combined them into one continuous act. For he represents that the Prophet, awaking from his reverie *immediately after* the vision "Read" had ended, and going to the hills with a view of allaying his emotion, heard a voice saying, "Mohammad! thou art the messenger of God, and I am Gabriel," and lifting up his eyes he saw the angel. It is obvious how exceedingly imperfect an idea this conveys of one of the most remarkable passages in Mohammad's history.

Dr. Sprenger has besides discerned that the correct grouping of these two visions, and the intermediate fatrah, is of consequence, in order to our ascertaining the age of Mohammad, which is still a point in dispute. Distinguishing between his *first vision* (at the age of forty) and his *assumption of the prophetic office* (after the vision "O thou covered;") and allowing, with all the traditions, that he lived ten years at Madynah, the question is, how long he lived at Makkah after his first vision; for some writers say *thirteen*, and others *fifteen* years. Dr. Sprenger conjectures that Mohammad lived *thirteen* years in Makkah after the assumption of his prophetic office, and therefore *fifteen* after the first vision; the probability of which, we consider, is confirmed by the fact that some of the traditionary writers pass over the period of fatrah without any particular observation. Presuming on the correctness of this, it will be evident that Mohammad attained the age of sixty-five.

The vision "O thou covered" brings us to the forty-third year of Mohammad's life, and it is to be observed that up to this period, there is no evidence of any abandonment of those noble motives and aspirations which, except we have completely misread his character, the most fastidious moralist, if not blinded by ignorant prejudices, must recognize in the earlier years of his enlightened discernment. It is simply absurd, as well as fatal to antagonism with the evil which the Islam has come to be, to describe its prophet, without any discrimination of a better phase in his existence, as the hypocritical and sensual wretch which we all admit that he finally became. And it is only too sure that he was *not* always so; for had he been, the Islam could never have flourished,

and so the blood of millions had been unspilled, and the Christian missionary been spared his most harassing encounters. There are points, strong enough, of contrast between the Gospel and the Islām,—in the universality, the philosophy, the evidences internal, external, and experimental of the one; and in the utter absence or palpable inferiority of each of these signal features in the other,—to furnish the least accomplished controversialist; whereas the wariest can be only worsted with such a weapon of defence as the unmitigated villainies of the Impostor, the voluptuousness of his Eden, and the vigour of his sword. For whatever these may have done to establish its *profession* among sensuous and ambitious devotees, they are but adventitious to the sublime doctrine which, by their very contact, they corrupt and degrade; and which, for years, having been the scope of all Moham-mad's indagations, was also, for other years, the only topic of his ministries. The evangelical apologist, in his arguments with the Musalman, may contend with great assurance, that the ceremonial of the Islām, of ablution, of prayer, and of fasting, so difficult of observance anywhere, would be impossible in the habitations of vast multitudes of his fellow-creatures; whereas the very test of the heavenly, in a system of faith and discipline which professes to address itself to mankind in-general, is its adaptation to all the families of men, and all conditions of them. He may point to the cold and empty particularity of his adversary's metaphysics; which,—though elaborate, even to redundancy, on the processes of organic and intellectual development, and diffuse upon the discipline by which the mind of man, “during extatic moments, may step out of the bounds of individuality, and become merged in that ocean of intellect,” which, being identical with the angel Gabriel, is the demiurge, from which all other spheres and created beings emanate;—yet on the other hand fails to penetrate the recesses of the moral being, and to unbosom man unto himself. He may explain that there are a thousand monuments of human genius which, if grandeur of conception and elevation of sentiment be the evidences of a special inspiration, may put the pretensions of the Qorān clean out of sight; and he may exult exceedingly that the colossal columns which support the fabric of the Christian institution have no better rivals in the system of his adversary, than such lame and decrepid pigmies as have their type in the Mi'rāj. He may shew that while the stately march of modern investigation is adding, day by day, some undesigned proof of the exactness of the cosmogony revealed nearly three thousand years ago, the

physical absurdities which the Islâm imposes on the credulity of its disciples are fit only to excite our smiles or our pity. Or he may compare the partial and ineffectual trituration of the older idolatries, by the armies of the Crescent, with the steady and tranquil, though absorbing and eradicating, progress of the Cross. But never let him attempt to gainsay the painful intentness and laudable enthusiasm which Mohammad did once apply to the search after truth, or that the crisis of these struggles was determined by his self-accredited commission to arise and preach, and magnify the Lord.

But, it may very well be asked, if this be so, on what principles is so deep a degradation accountable as he afterwards incurred? Not the least interesting digression in Dr. Sprenger's biography is an admirable literary parallel, by which he proves that one of the deepest of human seers has drawn a general picture of the life of enthusiasts, which, as the particulars of the Transition Period must have been utterly unknown to him, is "like a prediction in reference to Mohammad's individual case." In Faust, the creation of Goethe's maturest genius, there is the same "anguish of mind," first "distracted by doubts," then "dispelled by the song of angels rising from his own bosom, as the voice of the consciousness of his sincerity and warmth in seeking for the truth;" and then, as in Mohammad's case, after that crisis, "the enthusiasm gradually ebbs down to calm design," till both "blasphemously sacrifice their faith and God to self-aggrandizement." This parallel supplies a marvellous instance of the faculty of the true Poet to idealize the profoundest workings of the intellect, and accord us "glimpses into this translucent, wonder-encircled world; revelations of the mystery of all mysteries, Man's life as it actually is."

Still, it is hard to say exactly when Mohammad's sacrifice of faith began. Besides the visions of the angel already mentioned, there are but two other miracles referred to in the Qorân; for the passage which has been supposed to allude to the splitting of the moon at the time of the prophet, Dr. Sprenger says, however much distorted, can admit of no such sense. The *second* (which, let us say, Dr. Sprenger renders in jingling rodomontade which justifies the sarcasm that how great soever the sublimity which marks the Qorân as the work of God, in translation it would be a poor work for the devil) is manifestly only an appeal to a former interview with Gabriel, with the addition that he had again appeared to him at two bows' distance, and displayed "the greatest of the signs of the Lord." Dr. Sprenger assigns the

twenty-second place, Weil, the *twentieth*, to the *súrah* where this vision is recorded, in a chronological arrangement of the *Qoràn* from ancient traditions; and the former author says that it was revealed some six or seven years before the *Hijrah*. If it should be admitted then, as we are inclined to admit, that no great declension of faith is noticeable in this revelation, from that which characterized *Mohammad* when he received the revelation "Read in the name of the Lord," it may appear that his religious sensibilities were not materially changed between his fortieth and his forty-ninth year; the tone of his imagination, however, as is only natural, being gradually heightened by excessive excitement. The *third* miracle of the *Qoràn*, in the forty-seventh *súrah*, is the *Isrà*, or Nightly Journey to Jerusalem, which should be carefully separated from the *Mi'rāj*, or ascent from Jerusalem to the seventh Heaven.

It must be borne in mind that about two years before the *Hijrah* and the fifty-third of his age, when *Khadyjah* and *Abú Tálib* had died, and his next protector, *Abú Lahab*, had withdrawn his protection from him, *Mohammad* fled to *Tāyif*, a city seventy-two miles east of *Makkah*, "to avoid the insults of his enemies, and in hopes to find converts." There he "visited every man of influence, and explained to them the doctrines of the *Islām*, but in vain. After a stay of ten days they turned him out, being afraid that he might turn the heads of young people, the rabble pelting him with stones as he left their town." On his return towards *Makkah*, the *súrah* of the *Qoràn* containing the vision of the *Isrà* was composed, at, or near, *Nakhlah*.* As a *dernier resort*, *Mohammad* had there sought a friend in an idolater, who had assisted in restoring the *Hāshimites* to society, after, in an earlier stage of the *Qorayshite* persecutions, they had found it necessary to withdraw to their own *Shi'b*,† or

* It will gratify all interested in the detail of the *Islām* to know that *Dr. Sprenger* contemplates a future volume, which will elucidate "the views and mode of teaching of *Mohammad*, by pointing out the chronological order of the *súrah*s of the *Qoràn*, with their special bearings and allusions," by analysing his doctrines, determining the means he employed to convince his followers, and above all, by illustrating the peculiarities of his mind, and the spirit of his time, as manifested in the *Qoràn*, in the authentic traditions, and in his disputations with the adversaries of the *Islām*. Perhaps there is not another man so able to grapple successfully with these important and difficult disquisitions.

† Weil and *Caussin De Porceval* agree in error, by supposing the *Shi'b*, to which the *Hāshimites* retired, to be a place at a distance from *Makkah*, where, adds the former writer, *Abú Tálib* had a fortified chateau. This is the more extraordinary, as a simple reference to *Burckhardt* might have set them right on this point.

quarter of Makkah, for mutual protection, being resolved to accept no bribe as the purchase of their kinsman's blood. This plainly shews the straits and friendlessness of *Mohammad* at that period:—but, as Weil has properly remarked, “the *less* audience he found from the obdurate Arabians, and the greater the difficulties with which he must contend, so much the more confirmed would be his affiance in God and the spiritual world, so much higher, in his eyes, would the goal become whereunto God had commissioned him, attainable, as it seemed, only by enterprises so arduous. One can understand then,” he continues, and in our opinion, to say the least, with a show of tenability, “one can understand *why*, on his return from *Tāyif*, he had a vision in which the jinn saluted him as a prophet; and *why* that other vision of the winged horse on which the prophets ride, which bore him to the Temple of Jerusalem, and thence to the seventh heaven, where not only did the patriarchs and the earlier prophets salute him as the messenger of God, but the angels also conceded him pre-eminence, and God Himself designated him as the pearl and purpose of creation.”

The fundamental fallacy in this opinion we conceive to be that the *Isrā* and the *Mirāj* are brought into an unreal proximity, and that what may hold of the one, is injudiciously extended to the other. We have little doubt that the Nocturnal Journey, in its first sketch, was a simple thing enough, and not such as to tax the credulity. *Mohammad*, disappointed and chagrined by the Makkian persecutions and his rough usage at *Tāyif*, and yet under “the most sincere conviction of the sacredness of his cause,” in one of his wonted reveries, did actually persuade himself that God did guarantee Himself to be the Witness, the Voucher, and the Approver of his cause, by conveying him, in an extasy, to His own Temple at Jerusalem. We differ *toto cælo* from Dr. Sprenger, who considers the whole as an “unblushing forgery,” and that *Mohammad* “sold a description of the Temple of Jerusalem, which he may have obtained from books, or oral information, to the best advantage.” Nothing, of a supernatural kind, can be less perplexed than the language of *Mohammad*, on this very point, quoted from a car-witness, *Jābir*, by Dr. Sprenger—“When the Qorayshites accused me of imposture, I was in the *Hijaz* near the *Ka'bah*, and God showed to me Jerusalem. I was thus enabled to tell its signs; for I was looking at it.” We have elsewhere read, too, that a tradition of *Mo'awyyah* expressly states that the prophet himself spoke of the Nocturnal Journey as a vision.

One must give up all one's faith in testimony to apparitions, and set one's judgment against the concurrent and unvaried witness of all ages and of all nations, if one begin with branding with imposture so ingenuously told a tale. There was one with whom we were once familiar, a holy man, a man of high and, in some disciplines, of profound attainments, who witnessed to us, repeatedly, of visions no whit less extraordinary. An enthusiast in Gothic Architecture, but blind from early manhood, that man was, by visions, familiar with the aspects and the detail of all the most renowned edifices in Europe. His observation was not limited to mere plans and arrangements, which might be gathered from descriptions; but the whole environs, we have often heard him declare, though now all was dim and dark, had in the night been as clearly before him as though he were on the spot, and in enjoyment of his full faculties; and from the several sites of picturesque effect he had surveyed with wonder the fabric which had been disclosed to him.

We are the rather surprised at the harsh opinion which Dr. Sprenger entertains from his previous admirable remarks on the origin of the miracles:—

"Nothing could be more remote," he writes, "from the idea which the Makkians entertained of a Messenger of God, than that he should stand in need of nourishment, and walk in the streets, like other men. In addition to the strongest proof of his mission, they required of him some amusement, and substantial advantages, in return for their faith. They expected nothing less than that he should cause a spring of water to gush forth for them out of the earth; that he should produce gardens of palm-trees and vines, and cause rivers to spring forth from the midst thereof in abundance; or that he should command heaven to fall down upon them in pieces; or that God and his angels should descend to vouch for him; or that he should have a house of gold; or ascend by a ladder to heaven and bring back with him a book containing the revelations. The prophet answered that he was a man like others; that all other prophets had been men, walking in the streets and eating food; that he neither expected a reward, or any other personal advantages, for his preaching; that God had ordered him to admonish them; and that, if they would not listen, they would see the miracles of the Lord, who speaks in thunder and lightning: and those miracles would be their destruction. When they would see the punishment approaching, they would believe, and they would pray to God for another trial; but it would not be granted; for it would be of no use—as soon as the fright was over, they would return to their former life. He asks them, whether their caravans had never passed the Dead Sea? and whether they had not seen the destroyed cities of former nations? They were standing miracles. The inhabitants of those cities were more powerful and wealthier than the Makkians; God sent prophets to them who, like Mohammad, were merely men. The unbelievers accused them of imposture, and asked for other signs than those which they

had wrought; and the sign which God did grant to them was their destruction."

Nothing can be more complete or satisfactory than this repudiation; and such, we believe, continued his unwavering profession until near the time of the Hijrah.

But shortly after, at Madynah, questions seem to have been mooted upon the universality of his mission, and many thought that in which he himself appears to have concurred, that he was a prophet for the gentiles, but not for Jews and Christians. The Jews were especially tenacious of this opinion, and employed instruments to outvie Mohammad in their testimony to extatic visions. One of these, an antic of a boy, declared that he was Antichrist, and had seen paradise, with its earth as white as flour twice sifted, and fragrant as musk, and the throne of God swimming in the midst of the water. *It is very likely*, as Dr. Sprenger observes, that this story induced Mohammad to cram his followers with the inanities of the Mi'raj, and moreover, which incited him to pretend that the "*Sidrah of the limit*" which, up to the close of his Makkian residence, he seems to have allowed to have been near that city, was in the seventh heaven.* For, as Dr. Sprenger has very correctly written,—

"The Jews of Madynah, in opposition to him, related the history of their prophets, adding endless rabbinical legends; and Mohammad had allowed at Makkah, (Qorān, 7. 141) that Moses had been raised by God above all other men, by having, on Mount Sinai, been called into his presence. His followers would not have been satisfied, had not their prophet received a similar, or a greater favour; therefore, taking advantage of their belief in his Nightly Journey to Jerusalem, he added from time to time such details as might counterbalance any thing which might be said of the Jewish Prophets or of Christ. It is true, the new additions were not always consistent; but the contradictions added mysteries to the miracle. By degrees the Nightly Journey became the most gorgeous fiction ever invented by the wildest imagination."

* As it is of some consequence for forming a judgment on Mohammad's sincerity about his forty-ninth year, we avail ourselves of a prose translation of that portion of the seventeenth sūrah (the forty-seventh, chronologically) which Dr. Sprenger has, in our opinion, so ruined by his rhymes.

"A mighty one in power, and in wisdom excellent, communicated this, - soaring on the highest pitch of the horizon. Floating towards the prophet, he drew up at two bows' distance; then reaching forward yet nearer, he disclosed what he disclosed. Never hath Mohammad's heart falsified his visions—why then discuss with him the reality of these revelations? He saw him, too, before, by the Sidrah of the limit, [near unto the gate of the garden of repose.*] The hovering (angel) overshadowed the Sidrah tree, and yet the gaze of Mohammad wavered not. There he saw the greatest of the signs of the Lord."

* These words, we agree with Dr. Sprenger, are of late addition, with an obvious design

It would be easy to exhibit the source,* and in some cases the process of development, of the voluminous extravagances which now encumber the Mohammanan creed: for instance, among other particulars, a considerable part of Christ's address to the heavenly assembly, as reported in the *Mi'rāj* legends, and especially the pretence that he "shaped a fowl of clay, and breathed into it, and it became a living being," is actually contained in a collection of fables, in Arabic—one of that class of writings now known as "*Gospels of the Infancy*," which was edited, with a Latin translation and notes, by Professor Sike, of Cambridge, in 1691, and has since been further illustrated by Fabricius and by Thilo. Another miracle, (the speech while in the cradle) ascribed to Christ in this pseudo-gospel, has been transferred to the *Qorān*; and in several of the rest, its learned editors have detected the groundwork of some popular legends of the *Islām*. That this book was extensively known among the monophysites and other oriental heretics who, uneasy under the Byzantine rule, were among the first to claim protection of the armies of the *Khalifat*, does not admit of question; and with the large accession then acquired for the *Islām*, it appears equally probable that many of their marvellous traditions would be incorporated with that faith. As, for example, we find in the Musalman legends the exact counterpart of the portent first put forward in the pseudo-gospel of St. Barnabas, that God, while the crucifixion was transacting, took up Jesus into heaven, and substituted for him Judas, in his exact figure and likeness. Professor White, of Oxford, whose Bampton Lectures contain, together with much of untenable speculation, a vast accumulation of important facts, writes well, if his remarks be limited to the later and more romantic *sūrah*s of the *Qorān*, (though he had not the critical skill to trace the sensible debasement of their metal, as compared with that in which modern scholarship has shewn the Makkian *sūrah*s to be cast):—

"We know that the impostor constantly pretended to have received these stupendous secrets, by the ministry of an angel, from that eternal book in which the divine decrees have been written by the finger of the Almighty from the foundation of the world; but the learned enquirer will discover a more accessible, and a far more probable source from whence they might be derived,—partly in the wild and fanciful opinions of the ancient Arabs, and chiefly in those exhaustless stores of marvellous and improbable fiction, the works of the Rabbins. Hence that romantic fable of the Angel of Death, whose particular office it is, at the destined hour, to dissolve the union betwixt soul and body, and to free the departing spirit from its prison of

flesh. Hence that imaginary, yet dreaded Tribunal, before which, when his body is deposited in the grave, the trembling Mussalman, on the authority of his prophet, believes he must appear, to render an exact account of his faith and actions. Hence too the various descriptions of the general Resurrection and the final Judgment, with which the Koran every where abounds; and hence the vast, but ideal Balance, in which the actions of all mankind shall then be impartially weighed, and their eternal doom be assigned them either to the regions of bliss or misery, according as their good or evil deeds shall be found to preponderate. Here, too, may be traced the grand and original outlines of that sensual Paradise, and those luxurious enjoyments which were so successfully employed in the Koran to gratify the ardent genius of the Arabs, and allure them to the standard of the prophet. By proceeding in this manner, it might easily be shewn how little there is of novelty or originality in the pretended revelation of Mahomet."

Very true and very weighty; but of equal truth is it, and of equal weight, that for the first three years after the fatrah, during which he expounded only secretly, the only point of attraction which drew some fifty slaves and foreigners around him was the profession (in which most of them had preceded him) of God's Unity. The very ground of his dissatisfaction, as far as we can ascertain it, with the Jewish and Christian sects about him, was their corrupt belief in the same, or analogous, absurdities with those which his own moral depravation, and the pressure from without, at length persuaded him to engraft upon the Islâm. Besides, we know very well that Waraqah, dissatisfied with idolatry, travelled in quest of the true faith, and embraced Christianity;—after which, he became one of the "people of the fatrah," or adherents of Mohammad during the early period of his independent speculations;—and *why*, except for his purer monotheism than that which loomed so dimly through the extravagant conglomerations of eastern credulity. Khadyjah, who believed in her husband's mission from the period of the vision "Read," and Abû Bakr, who was converted scarcely later, and whose princely liberality, which we shall by and by commemorate, was for years the mainstay of the Islâm, must, it is but reasonable to think, have discerned some higher scope in the addresses of their teacher than the appropriation of the most incredible corruptions, to engraft upon that nobler worship of the Unity which the one had witnessed in her kinsman, and the other may be believed, upon ancient authority, to have practised ere ever Mohammad contemplated instructing in it. For the ten years, too, during which Mohammad preached the Islâm publicly at Makkah, and in the sûrah's of the Qorân which belong to that period, (omitting some few later additions and interpo-

lations) there may be recognized, as we shall presently shew at large from Weil, a near approximation to doctrinal purity on that element in the religious conviction which contemplates the immeasurable distance of God above all His creatures, His absolute supremacy, and utter independence. Even on the point of God's possible apparency to human eye, "it is clear," says Dr. Sprenger, "that neither he nor his friends believed it. But"—he adds—

"it is equally clear that in the progress of his career he gave way to the coarseness of the notions of the greater part of his followers, and *said* that he had seen God face to face ;—or at all events he acquiesced in their error. *We must never forget* that, when his religion was victorious, he was surrounded by the most enthusiastic admirers, whose craving faith could be satiated only by the most extravagant stories. Their heated imagination would invent them for itself ; he only needed to give the key, and to nod assent, to augment the number of his followers to the infinite."

But perhaps the most pregnant evidence of the final degradation of Mohammad's spirit from the grand sentiment to which he had before attained, is to be found in the course and progress of the Islâm. We opened this paper with an observation on what already, perhaps, too much has been said, the general resemblance which may be traced between the progress of Christianity and the progress of Mohammadanism ;—and, for the superficial eye, there is a sort of likeness. But the instant one tries to carry it into detail, it vanishes altogether. First of all, as to the very founders of each ; if ever there was a man formed to meet the growing yearnings of his age, that man was Mohammad ;—whereas, as a very profound scrutineer has already remarked of Christ, "the life of that Divine Man stands in no connexion with the general history of the world in his time."* The comparative evidences and recommendation of the two creeds, so far as those to whom they were first addressed could appreciate them, is a topic quite beyond our present mark : but when, in a book like Mr. Forster's, framed with the especial design of bringing the two religions into contrast, one reads in the very first page the broad and unguarded statement that they "*began alike* in silence and obscurity," one feels a sort of constraint to enquire more minutely into the parallelism. And what *must* be the result ? The obligation to acknowledge of the Christian Religion, that its first success was very consider-

* Das Leben dieses göttlichen Mannes steht mit der Weltgeschichte seiner Zeit in keiner Verbindung.—GOETHE.

able indeed ;—that within the brief period of our Lord's personal ministry—probably only *one* year, and a part of two others—not only were twelve men elected “to subvert the conclusions of human reason, and to convince mankind that their own righteousness never could bring them to heaven ;” * not only were seventy others sent out, two and two, to visit every town and every village ; but the new doctrines must incontrovertibly have made immense progress, in Galilee, in Samaria, and in Judea, and even to the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. To what exact extent we know not ; but this we know, that in one place, to see their Lord after His resurrection, five hundred brethren had assembled together. So much then for the first two years. But now let us think of what Christianity did to leaven the world within *thirteen years* of the commencement of our Lord's ministry, (which is the period for which, after the *fatrah*, Mohammad's usual residence was at Makkah.) The first thing to strike one is, that on the Pentecost, three thousand, nearly all foreign Jews, of various nations, were converted in a single day ; who must have carried the tidings far and wide, and in a vast number of instances, can hardly have failed to carry the convictions of many with them, especially in their own families and associations. In Jerusalem, too, we hear of the number of believers increasing daily ;—soon they reach five thousand ;—then Judea and Samaria receive the word ;—ere long it travels to Phœnicia, to Antioch, to Cyprus ;—and at length, only ten years after the Ascension, we know that a Christian force had engaged themselves in readiness to resist the indignities of Caligula. And now to glance at the Islâm. Of the fifty adherents to Mohammad in the sixth year of his mission—(they had never yet exceeded that number, it seems, by more than two or three ; and even these were not his *converts*, but persons who had arrived independently at some conception of the Divine Unity)—*only six* publicly proclaimed their faith in him. Besides these six, *only five others* seem at once to have believed in him ; the rest remained, for longer or for shorter periods, in doubt and indecision. The influence of Abû Bakr himself could prevail with only six of his friends, each of whom, on the average, succeeded in enlisting about one adherent. Even these men did not receive their first reformed impressions from Mohammad, and would not be over-ruled by him ; the point on which they agreed to amalgamate being what

each had for himself investigated, the Divine Unity. Next, Dr. Sprenger tell us that ;—

“ In a small community like that of Makkah, the fits and subsequent pretensions of a member of a respectable family could not fail to produce a great sensation. Many young men, particularly of the poor classes, which are always favourable to changes, believed in his mission. But they were not prepared to undergo martyrdom for the new faith ; and being without protection, they deserted him in the hour of trial.”

On his first public preaching, his own uncle, Abú Lahab, prays that he be bereft of the rest of his days, and all the aristocracy of Makkah systematically combine against him. “ At length persecution ran so high, and so many (of the fifty disciples) apostatized, that Mohammad advised some of his followers to leave Makkah, lest his whole flock might desert him, and consequently some sixteen persons emigrated to Abyssinia. Then, seemingly, his shock at his own hazard was so paralyzing, that, in a moment of indecision, he compromised himself by some concessions in favour of idolatry. Dr. Sprenger gives us the following account of this interesting passage of Mohammad’s history. He had recited before an assembly of idolators, in which were many of the Qorayshites, a *súrah* of the Qorán in which is incorporated the passage which we have already quoted in translation ; *adding after* the words “ *he saw the greatest of the signs of the Lord ;*”—

“ ‘ Do you see al-*Tai*, and al-*Ozza*, and *Mánah*, the third idol of yours ? They are sublime swans,* and their intercessions will be of use to you before the Lord,’ &c. The Qorayshites, it seems, partly believed in his nightly journey to Jerusalem, and in the apparition which he relates in this *súrah* ; and they were highly delighted that he acknowledged their gods : and therefore when he prostrated himself, they followed his example. The old al-Walyd b. al-Moghyrah, who could not bend himself so as to touch the ground with his forehead, took up a handful of earth, and touched his forehead with it, to express that he followed the same rites as Mohammad. And the whole congregation said, ‘ We never doubted that it is the Lord of life and death, and who has created every thing, and preserves every thing ; but our idols intercede for us with God, and if thou allow of what is due to them, we are with thee.’ The news of the conciliation between Mohammad and the Qorayshites spread rapidly, and when they reached Abyssinia, the refugees hastened to return to their homes and families ; but in the month of Shawwál of the same year, when they had arrived within a short distance of Makkah, they met some men of the Kinànah tribe riding on camels. They asked them how matters stood in the city ? and they said ‘ Mohammad had recognized the gods of the Qorayshites ; and a conciliation had taken place ; but the following day he repented and said, that the verse referring to the idols had been prompted to him by the Devil, and he rescinded it ; and

* “ They were of opinion that the idols brought them nearer to God and interceded for them ; they therefore compared them with birds, who rise towards heaven and ascend.”—*Mawáhib Allad.*

since that time the Qorayshites were more violently opposed to him than ever they had been before.' They were much alarmed at these news, yet after consultation they proceeded into the city. They all went to some friend as guests, and by these means obtained his protection; it being the duty of the host to protect his *guest*."

It is too true, we fear, what Dr. Sprenger observes in reference to these inconsistencies of Mohammad, that they were even less excessive than the lengths to which "several truly pious Christian Missionaries" of that age did not scruple to go. There is too much reason to believe that at least some few of the forgeries which disgraced both literature and religion from the second to the sixth centuries were the work of Christians. "In an unguarded moment," Dr. Burton has written, "they sought to serve their cause by what have been called pious frauds; and the names of Apostles and other early teachers were affixed to writings which contained the most absurd and extravagant fictions." And considering that these pretences were persevered in year after year, and were seldom or never repudiated by their inventors; whereas the reflections of a single day prevailed upon Mohammad to abrogate his false concessions, well knowing that the act of that abnegation must be the loss of favour from the Qorayshites, we do agree with Dr. Sprenger that we have in this the strongest proof of his sincerity up to this era of his history.

But we lose sight of the comparison which we were pursuing. In the sixth year of Mohammad's missions some few important accessions were made to the Islâm, more particularly in the persons of *Hamzah* and *'Omar*, but the consequence was such a bitterness of persecution as is perfectly unheard of in Christian annals, for so inconsiderable an advantage. Every tortuous act was plied to imbue the hands of Mohammad's own relatives and legal protectors in his blood, in absolute violation of the code of those who prompted it. For no apostacy to the views of their relative, but simply for their resolution not to murder him with their own hands, every scion of the great house of *Hâshim* was positively scouted from society, and intimidated to such an extent, that no one dared leave his own quarter of the city, for dread of the consequences. If there was one (as there were many) allied to the new teacher either by kin or by sentiment, who could not find a refuge within the *Shi'b* of the *Hâshimites*, for the peril of his life, he must emigrate to *Abyssinia*. Arrived there, they still were granted neither rest nor reprieve; scouts from *Makkah* soon were after them, laden with the costliest treasure, to be distributed in bribes

among the nobles of the country, on the condition which each of them accepted, to recommend the expulsion of the refugees to the Negush. To his fine determination alone did they owe their safety. We have no room for the extract, and therefore content ourselves with saying that the account of the discussion of these refugees before the Negush of Abyssinia is among the most effective and interesting portions of Dr. Sprenger's volume.

Then the irritated Qorayshites resort to other and severer measures. The Hâshimites are declared outlaws—no Qorayshite must intermarry with them, or transact business, or have any intercourse whatever. To add stringency and solemnity to this engagement, the record of it is laid up in the Ka'bah. The intense mental agony in the doomed Shi'b is aggravated by the pangs of hunger; for the enemy have now cut off all admission of supplies. Only once a year dared any leave their walls; and then, to speak on probabilities, only those who would conform to the idolatries of the *Haram*, and make common cause with the annual crowd of pilgrims. The very idolators are disgusted at the severity; whose dissensions caused the rupture of the Qorayshite league.

In short, as Dr. Sprenger very justly says, the Islâm would probably have enjoyed but a short duration, had not a singular circumstance favoured its triumph in Mady-nah. In the constant feuds between the Jews and the idolators of that city, it was the current boast of the former that the time of *their* prophet approached, and then would they slay their heathen enemies. Fear lest that prophet, and their avenger, should be revealed in *Mohammad*, induced them to accept him as their teacher, and hence, and not till now, the first success of the Islâm.

So much, then, for the comparative results of the earliest preaching of the Gospel and the Islâm. From this time, certainly, a similarity may be maintained;—but from that time also the tone of *Mohammad's* theology deteriorated. He sunk the character of the religious reformer in that of the political partizan. He began, as Neander has well observed, with no other object than the declaration in winning language to his own people, in their own tongue, of that simple and primitive form of Theism which was what he recognized as of divine origin in Judaism and Christianity—He ended as the reckless and fanatical imposer of the grossest superstitions by the point of the sword. To say precisely *how* much the appallingly sensual forms of Islâmism under the Khâlifs owes to his individual depravation, is impossible.

But certain it is, that his first false step hurried him so far down the precipice that there was no delusion at which he scrupled to connive for the most trifling, and often for the most equivocal, advantage. For it is not improbable that many of his converts (in all possibility from the awful heresies of the oriental churches), who are said afterwards to have left him, and embraced the Christian religion, left him only so far as he wavered from his first integrity, and had become soiled with that very mire from which he himself had once favoured their absolution.

Taking the amount of Mohammad's early successes for what it really was, we rather wonder at its paucity than at its remarkable extent. That the whole peninsula was ripe for a change there can be no doubt. Throughout those provinces where idolatry prevailed, it was still *leavened* by simple ardent yearnings for pure monotheism. Natural intuitions seem to have found their expression after violent and long constraint. Every thing conspired to suggest motives, ever fresh and ever widening, to abandon the already languishing idolatries. Marvel at the growing opulence and splendour of Palmyra, and at the succession of caravan traffic, in convoy of all that was rare and precious in the far East, to minister to the tastes and luxuries of the courtiers and merchants of Northern Arabia, must, at any rate in many, have engendered a dissatisfaction throughout the *Hijaz*, that its own thralldom to the exactments of superstition was in every way a barrier to progress, and excluded it from a share in the refined pleasures to which its own developing enterprize was a minister. The motive thus furnished, examples and encouragements to unrivet their shackles were also at hand. In those parts of Arabia which were subject to the Roman or the Persian dominion, a form of Christianity prevailed, which, though certainly not very pure, nevertheless invited both admiration and scrutiny, as it was undeniable that the people's accomplishments, in arts and arms, had advanced very rapidly under their present discipline. As the ministers of these Churches, a number of monks and religious men were scattered over the country, up to the very borders of the *Hijaz*; and these, as the preachers of a faith which had ministered, or at least was not antagonistic, to the refinement of its disciples, were listened to with confidence by the rude nomads who came in contact with them. Southward, again, were the Yamanese, among whom Judaism had been early spread, but who were all, practically, subjects of the Negush of Abyssinia, the Christian monarch

of a people comparatively early converted, and pure in faith, where the religion of Jesus, for above a century and a quarter, had been the dominant religion amidst surrounding pagan tribes. His lieutenant in Yaman, Abrahah, either in the year of, or two years after *Mohammad's* birth, A. D. 571, marched close up to the gates of Makkah, through the opposing force of the Banu Khath'am. Having reached Tayif and entered its opened gates, he obtained a guide to the sacred city. He plundered the environs, and was on the point of laying the Ka'bah under siege, when the small-pox broke out in his camp, and obliged him to desist. The Qorayshites were in ambush, prepared for a last effort, and of course alleged that heaven had assisted in the defence of their temple.

The star of Makkah was, however, in its wane. She had powerful rivals in Tayif and in Madynah, and foreign intercourses were fast obliterating all those associations which had brought the *Haramites* under one bond. Her priests reformed her faith and added rigour to her ceremonial; but—to adopt a slight modification of the language of our dramatist, merely to bring it into keeping with the present connexion;—

“ Each asked his heart
Is it not weary of Idolatry?
And knew that as they worshipped in the temple,
They feared to look each other in the face,
Lest smiles betray their incredulity.
They served their idols but to rule the people.”

* * * * *

“ Mecca, said they, 's in darkness clothed, whilst all
Around is light. The Syrian Christian boasts
His Nazarene,—while, south, the Hebrew points
To Moses his deliverer, and the East
Unfolds its revelations. It is time
Arabia had her prophet too.”

Even in the *Hijaz* we are told, there had already been a martyr to the Christian faith in Najran, whose ascent of the pyre, with her infant in her arms, had made a deep impression on the surrounding tribes. She is held up as an example to true Moslems in the eighty-fifth *súrah* of the *Qorán*; while the attempt of Abrahah to proselytize by force of arms is branded in the same book as a deservedly punished innovation. When *Mohammad* assumed the prophetic office, there were both Jews and Christians within the walls of Makkah; the former class of converts reckoning among them some representatives from the *Kinànah* tribes. That

city, too, had become an emporium of commerce to the adjacent countries; a constant, civilizing stream was pouring in there; the arts of reading and writing, an elegance before unpractised in the toilet, and in entertainments and those exercises of skill and prowess, whose introduction, as pastimes, denotes the progress of social and artificial refinement, were not uncommonly employed; so that both from its advancing enlightenment and humanization, Makkah was ripe for the systematic preaching of a creed in direct antagonism with all its ancient institutions. This is abundantly established by the hearing which Qoss and Omayyah had obtained in the very precincts of the Ka'bah, and from the examples of Waraqah and Zayd, and their fellow-sceptics, 'Obayd Allah and Othman—examples, says Dr. Sprenger, which might easily be multiplied.

Mohammad then was the very man for his age, and the very ideal for which it languished, ere finally abandoning its superstitions. "In founding a new religion, he did nothing more than gather the floating elements which had been imported or originated by others, in obedience to the irresistible force of the spirit of the time." He loved Arabia patriotically, and desired in his purer years, nothing so much as to behold it emerging from its benightment, and walking in the light which he believed *himself* to have attained. It should not be forgotten, in our endeavour to form a correct estimate of what Mohammad was and proposed to do, that many eminent Divines have considered the first draft of his system to be a very model of purity in comparison with, and "a very considerable reformation upon," the unexampled depravation of faith and practice then prevalent in the Oriental Churches. We are by no means surprised at the early and distinct testimony which Dr. Sprenger quotes from Wàqidy, that "the most intelligent of that class of men who preached the name of God, and who led a pious life and declared that they were *Musalmana*, were of opinion that Mohammad was a prophet of God." We consider the reason to be evident *why* Waraqah deserted that form of doctrine in which he had been instructed, in favour of those more genial aspirations which his cousin, in all likelihood, committed to *him*, second only to his own wife Khadyjah;—and *why* the Makkian Christian-born slaves "saw in Mohammad their liberator, and, being superstitious enough to consider his fits as the consequence of an inspiration, were among the first to acknowledge him as a prophet," to suffer tortures for their faith in him, and, in two instances, to die

martyrs thereto. We quite agree that it is extremely likely that some of these (Zayd ben Harithah, for instance, Mohammad's faithful and beloved attendant in the most eventful scenes of his career) *did* bring to their prophet's assistance, while casting the first mould of the Islâm, several of the leading tenets of the faith which they had renounced. When we read, on one authority, of Bilâl, another of the convert slaves, (the son of an Abyssinian, and almost beyond a doubt a Christian, who underwent great tortures on his open renunciation of heathenism,) that he had embraced the Islâm before Mohammad had received it as a revelation;—and then again, that he was one of the first six public professors of the Islâm, we can scarcely hesitate to believe that the *very earliest* of Mohammad's accredited disciples were really the subjects of contemporaneous heart-stirrings, and his co-adjusters in embodying and defending the new doctrines. But, perhaps, nothing can more definitely indicate the yearnings of the age of which we write, than what Dr. Sprenger tells us of 'Amr ben 'Abasah, the first convert from the class of those who remained in scepticism until *after* Mohammad had received revelations.

"He relates himself what caused him to doubt the truth of idolatry. An Arabic tribe, which was in the habit of worshipping stones, happened to be without a god. One of their chiefs went in search of one. He found four stones which he admired, and selected the finest of them as a god for his clan to worship. As he proceeded, he found a much finer stone; and he took it, and cast away the former. Before he reached home, he met with a stone which pleased him better still, and he again exchanged the former for it. *This, he says, convinced me that idols can do neither good nor harm.*"

Still, decidedly the noblest types of two distinct phases of the Arab character in Mohammad's era are Abú Bakr and 'Omar. The former was a Qorayshite of the Taym family, a generous, enterprising, and hospitable merchant-prince of the, in every sense, advancing city of the Ka'bah. Though not without a certain tact and cleverness, he was one of those few men who can submit themselves to guidance which the sense of their own deficiencies recommends to them. This trait of character, combined with wealth and liberality, and remarkable perseverance, rendered Abú Bakr a more valuable administrator in the *Propaganda* of his day, than he might have proved with much more splendid parts and resources of genius. For, from it he learned to venerate his more sublimely-gifted friend, and threw himself more completely upon the transaction of the ideas *he* recommended. His conviction of God's unity was perhaps among the earliest

established in the *Haram*, and his acknowledgement of *Mohammad's* mission may even have been simultaneous with that of *Khadyjah* or of *Waraqah*. From that moment his singular constancy and zeal began to designate him as the *ciddyq*, or bosom-friend, of the prophet, with whom he lived in constant intercourse and amiable sympathies during the heart-wearing struggles of the Transition Period.

"The faith of *Abú Bakr* is," says Dr. Sprenger, "in my opinion the greatest guarantee of the sincerity of *Mohammad* in the beginning of his career; and he did more for the success of the *Islam* than the prophet himself. His having joined *Mohammad* lent respectability to his cause; he spent seven-eighths of his property, which amounted to forty thousand dirhams, or a thousand pounds, when he embraced the new faith, towards its promotion at *Makkah*; he continued the same course at *Madynah*; six of the earliest and most talented and respectable converts who joined *Mohammad* did so at his persuasion, and they had evidently been prepared by him long before the mission. * * * * * These again induced their friends to acknowledge *Mohammad* as a prophet; so that the group of early converts, which was headed by *Abú Bakr*, may be estimated at twelve or thirteen men, endowed with extraordinary firmness, energy, and talents, and most of them set up in business and wealth. This dozen of men, (to whose number we must add *'Omar*), were, as long as *Mohammad* was alive, his principal advisers; and after his death they founded an empire which surpassed that of the *Romans*. Those who call these men hot-headed fanatics must take fanaticism as synonymous with wisdom and perseverance. We find that in all their actions they were guided by the most consummate prudence and by cool reflection; their objects were in most cases noble, and the means which they employed were rarely objectionable."

As we entertain a becoming jealousy for the character of *Abú Bakr*, we may be allowed to mention our hope that the circumstance introduced from *Gagnier* by *Washington Irving*, (that seeing, in a large assembly at *Makkah* before which *Mohammad* had related his "Nocturnal Journey," some marvelling, others doubting, and the *Qorayshites* laughing it to scorn, he "roundly vouched for the truth of it,") is fabulous. It is true that *Caussin De Perceval* relates the same anecdote from an original source; but that source, the *Turykh Khamys*, is no earlier than the middle of the tenth century after the *Hijrah*, and is compiled from documents which, in Dr. Sprenger's opinion, "must be used with great distrust." His sanction of the betrothal of his little daughter *Ayesha*, then a child of six years old, to *Mohammad*, who must have been at least forty-seven, has always appeared to us the most objectionable point in his history prior to his *Khalifat*, as it did, beyond all question, morally ruin one whose great capacities might have elevated her to a very high position in the long line of remarkable women. As it was, and as might

have been expected, her influence with her husband was never used discreetly; and though a flow of animal spirits, perhaps beyond example, did relieve the miseries of so unsuitable a home, yet is there too much reason to fear that her endurance of it was not without intermissions, and that her faithfulness was far from unassailable. Thus, for all his passion for her, and her own extraordinary parts, there cannot be a doubt that, both by example, and by incitation to idle frivolities, she indulged, and furnished an extenuation for, her husband's sensualities, and was perhaps the most pernicious of all instruments in his downward career. And, considering how each must needs have acted on the other, we are prepared to find her, in her later days, "one of the most artful, intriguing, and cruel women that ever disgraced her sex."

'Omar ben Khattâb,* for two years after Mohammad's first public preaching, was the staunchest upholder of his country's superstitions and the bitterest persecutor of the Islâm. We find him resolved to murder its Arch-priest, while assembled with his disciples, in the house of al-Arqam, on Mount Cafâ for prayer and exposition. But being warned of the vengeance of the Hashimites and the Zohraïtes, expiable only with his own blood, he was appeased and brought to entertain a controversy. He was thus advised of the apostacy of his own sister and her husband, who had early imbibed the sentiments of his father, Zayd the Sceptic. He therefore transferred his vengeful purposes to them, and hurried to their dwelling. There he found Khabbâb, one of the six earliest disciples of the prophet, expounding the Qorân. "What are you muttering now," asked 'Omar, "I fear you have apostatized." With this he rushed towards his brother-in-law, who made extenuations for their act, and wounded his sister on her intervention. "*Ours—not yours,*" she said, fallen and bleeding, "*is the true religion—there is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet.*" His heart was touched—hardly could he be reconciled to wait for the Qorân he asked her for, till she had washed off her stains, and then, having read fourteen verses, he called Khabbâb from the concealment to which he

* Khattâb b. Nofayl, the father of 'Omar, was, it may be recollected, both the uncle and half-brother of Zayd b. 'Amr; Zayd 'Omar having inherited from his father Nofayl, his second widow, and the mother of Khattâb; and she subsequently becoming the mother of Zayd. 'Omar, therefore, would be the second cousin of his sister's husband Sa'yid b. Zayd. These singular connexions appear to have had great effect in extending the Moslim faith in the illustrious Qorayshite house of Adyy.

had betaken him in his alarm, and accompanying him to the house of al-Arqam, professed the faith. From that time all secrecy in propagating the Islām was at an end. The Ka'bah was thrown open to disciples of the new faith, and in a very short period the number of converts was doubled.

The accession of so bold and decisive a hero was unquestionably of the greatest value to Moḥammad. And he had the prudence to recognize this, and confided to his new ally the whole practical detail of propagandism. It scarcely, in our minds, admits of dispute, that the moderation of the Qorayshites towards the Madynah Pilgrims who had consorted with Moḥammad at Aqabah just previous to the Hijrah, was rather from the terror which the wrath of 'Omar excited, than from any doubt as to who among those pilgrims they were who favoured the now ascendant cause. And to the same co-operation may, we conceive, be traced the determination to appeal to the sword as an instrument of conversion. The firmer tone of Moḥammad under the efficient leading of 'Omar, may be gathered from the following anecdote which Dr. Sprenger relates from Zamakhshārī :—

“ The Thaḡyfites said to the prophet, we will not submit to thy orders unless thou grantest us certain privileges, of which we may boast before other Arabs;—viz. that we shall pay no tithes, that we shall not be obliged to go to war for the religion, nor to prostrate ourselves in praying; that usury which we may make on others be our property, but usury which others make on us be void; and that we shall have the idol at Lat one year longer, and not be obliged to break it with our own hands at the expiration of the year; and that thou shalt defend us against any who may invade the valley of Wajj, or attempt to cut down our trees; and if the Arabs ask thee, why hast thou made this agreement? Say, God has ordered me to enter into it. They brought him the deed, and he dictated, ‘ In the name of the most merciful God, this is the document of agreement between Moḥammad, the messenger of God, and the Thaḡyfites, that they shall not be called upon to pay tithes, nor to assist in war.’ When this was written, they said, ‘ and not to prostrate themselves.’ The prophet remained silent, and they said to the writer—‘ write! and not to prostrate themselves.’ The writer looked at the prophet. ‘Omar stood up and drew his sword, and said ‘ You have filled the heart of our prophet with contagion; may God fill your hearts with fire.’ They replied, ‘ We are not talking to thee; we are speaking with Moḥammad.’ Then the verse of the Qurān 17. 75. was revealed. ‘ They nearly succeeded in misleading thee from what we have revealed to thee, and in causing thee to invent something else in our name; but at the right moment a friend reprehended thee.’ ”

We must here mention that notwithstanding the several and considerable merits of Mr. Miles's Tragedy, he can, in our opinion, never be forgiven the exceeding injustice which he has done to the characters of Abú Bakr and of 'Omar. He has represented the former as cold, calculating, and inde-

cisive; and the latter as the most selfish, hypocritical, and cowardly of impostors. Never before was such violence done to truth in the parole of a play. Take, for instance, the following morsel of dialogue, the *time* being immediately before the Hijrah :—

Omar. Sophian or Mohammad?—*Neutral hitherto,
We now must choose our party, or incur
The enmity of both.*

Abubeker. I'm most unhappy :
False to the dead, if I embrace Sophian ;
False to the living, if I join Mohaminad.

Om. False to the living—how ?

Abub. By sacrificing
Myself and family.

Om. Listen, Abubeker,

(Aside). [*If I appear the proselyte, he follows
In downright earnest.*] I have heard from those
Whose reverend hairs stood vouchers for their truth,
That at Mohammad's birth a flood of light
Enveloped Syria ; that Sawa's lake
Congealing, turned to sparry adamant ;
That in the royal Persian's rocking towers
The sacred fire went out—

Abub. Indeed !

Om. *(Aside)* [*It works.*] Ay, more ; fresh from the womb, he knelt and prayed
Clasping his little hands devoutly.

Abub. Strange !

Om. *(Aside)* [*Rather !*] Shail I confess it, Abubeker?—
Behold a Moslem ! Start not—ask your heart, &c., &c.
Is it not weary of idolatry—&c., &c., &c.

Abub. But can Mohammad be indeed inspired ?

Om. What else but inspiration can produce
The Koran's dulcet verse?—no mortal pen
Such superhuman sweetness ever dropped.

Abub. Grant him inspired, but still *we* peril much
In joining him.

The scene at Madynah, just previous to the Battle of Badr, though of very considerable picturesque effect, is, if possible, even more extravagant, 'Omar is made to quail, and Mohammad to detect him quailing, and to surmise that "he has a plan, and plays a part" which needs be "watched;" and Ayesha, a child of nine years old, who had been betrothed from her sixth year, is brought in veiled, and then implored by Mohammad to

"remove
The envious curtain, and permit his eye
To linger where his thoughts so long had nestled."

as though he had never gazed ere that moment on her whom he may, in all likelihood, have dandled in his arms. Can it be doubted that poetry is defeated of her high purpose when she is made so exceeding an aggressor against historical truth, for no better reason than the merely problematical exigencies of dramatic effect? Mr. Miles's last-named incorrectness is only ill disguised by the trick of making Ayesha, in opposition to all chronicles, "a virgin in her fifteenth year." Had he never heard of the child's own story, that without her knowing the purpose, her mother led her in from her swing and washed her face; and having made some change in her apparel, (her confederates the while whispering "a lucky girl you are,") sent her straight off to the prophet's dwelling?

The character of Abú Tālib, who, though never a convert to the Islām, yet was intimately linked with the career of Mohāmmad, as his chief defence against the threatened vengeance of the Qorayshites, seems to deserve a brief notice. It may excite surprise that the innovations of the day produced no wider mischief than a succession of plots against the life of their promoter, and that, in the height of party spirit, Arabia remained unstained by civil warfare. This must be attributed to the inviolability of the Bedouin law enjoining the revenge of violence by which a relative had fallen, on his relatives, even to the third generation. It is certain that the Islām, as soon as it became important enough to excite much apprehension among the advocates of the waning superstitions, had already at least one adherent in nearly every Makkian family, whose fall every relative within the *Khomsch** must revenge, and therefore any general émeute against deserters from the ancient worship and ceremonial would have set the hands of the still consentient citizens against each other. And the same law which was such a safeguard to the commonwealth operated with equal effect for the protection of Mohāmmad as an individual. We have already observed under what multiplied instigations Abú Lahab at length prevailed on himself to withdraw the protection which he owed his brothers' son. Abú Tālib displayed a

* "The right of the *thār*, or blood-revenge, rests within the *khomsch*, or fifth generation, those only having a right to avenge a slain parent, whose fourth lineal ascendant is, at the same time, the fourth lineal ascendant of the person slain; and, on the other side, only those male kindred of the homicide are liable to pay with their own for the blood shed, whose fourth lineal ascendant is at the same time the fourth lineal ascendant of the homicide. The present generation is thus comprised within the limits of the *khomsch*. Burckhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. i., p. 150

yet nobler perseverance. He was the eldest son of his father, 'Abd al-Mottalib, to whom, as his heir and representative, his father had, on his death-bed, commended his orphan grandson; and no subsequent disagreement or advantage could induce him to sacrifice his trust. His example acted upon the whole of the Mottalibites, who being all prepared to avenge the murder of their relative, though in their eyes an apostate, no mischief could remove Mohamamad without entailing the sacrifice of the whole house of Hâshim. Entreaties and menaces were successively employed to divert Abû Talib from his lawful duty; but when implored either to make a convert of his nephew, or to compromise him, he evaded; and when threatened with extremities in case of his perseverance in protecting him, though for an instant he may appear to falter from his purpose, by sending for his nephew, and setting forth the pain and the danger of the mission he had undertaken; yet, no sooner did he hear that nephew's solemn asseveration that he would, God willing, succeed or perish though sun and moon in their courses be arrayed against him, than his fortitude was re-assured, and he bade him preach and be safe. The recusants to the Islâm visited him a third time, with a youth of good family and prepossessing appearance, whom they offered in exchange for the nephew, after whose blood they thirsted. The temptation was a considerable one, for whereas Mohamamad was already in the decline of life, this youth might still add many scions for the guardianship of the stock intô which he might be adopted. Abû Talib, nevertheless, received the proposal with indignation, and henceforth kept a keener eye upon his kinsman. The same night that kinsman was missing. He assembled all the Hâshimite and the Mottalibite youth, and marched them, with drawn swords, to the Ka'bah. There, haranguing them to do their duty, he bade each single out as his forman a chief of the Qorayshites. They were ready for the onset, when the voice of Mohamamad's faithful servant was heard, proclaiming his master alive. "I must see him," said Abu Talib, "ere I return homeward." That servant brought him from his covert, in the house of al-Arqam; and his uncle renewed his guarantee to protect him. Next morning, taking the prophet by the hand, and escorting him to the Ka'bah, followed by the Hâshimites and the Mottalibites, he bade them there uncover the swords they had beneath their mantles, and warned the Qorayshites of the destruction he had doomed for them, had they succeeded in compassing their conspiracy against his nephew.

We have now followed Dr. Sprenger through many of the principal points of his first fasciculus, instituting, by the way, a tolerably large comparison between his labors, and those of the only two scholars besides himself whom we know to have submitted the life of Mo/hammad to any severe critical tests. And we are much mistaken if we have not fairly made out that we are indebted to him, both for a vast increase in our knowledge of that most extraordinary man, and for the correction of many errors which have led all his European predecessors, as well as many oriental biographers, into untenable hypotheses. For these services we surely owe him gratitude enough to forgive the minor blemishes which are more or less prominent in the bulk of what is still only a little book, and which, being so little, and withal on so noble and important a theme, and illustrated by a scholarship so copious and exhaustive as to excite as much of wonder as of admiration, ~~it will~~ ever be a matter for regret that it has been presented to the world in, technically speaking, a somewhat unpromising form. Though; on the whole, and considering that the English is not his mother tongue, there are passages, some of which we have quoted, which speak highly for Dr. Sprenger's command of its idiom, yet in some passages where accuracy was most essential, the volume is, we are constrained to say, occasionally so obscure as to be unravelled only by close attention, and with considerable difficulty. In the fourth page, note 4, we see it announced that that unappreciably valuable discovery, the modern origin of the Ka'bah, which, combined with Dr. Sprenger's further scrutinies of the origin of the miracles, and of the religion, brings that which before only filled us with wonder and doubt irresoluble, under the ordinary laws of historical investigation, "*is established by some passages in the appendix;*" and at once we look, with all the excitement of curious expectation, to the end of the volume, and the end of the book, and the end of the chapter, each in due succession, and, as though there was a design to exaggerate our disappointment, no *appendix* do we find anywhere. Earlier still, in the second page we are told that "the whole of the first book "shall be devoted to "an enquiry into the circumstances which foreboded the rise of a new religion in Arabia, and which gave it shape;"—and lo! we find the third chapter of this first book devoted to what had better found a prolegomenon, *The Sources of the Biography of Mo-hammad*. It is the more remarkable that this analysis has been so oddly put away, as, notwithstanding that it can aspire

to scarce any higher name than a catalogue raisonné, and gives us scarce a clue to any one of the critical canons which have guided Dr. Sprenger in his estimation of authorities, in an undertaking which has called for, and which we believe, generally speaking, has exacted, the nicest delicacy and acumen, it is still among the most original, as, for the direction of other scholars, it is certainly the most valuable fragment of his labours on the era of Mohammad. We shall return to this chapter in another spirit presently. It is not to be disputed that a most essential point has been gained in the accurate discrimination now made between the actual and the legendary history; and it is as certain that Dr. Sprenger has been as careful about the materials of his legendary as of his historical chapters, and has presented nothing which is not "ancient, characteristic, and generally believed," often as an article of faith. Still, as several of these traditions were already pretty well known to the curious, from Gagnier and Weil, and the interesting translation of the *Hayât al-qolûb* lately published in America by Mr. Merrick, and also to less ambitious enquirers through the several popular biographies, we almost regret their interruption of the picture of "stubborn reality" which the historical chapters present; and we should have considered the unity of the work better sustained if Dr. Sprenger had advanced us, in his first fasciculus somewhat beyond the Hijrah, and had given us a critical résumé of the traditions in another volume. There are a few sentences which do not appear to us in keeping. That in the last paragraph of p. 22, about the "protection of Mohammad by *Abû Jahl*" we cannot understand, except *Abû Jahl* be inadvertently printed for *Abû Lahab*, as the affray between *Abû Jahl* the Qorayshite, and *Hanzah*, Mohammad's uncle, is well known. But the sentiment which we object the most to, and the severity of which we must think is as undeserved, as it is discordant with much and able in discrimination of his character, which we have already quoted from Dr. Sprenger, is contained in the following extract:—

"They" (the early converts) "were not his tools, but his constituents. He clothed the sentiments which he had in common with them in poetical language; and his malady gave divine sanction to his oracles. Even when he was acknowledged as the messenger of God, 'Omar had as much or more influence on the development of the Islâm as Mohammad himself. He sometimes attempted to over-rule the convictions of these men, but he succeeded in very few instances. The Islâm is not the work of Mohammad; it is not the doctrine of the Impostor; it embodies the faith and the sentiments of men who, for their talents and virtues, must be considered as the most distinguished of their nation,

and who acted under all circumstances, so faithful to the spirit of the Arabs, that they must be regarded as their representatives. The Islām is therefore the offspring of the spirit of the time, and the voice of the Arabic nation. And it is this which made it victorious, particularly among nations whose habits resemble those of the Arabs, like the Berbers and Tartars. *There is, however, no doubt that the Impostor has defiled it by his immorality and perverseness of mind, and that most of the objectionable doctrines are his.*"

We must say that we consider this paragraph wanting in those just limitations which are due to the memory of at length a very misguided, certainly, and a very unscrupulous—but from first to last a very remarkable, and, for the first years of his public life, a very great man.* It seems to us to reduce Mohammad very nearly to the level of his latter-day caricature, Joe Smith, the Mormon. We are no hero-worshippers, and would be among the last to deny the abyss of deceit and delusion into which Mohammad finally fell; still we think that if ever a man was the victim of circumstances, it was he. We have before written fully of his unfortunate alliance with Ayesha—unfortunate, both for him and for her; inveigling, as it did, *both* into that sin which beyond all others saps the principle of virtue and integrity. When once the sanctity of domestic life is invaded, there is no resort open but to a routine of duplicity under which the heart grows callous. This miserable contract was, in our opinion, the beginning of the end. Most pernicious was it, from its very initiation; for, whereas there is no reasonable doubt that for the five and twenty years of Mohammad's married life with Khadyjah, the purity of his hearth was inviolate; no sooner had he become betrothed to Ayesha than he launched upon a vortex of licentiousness. His downward course commenced before he brought his youthful bride to his home, in his espousal of Sawda, which, though admissible by the Arab code, was certainly a step in retrogression from his long-sustained fidelity. How far he was duped into his connection with Ayesha, (as a man of his extreme sensibility easily might be) either by his own desire to strengthen his connexion with Abū Bakr, or by the stratagems of her mother, (who, by Ayesha's own account, was anxious for the union,) we cannot say; but the fatal consequences of his rashness cannot be denied. Dr. Sprenger elsewhere tells us that "many of his arbitrary ordinances can be distinctly traced to Ayesha." We have already quoted the clear and incontrovertible account of the origin of the miracles; and we will here add another equally excellent and satisfactory passage illustrative of a similar view.

"Speculation made early demands upon the Islām, for which its founder had not fully provided, either because he was unable to do so, or because he and his contemporaries did not feel the want. Soon after Mohammad's death the catechumens wished to know whether he had authenticated his mission by miracles, similar to those wrought by the prophets from whose ranks they were invited to desert? Whether his advent had been foretold? Whether the origin of the Islām was consistent with the notions which they entertained of the creation, fallen condition, and salvation of man? Whether it was eternal and catholic? Whether there were guarantees for the sacredness of the ceremonies which they were called upon to perform at the Ka'bah? The apostles of the new faith were anxious to satisfy their disciples on these and similar points; for how should a proud Arab allow that his prophet was inferior to any other? Moreover, gross notions of a rude age were to be covered and mystified; and questions on which Mohammad had laid but little weight were to be developed. To supply what seemed to be wanting, pious fraud assisted imagination, by furnishing arguments for its creations. Well-calculated fictions were believed in the age of faith, and many of them *became dogmas for succeeding centuries.*

"In this manner a mythology grew up during the first two centuries after Mohammad; and though *his doctrine or facts form merely the nucleus*, it must be considered as an essential part of the Musalmān religion. Later ages have much added to it; but their fictions are arbitrary and extravagant; they want unity of purpose, and bear the character of *a foreign addition to and corruption of the Islām. In the primitive age, the Musalmāns were led, by a love of truth, to faith; at a later period, a blind faith has induced them to disregard truth.*"

Now, we very much err if Dr. Sprenger do not, in these last quotations, *himself* attribute, and in our opinion with great justice and consistency, very many indeed of the most objectionable "dogmas" of Mohammadanism to Ayesha, and to the successors of Mohammad. Unquestionably, for the cruelties and sensualities of Mohammad's later life no reprobation can be too severe; and whatever extenuations one might be inclined to make for his derelictions from truth and duty and rational conviction after the Hijrah, in consideration of his disappointments and persecutions, and our common proneness to fall under temptation, yet what is of itself of the nature of imposture continues so in defeat of all extenuations. We freely allow that he was, to some considerable extent by inventing, and to a still greater extent by conniving at, the propagation of a system of fraud and superstition, *an* impostor and *a* false prophet. But that the sum of his history, fairly cast up, makes such an aggregate as to rank him, *en tout et par tout*, as the impostor and the false prophet, we believe to be a mere unworthy concession to vulgar prejudice. We cannot forget that for seven years at least, and how much longer we know not, he silently and secretly, and with the deepest and most devout heart-

stirrings tried by searching to find out the Almighty to perfection. So profound and continuous were his strivings with this great argument as to bring him to the verge of madness and of suicide. We, who have been habituated from our mothers' breasts to call upon the name of the one living and true God, can form no conception of the struggles with which that idea is worked up to in an atmosphere of polytheism; and such an atmosphere did Mohammad breathe, for all the still small whisperings of a renovating air, of which however much he may have inhaled, we may be certain that he inhaled it to his "*disappointment*," and therefore "*began to form a system of faith of his own*." What an effort this must have cost him, and from how sincere emotions, and prejudices hardly superseded, it must have originated, those will understand who can appreciate that truly philosophical episode in one of the earlier books of the *Excursion*, in which the Poet reasons upon the genesis of the pastoral idololatry. We cannot forget that for many subsequent years, and under the bitterest personal persecutions, and the involuntary exile of the large body of his converts, he was the champion of the Divine Unity; preaching it publicly and purely at Makkah; "attending the fairs of 'Okátz, Majannah, Dzú-l-Majáz; proceeding several stages to meet the pilgrims to the Ka'bah, and accompanying them again when they returned home, to convey to them the message with which he was charged by God;" and though it is true that the "*labours under which he gave birth to a new religion*" ended in his frenzied, yet mysterious, visions, it is well worth the remark which, as we have before said, Dr. Sprenger has so ably passed on the matter, that Goethe has as it were prophetically discerned the absoluteness of such "*angels' visits*," to the perceptions of such an intellect. It is not proper to scrutinize too exactly the shapings of that intellect, and to pronounce upon *its* religious faithfulness or unfaithfulness, by the answer of *their* consistency or inconsistency; for the mind which has once incurred a morbid susceptibility to phantoms has at best very transient—rather perhaps has never any—recurrences of absolutely normal sanity; whereas increase of appetite for unreal impressions grows on what it feeds upon. Doubtless it is a very *lamentable* thing that Mohammad, who seems to have been peculiarly gifted for the comprehension of the nature of God, should not have cultivated a sterner self-control, and should not have resisted the first impulses to sensuous delusions; but this does not shew him

to have *imposed upon* any but himself. And further, in the mind diseased, and especially in the monomaniac, the acquisitions of a former sane state form a nucleus round which the fancies of imbecility attach themselves and gather; and at length all assume a texture so homogeneous, that it becomes impossible for him under their delusion to separate the actual from the imaginary, or to persuade himself that all is not *alike* actual. And so the true and false become so intimately blended, as to exact, for each equally, the suspicion of the analytical habit, and the reception of the credulous. And thus a vast amount of error is incurred on either side—for on the one the delusions of the fancy are set down as the perversions of the understanding; and on the other the phantasmagoria of the disordered intellect are regarded as the combinations of a healthy suggestiveness.

So, to a great extent, we believe, has it been with *Mohammad* and his remains. The fanaticism which tintured, more or less, the whole of his intellectual life, and which became the rather conspicuous when his purposes called out the latent activities of his system, rendered him, practically, a monomaniac in his religious idea. He had acquired, both by investigation and instruction, a very deep insight into the unity of the Divine nature. Of this he persuaded himself that he was the appointed herald to a very wayward and perverse generation, in which persuasion he grew confirmed, by a succession of certainly not incredible hallucinations. But he found that a mission so convincingly established in his own mind, and in the minds of some few, of studies, or of constitution, more or less congenial to his own, did not make that way among the people before whom he stood as their designated preacher and teacher, which he firmly believed was due both to God and to himself. The portents which he revealed to his familiars were exaggerated, in repeated rehearsal, with more transcendent particulars; and he perhaps, was thus led step by step to more extraordinary credulity. For it is well-known that there is hardly any exhaustive limit to what a deluded phantasy may gradually persuade itself to believe in. How much of the marvellous amount of legend of which he must be considered, to a greater or less extent, the promoter, he *may* have believed, as a fanatic; and how much he *must* have claimed acquiescence in, as an impostor, it is perhaps beyond the power of man to say. But we do cordially trust, on the several accounts of his long and patient yearnings, and his indefatigable ministrics at

Makkah, and the gradual process of his own deterioration, and the doubt which exists on how far he was, singularly, the responsible author of this, and the admitted influences of others, and of a later age, in establishing the current canons of the Islâm, that there is no case proven on which we must yield our convictions that Mohâmmad was not till a very late period, nor till very much under thrall, *simply*, and for the sake of self, an impostor; and that for a long time he was, simply, and for the sake of others, a great man.

As to Dr. Sprenger's observation that Mohâmmad's "notions of the Divinity are far from being as pure as they are generally believed to be," his God not being "the result of abstraction," and merely "possessing those epithets which man covets, in a superlative degree," we venture to remark that although, most assuredly, Mohâmmad only furnishes one more instance of the impossibility of searching to perfection Him, to comprehend Whom is higher than heaven and deeper than hell, yet we regret that we must wait for some future portion of Dr. Sprenger's labours before we can completely understand the qualifications which the results of his reading may have led him to set on Mohâmmad's apprehensions of the Deity, in the different stages of his career. This important subject *has*, it appears to us, been very ably discussed by Weil, from whom we derive the following observations:

"The change in inward tone, as well as in outward circumstances, which came over Mohâmmad, after his Hijrah, explains the striking difference of exposition observable between those sûrah's of the Qorân which were composed at Makkah, and those which were composed at Mady-nah. In opposition to the idolaters of Makkah, he used to exhibit apprehensions so lively of the one almighty and all-righteous Allah, that not only are his thoughts earnest and elevated, but his language is vigorous and florid, and his expression noble and energetical. God's creative power ranges through all the wonders of Nature, in his poetical imaginings. The earth, and all that it produces, the heaven with its radiant orbs, the boundless sea with the ships upon it, are all described as the works of God. In this department of eloquence he will frequently bear comparison with Isaiah himself: for here was he not merely convinced, but spiritually operated on by Him whom he bore witness to. Who can fail to distinguish in the following verses, (even admitting that they can make no pretension to originality) a pious and a God-pervaded mind!

" 'It is God Who divides the seeds and the kernels, Who brings life out of death, and death out of life. He is [the true] God,—how can ye be so imbecile? He lets the morning's red break forth; He appoints the night for repose; the sun and the moon to measure the times. The stars hath He made, for guides through the darkness on the arid earth and on the sea. Such clear tokens have we rendered to the prudent. He it is Who hath produced you from a single man, and Who hath assigned

[the fruit of the body] a sure resting-place. In that do they who ponder find a clear token. He it is Who raises water from the heaven, by which the plants of all kinds do germinate, and all the herbs, and the thick-set corn, the palms with boughs heavy laden, the gardens with grapes and olives and granates of various sorts. Watch but these fruits, how they wax and ripen : they are token enough for a believing people.' *Súrah* vi, 96-100.

"Mohammad finds as rich veins for the display of his poetical gifts in the doctrine of God's righteousness, and on the discoveries of the day of judgment, of paradise, and of hell. Here his imagination soars above all which he had learned from the Talmudic traditions ; and he is as happy in the description of the innumerable pangs which overtake sinners, as in the representation of the blisses and joys which are the portion of the faithful. But he moves less grandly and sublimely in these provinces of eloquence, because he commits himself too much to individualities, and dips his pencil too deeply in sensual colours. The following *súrah* represents him in his true Arabian identity as a threatener and a promiser, as he frequently styles himself :—

"When the day of resurrection dawns, none will longer deny Him Who putteth down [one] and setteth up [another] ; the earth will tremble ; the mountains will crumble and pass away in dust ; and mankind will be separated into three classes :—the company on the right hand—(and how blessed will it be—the company on the right hand !)—the company on the left—(and ah ! how wretched it—the company on the left !)—and the eminences, who have surpassed all [in good deeds]. These stand next to God in a garden fraught with joy. Most of them belong to an earlier age—some few to these latter days. They sit opposite each other on cushions brodered in gold. Immortal youths encircle them, with tankards and chalices and beakers of wine neither producing giddiness nor dulling the faculties ; with fruits of richest flavour and fowl in abundance. Maidens too with large dark eyes, [pure] as treasured pearls, are the rewards they reap for their works. No nation word do they hear—nor any cry—but only Hail ! Hail !—And the company on the right hand—(how blessed is the company on the right hand !)—reposes on raised couches under thornless lotusses and plantains in full fruitage, where the shade never leaves them, and the water flows incessantly, and the fruit fails not. And for the company on the right have We created lovely huries, who remain virgins perpetually, and, like their companions, wither not with age. Many are there in this class, both of the former and of the later times.—And the company on the left—(woe unto the company on the left !)—in scorching blasts and seething water, and the shade of murky clouds,—hideous to behold and never cooling. For they have already lived unto their lusts and persevered in their gross iniquities. They have said, when we have died, and are but bones and dust, shall we rise again ? And shall our oldest ancestors ? Speak ! Truly the former and the latter generations shall be summoned together on the appointed day. Then will the lost, whom the prophets have named liars, satiate their appetites on the Zakum-tree,* and plunge as a thirsting camel into seething water ;—this is their portion in the day of judgment.'—*Súrah* lvi, 1-58.

* The Zakum is a tree which grows in the depth of hell, whose fruit is like a demon's head, and of which, when sinners have eaten, their thirst increases seven-fold.—*Súrah* xxxvii, 65. *seq.*

“ Besides the descriptions of the Divine attributes, and the exhortations to address prayer to Him singularly, as well for His sole prerogative, as that we be delivered from the pains of hell and made partakers of the bliss of Eden, the histories and the legends of the ancient prophets, which are conformed with more or less fidelity to the Jewish and the Christian traditions, occupy a tolerably large part of the Makkian *sûrahs*. *Mohammad's* object was, in part to attract the people through these graceful narratives; and in part to introduce and to throw light upon his own mission; but principally, by the fate of former infidels to warn the Makkian idolators of the wrath of heaven. This part of the *Qorân*, the bulk of which we must attribute to the last five years of his residence in Makkah, is interspersed indeed with passages of much poetical merit, but a decrease of the mere poet's vocation is observable, and withal a vast effort to become a master of those exotic materials which the Jews and Christians had preserved.

“ But whereas, during the former part of his residence at Makkah, the *poetical*, and during the latter, the *prophetical* element was predominant; in Madynah, where he was no more a persecuted preacher of new doctrines, but the head of a political and religious faction, the *oratorical* element came into the foreground. *Mohammad*, in truth, is as great as an orator as he is as a poet; but being enslaved so entirely to a positive line of proceeding, he could no more exercise his vocation with freedom. He must, moreover, from a growing want of self-assurance in case he elevate himself above the common range of intellects, cover the pressure on the inner man with an affected vivacity, and *the truth he felt so deeply with empty sophisms*; and it is obvious to remark from his style of composition, that his thoughts no longer flowed warmly from the heart, but were the creatures of a frigid ratiocination. Polemical discussions against those in Madynah who were more or less observant of the Jewish law, and against the Christians in Arabia, were not so easy as against the heathen Makkians. To the former, he knew not what to object, except that they honoured Ezra and the Rabbins as gods; to the latter he could object only that they raised Christ to an elevation similarly divine; but inasmuch as, by his own admission, neither in the one religion nor in the other was the point objected to a fundamental error, it should have been enough for him to reconstruct a pure Judaism or Christianity. But now he was no longer a frail sinner whom God Himself must be frequently warning not to forsake the beaten path; and no longer a prophet with the simple mission to lead back the Jewish and the Christian worlds to that unsophisticated religion which Abraham practised; but he would be the propounder of a new political and religious code, the last and the most excellent which God had vouchsafed to man. Now, whether treating of the positive topics of his present vocation, or *recurring to the themes of his earlier ministry*, he could not, for fear lest he betray himself, longer follow the suggestions of his mind and indulge in that freedom of discourse which was natural to him; but every word must be weighed and calculated, for he was no longer impelled by the Spirit of God, but by simple Egoism. To maintain this, we need not resort to that verse of the *Qorân* which he published in the Name of Heaven to prove the innocence of his wife; and to marry her whom his adopted son had put away; and to stock his harem to what extent he pleased; and to appropriate an undue share of spoil. The very first drops of blood, for whose shedding in the holy month he asserted the sanction of that Name, do declare him another man, in whom the mire of this world had gathered about the sacred flame of prophecy.”

We should have been reluctant to abbreviate these very just and erudite remarks, (our only extract of any extent from a very learned and a very satisfactory book) though aware that a considerable part may not be considered exactly pertinent to the idea which suggested reference to them. However, they seem to us at least to point to the enquiry, whether *Mohammad's* views of the Divine nature did not undergo a material change, with that capital revolution in his intellectual organism which the sentences above quoted so convincingly represent. *Prima facie*, perhaps, it is hardly conceivable that the result of years of meditation and abstraction could be an archetypal monster, with the ponderous accretion of ninety-nine attributes; and we own ourselves, until competent facilities of investigation shall convince us otherwise, inclined to the presumption that the elaborate complexity of organism, which certain of *Mohammad's* sentences declare him to have attributed to the Divine nature, may have been an after-thought devised in his worst days, to distinguish his own pretensions from the prophecies of the ancient seers. Just as we know that the impious apostle of Mormonism (who, though on the vulgarest and most degraded scale, has still some points in common with *Mohammad* in his day of deepest degradation) contrived a gross and material Numen as the distinguished characteristic of his incredible assumptions.

There is just one other point, so singularly novel and curious, and withal so suggestive of deep thought and instructive comparison, that notwithstanding the length of this article, and the extent to which we have already drawn on Dr. Sprenger, we must quote it, before passing to the Bibliographical chapter. It presents the view which Ghazzālī, the Plato of the Musalmans, and the philosophical oracle of orthodox Cūfys, takes of revelation. After expounding, in language not so especially remarkable, the distinctions of the foetal mass, and the successive post-natal elaborations of the senses and faculties of feeling, sight, hearing, taste, discrimination (which he places at about the seventh year) and reason, he proceeds:—

“ But there is a phase in man's life, which is even higher than that of reason; an eye opens in his mind by which he sees mysteries, the future, and other things which are not within the reach of our reasoning powers, in the same manner as the notions acquired by reason are not within the grasp of the senses. This higher faculty is called *nabúwat*, prophecy. Some men of reasoning deny the existence of this higher faculty, and of its ideals, because they are not endowed with it; but their objections are as absurd as if a man born blind were to deny the existence of

colour, and the sense of seeing. A specimen of the faculty of prophecy in man are dreams, in which what will happen shows itself to him either clearly or allegorically. In the latter case an explanation of the dream is required. This ought to convince those who deny it of the existence of this faculty. We are also told that some men drop to the ground in a swoon, and they are like dead—the seeing, hearing, and other senses are sealed, and in this condition they behold the mysteries.”

We have not a doubt that research for which we have not now the means, on the analogies between the faculties here expounded, and the *σῶμα ψυχικόν* and *σῶμα πνευματικόν* of Saint Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, as expounded in Catholic antiquity, would be amply rewarded. The concluding sentence seems prepared expressly to meet what Dr. Sprenger has adduced from Wāqidy on the more violent of Mohāmmad's epileptic attacks; and is therefore, so far, a proof that such traditions were current in Ghazzāly's day. He proceeds to the expression of the most sublime estimate of the compass of the intuitive faculty, far, far beyond the farthest excesses of the most idealistic pseudo-Platonist; for he ascribes to it many discoveries in medicine, and in astronomy, which the researches of a thousand years could have scarce deduced from experience! By this faculty of intuition, in which Mohāmmad was without peer, Ghazzāly conceives him to have dived into the mysteries which he revealed. He attributes it to all Cūfys in an eminent degree, but does not commit himself to the disclosure that they cheer their solitude and blunt the edge of their fastings by opium and other stimulants, till often, at length, they succeed in inducing visitations of cataleptic insanity, “the highest degree of perfection in the ascetic life.”

Another point illustrated; and from another philosophical writer, appears to furnish another proof, in addition to those ordinately known, of the incorporation in the Moslim systems of a variety of painful doctrines and opinions, which, like many of the Christian heresies, must be traced to the philosophical Fargardt of the Zend Avesta. Much that is wild and romantic, as well in the Qorān, as in the speculations of several leaders of the various forms of Gnosticism which preceded it in point of time, has been merely transferred from writings of a far remoter era, which in all probability may have travelled westward from the schools of northern Hindustan, through the Indo-Bactrian sage Zerdusht. The sameness of element in the following passage, and in tenets which have been incorporated in several forms of Manichæism and Gnosticism, denotes that if the faith

of the Magians be the source of *any*, it must almost necessarily be the common source of *all*.

"Some philosophers go one step further than Ghazzaly, in explaining revelation. They identify the angel Gabriel, the messenger of God to *Mohammad*, with the highest heavenly sphere, or the ether, which, in their opinion, is an ocean of pure reason, and the demiurge from which the lower spheres of the heaven (each of which is an ocean of truth and intellect) emanate. By mortifying or subduing the flesh, the mind of man may succeed, during extatic moments, in stepping out of the bounds of individuality, and being merged in these oceans of intellect. The less perfect are merged in the lower spheres, and the more perfect in the higher. *Mohammad* had not only constant communications from Gabriel, the personification of the highest sphere, but in two trances he was absorbed into the Divinity itself. According to this opinion, the *Qorān* is a translation of the highest demiurge from reality into words."

We do not recollect whether the sentiment of these latter clauses has been transferred to any of the Christian heresies. But the whole is of a tone so peculiarly Indian as, in our idea, to go far towards the proof that if the Musalman philosophy be borrowed from the *Zend Avesta*, the source of *that* must be traced to the *Munis* of upper *Hindustan*.

Nothing now remains but that we notice Dr. Sprenger's Bibliography, and incomplete though this chapter be, and deficient in detail which might enable us to compare and balance the authorities profusely quoted in the body of the memoir, it still contains much to be grateful for in a department of learning which had not before been consulted by any one competent to examine it with the severity of modern critical standards. Among many pleasant tokens that the labors of more than one of the present generation of orientlists in India promise rich results, it is but just to remark that here we have a book, the fruit of long, and laborious, and patient research, the digest of voluminous reading, and itself the evidence and the proof of its author's conscientious scrutiny of every syllable which he proposes for the acceptance of his readers. And the number and variety of documents which Dr. Sprenger has made subservient to his studies, while they unquestionably exalt his authority over all his predecessors, are set forth with a simplicity, and an absence of all ostentation, the features of a considerate reserve and diffidence of pressing his own pretensions, and an amiable appreciation of the comparative disadvantages which only his personal opportunities have made surmountable.

Former biographers of *Mohammad* have relied exclusively on *Ibn Hishām's* version of the memoir by *Ibn Ishāq*. Though an elegant writer, this latter author was not deemed

authority by early teachers of the Islām, from his manifest design to accommodate his details to Christian notions, and the generally uncritical, and not unfrequently dishonest, arts by which he has glozed the traditions. His Editor, Ibn Hishām is even less trustworthy. The earlier author died A. H. 151; the later, A. H. 213.

Dr. Sprenger, convinced of the inadequacy of the earliest extant biographies, imposed on himself the vast labour of a critical collation of the traditions extant in the numerous canonical collections of the Sunnies and the Shiāhs, in the large and carefully constructed biography of Wāqidy, and in the Chronicles of Tabary. He then compared and tested his results with the *Khashshāf* of Zamakshāry, the most ancient commentary on the *Qorān* now in use; with three large works on the lives of the Companions of Moḥammad; and—perhaps most valuable of all—with certain documents and treatises of Moḥammad still in force at the time of Hārūn-al-Rashyd, and then collected; and with two early popular balladists, Hassān of Madynah and Abū-l-Faraj of Ispahan.

Though it be true that Moḥammad himself did not encourage the collection of his doctrines into books, but rather inculcated that they should live in the hearts and memories of the first chieftains of the Islām, who in their turn were to commit them to faithful men, who should be able to teach others also; yet there is reason to believe that he was not implicitly obeyed. One of his Companions bears his own testimony that he wrote down every word which he heard from the prophet; in which work, indeed, (when the *Qorayshites* would have prevented it) he states himself to have been commended by Moḥammad himself; and others appear to have followed his example, though to a less extent. At the end of the first century of the Hijrah, when only one who had heard Moḥammad remained alive, the reigning Khālīf issued a circular order that every authentic record of the prophet be taken down from the mouths of the *Tābi'ys* or pupils whom the Companions had collected into schools for the preservation of the genuine traditions. These *Tābi'ys* seem to have exercised great scrutiny in ascertaining the authenticity of the accounts committed to them; many of them making circuits through the great Moslim cantonments, for the express purpose of comparing the several extant versions of the traditions; and selecting, as the most authoritative, that particular account which was current nearest to the period of Moḥammad; for ascertaining which, the method adopted of tracing every tradition, geneologically, up to its ori-

ginal promulgator, afforded obvious facilities. Although, then, we possess no record of Mohammad of an earlier date than about a hundred years after the Hijrah, yet, considering that there had been previous chroniclers; and that the traditions were publicly taught in the seminaries of the Companions; and that the Tábi'ys were evidently anxious to avoid error; and that the traditions were so early digested into histories by men so competent, as Wàqidy (A. H. 207) and Tabary (A. H. 310); and that the presumption is always allowed to be against the accuracy of a tradition the links of whose promulgation are either incomplete, or not clearly traceable to a Companion; and above all, that the knowledge which has been obtained of the bias both of the Sunnies and of the Shiahs is such as to define the attempts which they may respectively be presumed to have made to render their several collections in conformity with their party tenets, and therefore is adequate to clear such traditions as have place in the collections of *both* sects, from the glosses of the one and of the other; we see no reason whatever why a scholar of Dr. Sprenger's ability, should not, as he himself expresses it, have so corrected the media as to make them almost achromatic.

At any rate thus much is evident, that he has subjected a large accumulation of materials, in excess of all those which have furnished his predecessors, to the true principles of critical analysis; and has been the first to direct his ingenuity and acumen to an exact discrimination between the actual and the traditional. Though, therefore, his eclecticism may not be faultless, and particular points, on some few of which we have hazarded perhaps a rash opinion, may still be open to discussion, the praise is his of having initiated the attempt to apply a process of severe and systematic examination to masses which he found congested in a chaos so crude and stubborn, that the historical and the legendary were seldom easily, and often only with extreme difficulty, distinguishable.

A FAREWELL TO ROMANCE.

BY SYLVANUS SWANQUILL.

Farewell! A long farewell—to thee, Romance!
 We may not meet as we have met before,
 Though yet the witchery of that downcast glance
 Enthralls my heart,—it must enthrall no more;
 Though yet the music of thy silver voice
 Rings in my ear,—it must no longer ring;
 The stern command of Duty bids us part,
 The moments hasten, and she grants us few;
 But ere thou speed'st where younger hearts rejoice,
 And ere I wander like a stricken thing
 Jostling and jostled in the world's wide mart,
 Fain would I murmur, 'mid my sighs, "Adieu."

Who hath not seen thee, Fair One, when the day
 Urges his coursers o'er the dappled clouds,
 Flit o'er the dewsprent lawns in green array!
 Who hath not seen thee, when the evening shrouds
 The landscape hushed, by skirt of forest wide
 Listening transfixed to echoes floating there,
 Pale as a statue and as motionless;
 Or kneeling by the margin of a stream,
 Wherein thine image might be dimly spied,
 While the winds dallied with thy bosom bare,
 And raised thy robes, and oft in wantonness,
 Rippled thy mirror, to destroy thy dream!

Who hath not seen thee in his chamber still
 At dead of night? For me, I've seen thee oft,
 When through the lattice came the moon-light chill,
 With incense from the garden borne aloft.
 The star of peace flamed ever on thy brow
 Just where the hair was parted,—and thy face—
 That pale and pensive face was aye serene,
 As a white lotus on its watery throne:
 One hand upheld a verdant cypress bough,
 The other, on thy lip with artless grace
 A finger prest,—while o'er thy head was seen
 Round yet apart,—a rainbow-tinted zone.

Yes, I have seen thee, many and many a night,
 But silent ever, and thine eyes have made
 (Those eyes where quiver passion's tear-drops bright,)

A deep impression on my heart, and laid
 A spell upon me that I may not rend ;
 A spell, that half unfits me for the strife,
 Recurring constant in the work-day world :
 Ah ! how I long to linger by thy side
 In pathless wilds, where leafy branches bend
 Each above each,—the busy hum of life
 Is never felt,—the contest-flag is furled,—
 And from his foes the wounded deer may hide !

It may not be ;—I dare not disobey
 The trumpet voice of Duty which I hear,
 With aching bosom, call me hence away,
 And bid me leave thee whom I love so dear.
 Therefore farewell—a long farewell ! Romance !
 We may not meet as we have met before,
 For oh ! My leisure hours can be but few.
 Yet when we meet what raptures shall there be,
 Upon some rare, rare holiday, by chance,
 Roving in gardens as I roved of yore,
 At evening when the stars began the blue
 And warbling birds awake to ecstasy.

And if we meet not,—if thou shun'st my sight,
 Scared at my world-worn brow and haggard look,
 Then shall I woo thee with the charms of night,
 And pore intently on some well loved book—
 Well loved of old, to be well loved no more !
 The varied melody of Shakspeare's shell,—
 The Dorick flute of Milton,—or the reed
 Of "sage and serious" Spenser ever dear,
 In breathless silence heard so oft before,
 By thee, and me, for thou confessed'st the spell ;
 Or what, though rare of late, thou loved'st to hear
 — The lute of Keats breathed low on lonely mead.

If time or care thine image should efface,
 The image deeply graven on my brain,
 And scenes seem dull, which once I loved to trace,
 And books, once prized, afford no balm to pain,

Where shall I seek to light the fire anew ?

How find Thee, Goddess of the peerless eyes ?

In mine own hearth,—and in the prattle sweet

Of children dear, and in their sunny glance,

And in their love so tender and so true,

A love that every morning magnifies—

Though parting now,—we thus may sometimes meet

And love each other as of old—Romance !

THE BENARES MAGAZINE.

JUNE, 1852.

I.

THE VALLEY OF THE INDUS.*

THE Company's most persevering *Khair-khwah* can desire our honourable Masters nothing better than a succession of able and diligent officers to explore the ground so efficiently broken by Lieutenant Richard Burton, of the Bombay Army. Truly, our enterprising fellow-sojourner, where so much remains to be done, is making the most of his position :—volume follows volume in rapid succession—each displaying considerable powers of learned research, and of pleasant, simple, graphic portraiture. Scarcely is so young a writer on subjects full of interest and of novelty so completely to the point, and so free from all little arts of pedantry ;—indeed the error, if it be one, is in the opposite extreme—there is always an *obvious* inclination, and often an *excessive* one, to pass by such detail as had been previously before the public. So it is in this volume on Sindh ; considering the immense interests which now centre in that territory, we confess our opinion that some fuller explication of its ancient annals than appears upon our author's pages would have been both acceptable and instructive ; obscure though we allow the history and geography of the ancient province to be. We will endeavour, as we proceed, in some

* SINDH, AND THE RACES THAT INHABIT THE VALLEY OF THE INDUS ; with Notices of the Topography and History of the Province. By RICHARD F. BURTON, Lieutenant, Bombay Army : Author of "Goa and the Blue Mountains," "A Grammar of the Multani Language," &c., &c. LONDON. ALLEN AND Co., 1851.

brief measure to supply this deficiency. For all the rest, we need only epitomise the volume before us; which we rejoice, "by the liberal patronage which the Hon. E. I. Company have ever been ready to extend to their servants," has not been destined to remain in the obscurity of manuscript. Politicians may differ on the rightfulness of our appropriation of unhappy Sindh—there may still be room for discussion on the justice of our americing the Talpur dynasty, to preserve the integrity of our Tripartite Treaty; and certainly no gentle eye can witness, as we have done, the fallen greatness of these wretched exiles, without acute sensibility to the bitterness of their doom. But the political question we shall waive altogether; and almost confine ourselves, after the method of our author, to historical and geographical points, and subjects interesting to the linguist and ethnographer, merely remarking by the way that whether or not there was wisdom and tenability in the words of the great leader of the day, who spoke in defence of our occupation, that "we may lay down what positions we please, with respect to the propriety of observing in our Indian policy the same rules and principles which are observed between European States;—and may pass Acts of Parliament interdicting the Governor-General from extending our Indian territories by conquest;—but yet there *is* some great principle at work wherever civilization and refinement comes in contact with barbarism—(more especially in an immensely extended country) which makes it impossible to apply the rules observed among more advanced nations:."—whether there was, or was not, wisdom and tenability in these words, the destinies which have since devolved to our charge appear certainly to render our possession of the great Western river-valley nothing less than providential. Without Sindh, where would have been our *dépôt* for all the sinews of the war forced upon us in the North and North-East of the assumed province? Lieutenant Burton rightly remarks that, "had the Sikhs in the Punjab and Multan, the Affghans in the North, and the fierce, warlike and bigotted mountaineers to the West, been aided and directed by the Amcers of Sindh, the most disastrous consequences must have ensued;" and manifestly their having, in 1832, opened the Indus to us as a channel of commerce, and again, their having refrained, upon such instances as Major Outram's, from aggravating our Cabul disasters, affords no guarantee that they *might* not, at some future conjuncture, when our enemies were in the ascendant, and

their acts against us sure of its reward, have co-operated to extirpate what none more seriously or avowedly regarded as "a pestilence in the land." Without Sindh, where should we look for a cheap and safe and convenient channel for the conveyance to our ships' sides of the produce of our new possessions, of which, under an enlightened administration, we may calculate upon so large a development; and indeed of all the commerce of central Asia, of which there are already manifest tokens, in the decline of the once flourishing ports of Mekran and of Southern Persia, that we may soon become the sole farmers? Without Sindh, where could we advance the lines of defence which every half-year's experience warns us we dare not be unready with, in case of conflict with the fierce Trans-Indine hordes?

Sindh, the Sindhudesh of ancient Hindu, and the Sind of Arabic geographers,* is contained between the 23rd and 29th degrees of N. Latitude, and the 67th and 70th parallels East. The ocean skirts its Southern, and the desert its Eastern boundaries; the lowest confluence of the five rivers with the Indus denotes with moderate accuracy its extremest Northern frontier, and on the West, nearly parallel to the river, runs a chain of sandy ridges, like all such in the wilds of Asia, the haunts of ravaging tribes, who make their booty on the tillage of the valleys. A branch from this chain bifurcates with the principal range about parallel with the middle of the province, and reaches almost close to the river in the vicinity of Sehwan. Thence, as we shall by and by see, by the fatal policy of the native governor under Nadir Shah, flocked the wild men who at length succeeded in upsetting the old *régime*, and founding the dynasty of Talpur Belochis, which has since so signally paid the penalty of murder and usurpation, by an ancestor who proved himself of the spirit of the twenty thousand ferocious heads of families, with their ten thousand cavalry, who, in days long ago, incurred the hostility of Alexander, for perpetual raids upon the cultivation of his freshly-acquired allies, chiefs of the Sehwan

* As far as we have the means of investigating the point, we are inclined to think that Lieut. Burton errs slightly in supposing that the "Sindhu" of its present inhabitants was called Sindomana by the Greeks. Sindomana, or as Gronovius reads in his excellent edition of Arrian, Sindimana, was a city, and the capital of Sambus, who reigned in the Lukkee mountains, and was probably at the foot of the great branch stretching to the Indus. No doubt, however, there is a connexion between Sindimana and Sindh, "the most general and common name," says Dr. Vincent, "of the country on both sides the Indus."

Satrapies, Musikanus and Oxykanus.* The Indus waters the whole territory, that "sweet-water Sea" running nearly North and South till it reaches Tattah, and then, dividing into the Sata, or Eastern, and the Bagar, or Western, arms, it forms a Delta, at whose base it is lost, by a number of larger or smaller embouchures, in the Indian Ocean.

The sum of what we know, or may reasonably conjecture, of the ancient valley of the Indus, and of its tributaries, appears to be this. Alexander the Great, having advanced, after the murder of Darius, through the country of the Drangæ and the Ariaspi, approached the West bank of the river towards the South of the Punjab territory, and conquered the Arachoti, in the autumn of B.C. 330. Thence, striking Northward through the Punjab, he crossed the Hindu Kosh in the spring of the following year, carrying various successes in his march. Having completed these, and his eye captivated by what he had seen of the Indus, which he had set his heart on as the Eastern boundary of his Empire, he returned, and crossed it near Attock in the spring of 327. There he was at once submitted to by a prince who ruled between the Indus and the Hydaspes, whose name appears to have been Omphis, or Mophis; and his capital, Taxila, the modern Attock; and hence his name, Taxilas, in some of the Greek historians. Alexander shewed his appreciation of this subject's fidelity by making him Satrap of the territories in which he had been once the independent sovereign; but ere long he was himself alarmed by the appearance of a king, whom the Greeks have named Porus (a title which Von Bohlen has ingeniously affiliated with the Sanscrit पुरुष†) on the Eastern bank of the Hydaspes, which formed the boundary of his dominions. The Macedonian hesitated to cross his forces, in the face of above

* These names have vexed the etymologists not a little. Dr. Vincent thought he saw "Sihwan" in their two medial syllables—the aspirate passing into *k* as is common in Greek derivatives from Eastern tongues, and the initial syllable, he presumed, would convey, in the Sanscrit, an idea of the relation in which the satraps stood to one another. Archdeacon Williams (who was supported by the authority of Ritter) conceived *kanus* to be a corruption of *Khan*; and so *Musikanus* to be *The Khan of Moose*, and *Oxykanus*, *The Khan of Ouche*, both places actually existing in or near Sindhi. But Dr. Thirwall very cleverly detected that *Khan* is a Turkish title, which could hardly by a possibility have travelled to India at the era of Alexander. The formation of these names, therefore, may still, as far as we know, be a task for ingenuity.

† Von Bohlen's conjecture seems to us to gain considerable strength from the record of a second Porus, King of Gandaris (*Govindghur-is?*), East of the Hydrates.

two hundred elephants; but contrived to out-general his enemy, by leaving the main body of his army opposite him, on the Western bank, while he himself, with some six thousand bowmen, and five thousand cavalry, detoured to the Northward, and crossed unmolested about seventeen miles higher up the stream. Porus's movements were admirably calculated to parry this advantage. He advanced a considerable column, under his son, (who was slain in the ensuing action), which he himself supported, at the head of his best troops. The defence was as keen as any which had ever been opposed to Alexander; and it was not till he had completely overthrown his brave opponents that he sent to seek his adversary and ensure his safety. An accommodation was then concluded, and a friendship cemented between the monarchs. They marched in company to the Akesines (Chinab), whence, from rumour of the vast strength of the Kathæi, in front of them, Porus retired upon his old territories, to enlist auxiliaries. Alexander advanced to the Hydraotes (Ravce); and the king of Gandaris (also called, by the Greeks, Porus) fleeing at his approach, he consigned the ceded territory, with the whole region between the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and the Hyphasis (Bayah or Byas)—seven nations, it is said, and above two thousand cities,—to his nobler quarry, and now faithful ally. *He* having now rejoined him, they marched up to the Hyphasis—the North-Western boundary of the Jullundhur Doab—engaging the Kathæi on their route, who resisted them obstinately. From the Hyphasis (which seems not to have been crossed) the enfeebled Macedonians entreated so hardly for a suspension of progress, that Alexander was constrained to retire with them to the Hydaspes; where, at Nikæa, a port built and named in commemoration of his victories, a fleet which he had previously ordered was manned by some eight thousand of his troops, the main force marching, as nearly as proved practicable, level with the ships, Hephestion commanding the Eastern brigade with the elephants, and Kraterus the Western; while a small detached force, under Philip, afterwards Satrap of India and the provinces West of the Hydaspes, brought up the rear at about three days' distance. After dropping down for the three days, the ships, having outran their companion force, halted two more for it and the rear guard; and then all proceeded together to the confluence of the Hydaspes and Akesines, eight marches South of Nikæa. The fleet, however, again got the start, and had time to refit, (the violence of the eddy in

the narrow aperture at the confluence having sunk two of the galleys, and injured many) before the land force joined, —as Strabo reckons, about the first of November, B.C. 327.

Here the mounted archers and the elephants, with Philip's brigade, were crossed to the Western bank, and placed under orders of Kraterus; and Alexander disembarked on the Eastern bank, and joined his force to that of Hephaestion, for the purpose of disabling the neighbouring population, lest they succour the Malli, (the modern Mùltānces) from whom a smart resistance was expected. Before entering that province, Alexander dispatched the ships from their anchorage near the modern town Treemoo, under the admiralship of Nearchus; and the three brigades on the Western bank, now marshalled so that the van be five days in advance of the rear, with a column intermediate; and himself leading the fourth brigade against the Malli,* he arranged that all rally at the confluence of the Akcsines and Hydraotes.

At this point, the Oxydracæ, or inhabitants of the territory now called Ouche, tendered their submission. They were then, as under the modern native *régime*, parcelled into cantons governed by presiding magistrates, and are said to have furnished Alexander with a thousand men and five hundred war-chariots. The navy was here much enlarged, and an additional force of cavalry, to the number of seventeen hundred, with ten thousand bow-men, and a body of light infantry, ordered down to the Indus.

We know nothing more than the names of the people who submitted on the fleet's appearance in Sindh. The vessels which had been there brought together must have created a considerable sensation:—Arrian mentions eight hundred as the number; of which thirty—probably built by Alexander—were ships of war. Other authorities assert that the fleet was two thousand strong; and if in this reckoning be included boats and tenders, there has been thought to be no reason to consider it exaggerated. And when it is contemplated that many of the vessels congregated at the confluence of the five rivers with the Indus had before been carried overland from there to the Hydaspes; that an average war-galley of the era of Alexander would entertain only about

* It seems likely that all operations were concluded, before the brigade under Alexander reached so far south as Malatrina, the modern Mùltan, as none of the historians make any mention of a siege or storm. Mùltan was even then a most important city, with a fortress, and wall four miles in circumference.

two hundred men, and that the force which proceeded down the river has been estimated at a hundred and twenty-four thousand strong, the larger number may certainly appear not to exceed the truth; as even under such circumstances, there must have been an average of sixty-two men over the whole fleet. No trace remains of the city said to have been founded by Alexander at the confluence of the Akcsines and the Indus,* and by which he limited the bound of Philip's satrapy. Here another government was to begin, to which Alexander's father-in-law, Oxyartes, was nominated; but though he *did* march down from Bactria to the Indus, he appears not to have resigned his satrapy at Paropamisus, South of the Caucasus, and therefore one of the two Pithons who figure in the history of Alexander, who, for the meditated return of Oxyartes, was named in the commission jointly with him, was the responsible governor of a territory extending Southward to Pattala, a place which geographers of authority have, at least till recently, considered to be at the apex of the Sindhian Delta; but which Lieut. Burton imagines he has reason to identify with Hyderabad, the ancient name of that city being, he says, *Patolpur*.

It must be owned that the materials left us for tracing the fleet down the Indus are scanty enough. The ancient authorities, thus far so copious and satisfactory, pass it over very slightly, and we are left almost entirely to conjecture. The people first encountered were the Sogdi of Arrian, whose name is probably preserved in the modern Sukkur. Though in considerable force, (sixty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and five hundred chariots) they submitted without a battle. Here Alexander constructed an arsenal and docks, and again refitted his fleet. The capital of Musikanus was the city next in succession; as Alexander reached it before the news of his departure from the Sogdian capital, it was probably not very far south of their frontier; and as Musikanus's court was certainly under the influence of Brahmins, and the modern Schwan seems to be written in old Hindu documents as Sêvî, there is perhaps another besides the geographical reason for fixing the seat of his government there. At any rate it could not be far off; as the territory of Sambus, with its capital Sindimana, is described in ancient authorities as situated in the Lukkee mountains; the possessions of Oxykanus intervening between the hill country and the territory of Musikanus. The "ruined castle

* Its site is probably occupied by the modern town of Mittun-Kote.

overlooking the town" of Sehwan, which Burnes tells us is "in all probability as old as the age of the Greeks," is probably the remains of the citadel whose erection Alexander entrusted to Kraterus. From the capital of Sambus, Alexander is said to have approached the "city of the Brahmins" which revolted, was taken, and the Brahmins put to the sword. The meaning of this seems to be that during the progress of Alexander from Sehwan (where he left his fleet) against Oxykanus and Sambus, his advisers had stirred up Musikanus to revolt, for which, on the conqueror's return to his ships, they paid the penalty. The city of Pattala is the next point of interest, and its monarch Mœris, which Von Bohlen has somewhat fancifully affiliated with महाराजा. What little may be gathered from the wording of ancient authors appears to us to corroborate Lieut. Burton's opinion that Pattala was not so far south as Tattah;—it may probably correspond much more nearly with the modern Hyderabad; as Mœris had time to come up to the river to Sehwan and make his submission, to return, and to retire with the greater part of his people to the desert, by the time the fleet had dropped down three days from Sehwan;—facts which would induce us to lay down the site of Pattala as short a distance from the metropolis of Musikanus as circumstances may warrant. And by the bend of the river, we imagine that the sail between Sehwan and Hyderabad must be over a hundred miles. If the site of Pattala correspond with the modern Hyderabad, we should gather that Alexander *founded* a city near *each* of the angles of the Sindhian Delta (as he certainly did at the two base angles) the higher of which three cities would correspond with the Tattah of the present day. The circumstance mentioned by Arrian, that at Pattala Alexander could not get a pilot for his ships, tends to controvert the idea that it was on an angle of the Delta.

If the navigation which, very much in conformity with such authorities as have been at our disposal, we have marked out for the Grecian fleet, be at all like the true one, there can be but little reason to suspect any great and general change in the course of the river from that period until now. On this point we quite agree with Lieut. Burton.

"The natives of Sindh now enter, to a certain extent, into the spirit of the enquiry; and like true Orientals, do their best to baffle investigation by the strange, ingenious, and complicated lies with which they meet it. At Hyderabad, an old man, when questioned upon the subject, positively assured me that in his father's time the Indus was

fordable from the spot where the Entrenched Camp now stands, to Kotree, on the opposite bank of the river. The people abound in stories and traditions about the shifting of their favourite stream, and are, besides, disposed to theorize on the subject. Some, for instance, will declare that the Puran river, on the eastern frontier of Sindh, was the original bed, and adduce its name ('the ancient') as a proof of the correctness of their assertion. Thence, they say, it migrated westward to the channel called the Rain: its next step was to the waterless branch, now known as the Phitto (the 'ruined' or 'destroyed') lying to the eastward of, and not far from, Hyderabad. Another move, they assert, brought it to the Fulailee, whence it passed into its present bed.

"The best accounts of the first Moslem invasion never fail to give a circumstantial account of the siege and capture of Dewal, or Debal Bunder, by the youthful general of the Caliph. That port was, as we are expressly told, situated on the Indus. About the middle of the fourteenth century Ibr Batuta, a celebrated Arabian traveller, visited our province, and he mentions that both Ooch and Bukkur are built on the banks of the main stream. Lastly, in A. D. 1699, Captain Hamilton found the river about Tattah as nearly as possible where it is now.

"It is, therefore, by no means necessary to assume any shifting of the course of the Indus. That the face of the country has materially altered there is little doubt, and to judge from present appearances, the Puran, Narrah, Rain, Phitto, and Fulailee, have all at sometime or other been considerable streams, second only to the main body of water. Ever since Sindh was inhabited, the country must have been a network of rivers and canals; some perennial, others dry in the cold weather. If, however, these beds be ancient courses of the Indus, that stream was all but ubiquitous, for in many parts I have met with traces of some considerable channel almost every day's journey."

The Arabic and Persian annals of the province seem not to be of much value. The earliest dates about A. D. 1216, and they trace back the history to A. D. 711, to which period, from the disruption of the empire founded by Alexander, there may be said to be no records whatever. Lieut. Burton has given a valuable capitulation of these chronicles, which we will endeavour to present in brief.

A dynasty of Rajputs, called Rahis, governed "the lovely land of Sindh" in ease and prosperity, at Ahor, the modern Rohri, for about 140 years. One of these dying childless, his queen procured the destruction of all claimants of the sceptre, which she bestowed on her paramour, a priestly politician. For all the tact and treachery of the neighbouring Rajputs, he kept the musnud forty years, and was succeeded by his son. But the ships of some Moslems under the Ommiad dynasty having been plundered by pirates, a pretext was found for the invasion of Sindh, which the followers of the prophet regarded as the gate of India. In A. D. 710, therefore, a large army was dispatched for the work of desolation. For forty subsequent years the country was under sway of the Ommiad Caliphs, and then devolved

upon the Abbasides, who held it for nearly three centuries. Then, in A. D. 1025, it was attacked by Mahmud of Ghuzni, and ruled by deputies, in his name. But before the Ghuznavites fell under the Affghan power, a tribe resident in Sindh, of uncertain origin, named Sumrah, had grown strong enough to declare its independence and assume the government. These "men of Sumrah" ruled for about 260 years. That dynasty was succeeded by the Sammah Rajputs, A. D. 1315, whose objects the Emperor of Delhi assisted. They nominally held the sceptre under the Patthian power, to which, however, they were often found refractory. But when Baber, having dispossessed the Affghans, marched upon Kandahar, its Shah, Beg Urghun, made a descent on Sindh, and took the Turban of the Sammahs. Himself harassed by Baber, and betrayed by the displaced dynasty, (which he allowed a share in the government, as his feudal inferior), he died either of grief or by his own hand. His son, Shah Hosain, then expelled the Sammahs altogether, and retrieved the fortunes of his house by storming Mûltan, and adding Cutch to his dominions.

About twenty years later, A. D. 1540, Shir Khan Sur having defeated and dethroned Humayun, son of Baber, that Emperor retired upon the Urghun Province, to plead with Shah Hosain for a recognition of his authority. After wasting a year and a half in fruitless negotiations and futile hostilities, he commenced the retreat so celebrated in Mogul annals for the rejoicings at the birth of Mohammed Akbar, at Amercote.* About a year after, he made a second attempt on Sindh, which ended only in the increased power of the Urghun.

Shortly after Humayun's restoration in 1545, the Urghun power devolved upon some military adventurers, headed by Mirza Isa Tarkhan. This family held the government for about forty-five years; when, A. D. 1591, the great Akbar determined on recovering that ancient fief of the house of Delhi. Commending the bravery of the Tarkhan's defence, Akbar raised their Chief to a high rank of nobility, and conferred on him the Lieutenancy of Sindh; in which office the head of the family was installed up to the days of Shah Jehan, when governors were appointed from Hindustan direct, to farm the revenues, and manage the administration.

* The story is well told in the *Tezkereh al Variânt*, or *Private Memoirs of Humayun*.—See *Stewart's Translation*:—pp. 38-49.

These were superseded by the Kalhora dynasty, A. D. 1740, whose importance, however, dates from near three hundred years before. Then, under the Sammahs, an aspiring devotee, not content with the Khalifeh, or successorship in the saintly rule, became zealous for the loaves and fishes. His descendants following his course, by plunder and usury, they rose to be Zemindars of the first class by the end of the seventeenth century. They received a check from the Mogul governor of Mûltan, but by self-imposed humiliations managed to procure an amnesty, and a re-establishment in Sindh, where they again ran their old course.

Miyan Yar Mohammad, the head of this family, in A. D. 1708, repaired to Delhi, to astonish Aurungzeb with the success of his intrigues, and obtain, as their reward, a title and a lieutenantancy. He returned to Sindh in charge of a province, as Khuda Yar Khan. His son, having slain Mir Abdallah Khan, of Kelât, on his invasion of the Delta, persuaded Mohammad Shah to add Sehwan and Tattah to the territory which his father had governed, and thus became the *de facto* ruler of Sindh.

The extraordinary warfare of the Khorasan shepherd, who afterwards reigned as Nadir Shah, has been often told. He avenged himself on Mohammad Shah, the imbecile Emperor of Delhi, for the ridicule with which the courtiers of that sovereign treated his rising power, by a general slaughter through every passage in the imperial city; and consented to an armistice only on condition of the annexation to his own dominions of all territories west of the Indus. Eight years afterwards, A. D. 1747, he himself fell by the sword of Ahmed Khan Durrani, whose authority over Sindh then became absolute. Miyan Yar, Kalhora's son and successor, Miyan Meer, being irregular with his tribute, fell under the Durrani's displeasure; who turned vengeful steps towards the Indus. The Kalhora fled to the desert in alarm, and fell sick and died there. His son, Murad Yab Khan, on doing homage to the suzerain, was restored to the family dignities. For some years after, the Kalhora annals consist merely of a succession of feuds between Muraû Yab and his nobility, and his two brothers (who each in his turn assumed the reins of government) with each other; these ended in the investiture of the younger brother, Ghulam Shah, with all the titles, if not the rights, of an independent prince, by the Emperor Ahmed Shah. His government, of eminent success and prosperity, was such as to induce the Hon'ble E. I. Company to establish factories at Tattah and Shah

Bunder; but it is to be regretted that his name is stained by an act of frightful vengeance on the Rajahs of Cutch, a tract of whose territory, once rich and valuable rice-lands, he converted into a waste salt-marsh, by shutting off the sweet waters of the Indus. These lands have not recovered their fertility to the present day. His own family felt the severity of his implacable disposition; he imprisoned for life his elder brother, Attar Khan, whose sons he put to death for a conspiracy against his person. Six years after he had built the fort of Hyderabad, and A. D. 1771, he died, some say from the curse of a Fakir, whose hut he had removed that he might enlarge his palace.

His son and successor, Miyan Sarfaraz Khan, added impolicy to his father's vicious qualities. He murdered Mir Bahram, Chief of the Talpur Belochis, and of a family whose valour and conduct had won it a high position at the Sindhian Court; and disbanded the British factory at Tattah. His subjects, exasperated by his violence and tyranny, confined him in the fifth year of his government; and after ten months trial of his brother, Miyan Mohammad, they consigned him to a similar durance. The power was then conferred, principally at the instance of the Belochis, on Miyan Sadik Ali Khan, a nephew of Ghulam Shah; but he was dethroned and imprisoned within a year. His uncle, Ghulam Nabi Khan, succeeded; and dreading the revenge of Mir Bijjar Talpur, for the murder of his father Bahram, if he should return from his Makkiau pilgrimage, invited the Arabs of Muscat to waylay him. This attempt failing, Ghulam Nabi fell in an engagement with the Belochis.

Last of the Kalhoras came his brother, Miyan Abd al Nabi. He began by murdering all his surviving relatives, that he might gain favour of the Belochis. By their aid he defeated and put to flight the only remaining one who could pretend to interfere with him, Izzat Yar Khan, who was advancing with a party of Affghans to claim the Musnud in virtue of a Firman from Kandahar. But very soon after, he treacherously procured the massacre of the very man who had led a defence to him, Mir Bijjar Talpur; and then persuading that chief's son and nephew that he had no share in that infamy, he lured them to his table, and there sacrificed them both. The Belochis, infuriated, marched down upon the country, under Mir Bahram's grandson, Mir Fath Ali Khan, and his nephew, Sohrab Khan; and Abd al Nabi flying, the Talpurs were established on the vacant throne, A. D. 1781.

There is, however, reason to believe that the Talpurs, a family of inferior stock—so much so indeed, that after they had come to power, one of the Kambarani house (which is paramount in Kelât) thought of invading Sindh, because a Talpur had proposed for his daughter—had long cast anxious glances on the seat of the Kalhoras. The story is thus graphically told by Lieut. Burton :—

“When the Kalhora rule first begun, about A. D. 1740, the aristocracy of Sindh, which, as in most Oriental lands, was purely one of rank conferred by office, consisted either of Sindhis or of Jats. But Miyan Mir Mohammed, the first prince of that dynasty, made the fatal mistake of sending to the Belochi country, and inducing, by offers and promises of feofs and favour, two of his mountaineer Murids, Mirs Aludo and Masudo, to emigrate from their barren hills, and settle in the low country. The entrance of the barbarians is thus described by the native annalists :—‘When the Belochis arrived within fifteen miles of Khudabad, the prince sent out several of his ministers and nobles, with presents of clothes, and horses with gold saddles, to receive and escort his distinguished guests to the capital. As the procession advanced, it met a troop of beggarly shepherds, followed by their flocks, and women mounted on asses. The ministers enquired for Mir Aludo, and were much astonished when told that the ragged wayfarer with the Dheri in his hand, and the Kambo on his shoulder,* was the personage whom they were to conduct with such ceremony. However, like true Orientals, they saluted him with due courtesy, took the Dheri and Kambo from him, mounted him upon their best horse, and accompanied him on his way to the capital.

“After this step the Belochis began to flock into Sindh under their different chiefs and heads of clans, who receiving grants of land, settled and built towns on the Narrah river, and other fertile parts of the country. About thirty-five years after the first entrance of the mountaineers, Miyan Sarfaraz Khan, the Kalhora prince, caused the murder of Mir Bahram and his son Sobdar, the Talpur chiefs. The cause of the assassination was the ruler’s fear of the valour and increasing power of his military vassals; but the deed was looked upon as an atrocious one, because it was done in public Durbar, in the presence of the prince, who was also the Murshid† of the murdered man. He was cut down by Ismail Mombiyani, a Sindhi, who immediately struck his head off.

* “The Dheri is a bit of stone or other such material, round which the raw wool thread is twisted. The Kambo is a long cloth thrown over the right shoulder, and so fastened round the waist as to leave a place for the hands and kids that are too young to walk.”

† The Kalhoras, we presume, from these terms, continued the pretensions to saintliness which had been recognized in their ancestors’ elevation to the Khalifeh. *Murshid* and *Murid* are terms of Tasawwuf, or Sufyism, which attained to great distinction in Sindh, “for nothing more remarkable than the number of holy men it has produced.” By and by we may go further into this subject. At present it is enough to say that the Murshid, Pir, or Shaykh, is, in Sufy language, the religious instructor—a great votary, virtuous, sensible, and learned. The Murid, on the other hand, is his constituted disciple. On the method of making Murids, the *Qanoon-e-Islam* may be consulted, page 282.

The Kalhora had previously ordered one Shah Baharo to do the deed : he refused, but offered to fight Mir Bahram single-handed. The event is celebrated in Sindh, and is a kind of common-place with the bards and singers. Mir Bijjar, the son of Mir Bahram, on his return from pilgrimage, consulted a certain Fakir, Abd el Rahim, a Sindhi of the Mangariyo clan, and was greeted with a promise of success, provided he would never restore the Kalhora race to power. After a short campaign Mir Bijjar succeeded in dethroning the tyrant, but, unhappily for himself, he broke the condition of success. The popular story is that when he went to visit Abd el Rahim, he found his spiritual adviser seated in the company of another Fakir, who immediately exclaimed,—

‘Bijjara asán pári, to na pári,—
Hane weyi to je gharán Sardári!’

O Bijjar, we have—thou hast not—kept the promise;
Now, indeed, hath the power departed from thine house!

The other Fakir, Abd el Rahim, also remarked, in supplement to this poetical address—

‘Addá kíz ma chúensi;
Indá Kukání petre phári wendási.’

Brother, say nothing to him,
The Kukani will come and rip open his stomach.

“Mir Bijjar was shortly after murdered by three men of the Kukani tribe, who had been sent by the Rajah of Joudpoor at the instigation of the Kalhora Prince. By his death the chieftainship came into the hands of his nephew, Mir Fath Ali Khan Talpur.

“The Belochis thus rose to be lords paramount of Sindh, and so continued until the conquest of the country by the British. The native annalist, from whose pages the above extracts are made, appropriately enough remarks, ‘See the wonderful changes of that revolving heaven, which makes beggars of princes and princes of beggars!’”

We proceed to trace, as concisely as possible, the fortunes of the thus ascendant Talpur house. The chiefs entered Hyderabad in triumph, that their leader, Mir Fath Ali Khan, might do the best to secure himself in a position which they appreciated as environed with dangers. His perceptible instinct of *self*-preservation, however, wrought unconfidence among his clansmen, and two of his near relations fled the capital and occupied Khairpur and Shah Bunder. Renouncing allegiance with their ambitious kinsman, they remitted part of their revenues, as a fiefment to Taymur Shah. Thus Sindh was parcelled in three independent principalities,* as it continued until its annexation under British rule.

* Governed, by the Shadadpur family, in Central Sindh; by the Manikani (Tharra's family) from Meerpur, and over the Southern Provinces; and by the Sohrabani branch in Upper Sindh.

It was not until 1786 that Taymur confirmed the Talpurs; from the irregular payment of whose tribute his son and successor on the throne of Kabul, Zeman Shah, determined on collecting in person the feofments of Khairpur and Shah Bunder (held respectively by the Sohrab and Tharra branches), and on compelling an acknowledgement from Fath Ali of Hyderabad. As the king approached Mûltan, the Talpur Mirs fled, and sent promises of future good behaviour; and the past was forgiven at the intercession of Wazeer Mir Moḥammad. Then fresh feuds disturbed the family. Solrab would depose Fath Ali, and install in his chair a son of the banished Kalthora. "Both parties," writes our author, "took the field; and torrents of blood would have been shed, had not the women of the tribe, throwing themselves between the sword of the hostile parties, dissuaded them from fratricidal strife."

Fath Ali, the head of the Shahdadpur house, associated his three brothers in the government, that he might "preserve by union the strength of his family." Their prowess, as the *Char Yar*, or four friends, was irresistible—quelling all rebellion, and prevailing so far as to constrain the re-attachment of Kurrachee and Amereote, which the Kalthora who preceded them had alienated to Kelât and Joudpur. They hesitated at no intrigue which might win them the countenance of the Durrani king at Kandahar. When Fath Ali died, in 1801, he left half his territory and treasure to his elder brother Ghulam, and the remainder in equal portions to the two younger, Karam and Murad, thus excluding his son Sobdar from all participation in the honours of royalty. It was at this time that the title of Ameer was assumed by the reigning family of Hyderabad, the elder and most richly endowed member being distinguished as the Rais.

Perhaps edged on by the example of Fath Ali, his two surviving brothers, on the death of the Rais, Ghulam, in 1811, excluded *his* son Mir Moḥammad from all share in the royalties. From this time Central Sindh was governed by two Ameers, Karam Ali, the Rais, and Murad Ali. The Rais dying in 1828, without issue, the two sons of Murad Ali (whom we presume, his elder brother had survived) Mir Moḥammad, Rais, and Nazir Khan, came to the government; in which they associated with them the sons of their uncles, Sobdar and Mir Moḥammad.

The narrative of the Tripartite Treaty, of the Ameers' submission to British mediation in reference to the demands of Shah Shuja, of the enforced opening of the Indus for passage of troops and war-stores, and then of the Ameers' alleged

intrigues with Persia, which were avenged so deeply to their disaster, have been too often written to need repetition here. We may however just remark of the Shahdadpur house that the Rais-ship was virtually abolished by the introduction of British influence; his sons Mir Shadad and Hassan Ali, on the death of Mir Mohammad, Rais, towards the end of 1840, being allowed to share his possessions, under the guardianship of their uncle Nazir; who, though nominally principal Ameer, could exercise no control over his nephews' affairs. Of the Manikanis, at Mirpur, and the Sohrabanis, at Khairpur, it is enough to remind the reader, in the latter case, of the effect of Lord Ellenborough's deposition of Mir Rustum, Rais, and designation of his Turban to his junior, unpopular, and intriguing brother Ali Murad,—“with a revenue that included one-fourth of the possessions belonging to the other seventeen co-rulers of Upper Sindh.” That event was, in fact, the admirably conducted and decisive warfare which ended in the annexation; in which warfare Sher Mohammad, of the Manikani house, with his twenty thousand Belochis, at Dubba, was the only leader who put the issue to any hazard.

We will, however, transfer to our pages the light in which our author sets the Ameers' behaviour, on and after being apprized by Colonel Pottinger that, contrary to the Articles of Treaty between the two Powers, the Indus must be opened for the passage of military stores.

“The conduct of the native princes upon this occasion seems to have been peculiarly Asiatic;* they promised all things, and did nothing but evade acting up to their professions; it was only by extraordinary exertions on the part of the political officers that carriage for the Bombay column was at length forthcoming. The army with difficulty reached Tattah, when the demeanour of the Sindhian chiefs became so desperately hostile, that a reserve force was dispatched from Bombay and landed at Kurrachee, to co-operate with a detachment of the Bengal army, marching down the river on Hyderabad. Before reaching their capital, Sir John Keane forwarded to the Ameers a memorandum of complaints and a demand of one lac of rupees, to be paid annually by three of the chiefs,† in part of the expenses of the 5000 British troops to be sta-

* “Sher Mohammad, of Mirpur, however, was most open and unguarded in his expressions of enmity.”

“The Ameers can scarcely be blamed for their double dealing; they individually desired to please the British Government; but they also feared to disgust the Beloch clans, to arouse the hostility of the Affghan nation, and to assist in placing one of their principal enemies, Shah Shuja, in a condition to be most formidable to themselves.”

† “Mirs Nur Mohammad, Nasir Khan, and Mir Mohammad. Mir Sobdar was exempted from the charge, in consequence of his undeviating attachment to British interests.”

tioned in Sindh. After Sir John Keane's departure, Colonel Pottinger brought another treaty with the seal and signature of Lord Auckland, guaranteeing absolute future independence to the native princes, on condition of their liquidating certain arrears of tribute claimed by Shah Shuja. This the Ameers of Hyderabad agreed to sign, at the same time dispatching an envoy to Simlah for the purpose of appealing to the Governor-General against it, and their seals were not affixed to the document till some months after its transmission to them.

"The success of British arms in Afghanistan, and the indefatigable exertions of Major Outram, who had succeeded Colonel Pottinger as political agent at the Court of Hyderabad, reconciled the mind of the Ameers and their jealous feudatories to what they at first considered an unjust encroachment upon their most sacred rights.

"But the aspect of affairs changed at the close of 1840, when the defeats we had sustained in the Murrce mountains, and the violent outbreaks of fanatic fury in Shal and Kelat, aroused the spirit of independence in the Beloch bosom. The hill tribes in the north of Sindh had been exasperated by the disgrace with which their chiefs, who had submitted to us, were treated by the political agent at Sukkur, and after their irreconcilable hostility had been secured, the heads of clans were set at liberty. Family discord began to agitate the minds of the native princes. Mir Rustam, the Rais of the Khairpur house, was a debauched old man in a state of dotage; his death was therefore soon to be expected, and three different factions* stood arrayed and ready for contest whenever the event might occur. Ali Murad, the ruler's younger brother, who had ostentatiously avoided British connexion, then came forward to solicit our good offices in settling certain points at issue between him and the senior Mir. The decision was given in favour of the junior, a crafty, ambitious, and unprincipled man, who now, seeing how much was to be gained by us, suddenly became our warmest adherent."

No country could possibly be more mischievously superintended than was Sindh under the native *régime*. But little rain ever falling, and that only in the land called *Barani*, the cultivation mainly depended upon canal irrigation. An unenlightened peasantry must have been defeated in unravelling the clues of extortion and inefficiency, which, from want of principle and want of skill, were thus visited upon them. From ignorance of the simplest hydrostatical laws, the canals were almost invariably so faultily sloped as to run into marshes, which, under the rays of a tropical sun, emitted a miasma full of pestilence and disease. But this was not all. The canal excavations were under direction of the Ameers, whose levy on the land's produce, from year to year, was to a considerable extent regulated by the estimate for the water-courses. These were supplied by Kardars, or revenue

* "First, Mir Ali Mardan, the third son of Mir Rustam; secondly, Mir Rustam's other children, supported by Nasir Khan, the eldest son of his deceased brother, Mir Mubarak; and, thirdly, Mir Rustam's younger brother, Ali Murad."

officers, and calculated in the rupees current in the respective districts, of which there were about twelve varieties; and by a *gaz*, or yard, whose length varied in nearly every pergunnah. On the completion of the diggings, Ameers were sent to measure them; for which they had no standard more reliable than a stick made according to their own ideas of accuracy from a yard-length of paper. It is quite unnecessary to go into the multiplied methods thus brought to bear upon the ruin of the ryots;—by the Ameer, whose object was to dig as little as might be, and collect as much;—by the Kardar, who would impose on the Ameer as to the extent of excavations requisite, and defraud the ryots;—by the Ameen, whose measure no doubt varied in proportion to the doocurs of those with whom the ryots had not the means to compete. In addition, *two or three* canals were often found running parallel, for seven or eight miles together; the miserable disagreements among the several classes extending so far as to prevent their resort to the same water-course; and the harvest must pay the cost of the labour in excess. A very land of Beulah could never be worth tilling by a peasantry the victims of such intricate extortions.

Then there were the taxes—a long and doleful catalogue. Some were for the general revenue of the state, gathered under the several heads of land tax, poll tax, and transit dues:—others were a perquisite of the Ameers, and, as our author expresses it with well-judged severity, “served to involve every class and condition in the misfortune of having to pay from one-third to one-half of their gains towards supporting a government, which plundered under pretext of protecting, and betrayed instead of befriending them.” The land tax (*Zemindari*) was levied either in rent (*Jamma*) or in kind (*Jin*). The latter mode was almost confined to the grain-lands;—the rest of the cultivation being rated at from five to eighty rupees a bigah of one hundred and fifty feet square, according to the kind of produce. The grain tillage was assessed, relatively to the season, and the standing crop, and the Ameers’ emergencies, at one-fourth, or one-third, or even one-half; officers made their rounds through the yet unripe growths, to estimate the prospects and report upon them. No sooner was the sickle set, than a government watchman was quartered upon the cultivation, to secure the Ameers’ demand, fixed to the very limit of their own Kardars’ estimate. Various heavy fees were charged upon the residue—for carriage of the grain to the government granaries—for plastering the said granaries—for the

Fakir, the Mulla, the Kardar, the Kotwal, the watchman, and the weigher of the assessments, and the established troop of village beggars. What was left was the portion of "the happy owner of the soil," who, though three or four hundred per cent. may without extravagance have been assumed as the average return of capital, was, partly from extortion, and partly from idleness and debauchery, and partly from such ignorance as placed him completely at the mercy of some villanous accountant, in nearly every instance, the prey of the extortioner. For each hundred rupees advance, an acknowledgment was demanded of twenty-five, or even fifty in excess, with interest at eight or ten per cent. on the loans as *acknowledged*. And loans being granted only from one harvest to another, the Kharif, or autumnal crop—(or rather the poor ryot's dividend thereof,) was too frequently seized and sold up, in liquidation of an advance made for reaping the Rubbi (spring crop).

The poll-tax (*sarshumari*) was levied principally on the Sindhi and Jat tribes, the Belochis claiming to be free from it as allied scots of the Amcers, as well as all landholders, and servants of the State and Religion. It was levied on every member of the assessable population, the head of each family being held responsible for the assessment on all his household, and each member for every other. The strength of the several households ascertained, a sharp eye was kept upon the sources of accession; but, the poll once taken, no deduction was ever allowed for absentees; but each head calculated as worth a rupee from the house under which it had once become assessable for ever afterwards;—at home or abroad, dead or alive. At the same time every possible regard was had to the movements of travellers, who, if they could be taken on the wing, were taxed in duplicate, to improve the revenues.

The transit-dues (*sair*) were always taken in cash; six per cent. on landing, if the goods came by water; otherwise, upon the frontier. On their reaching the market, a second and heavier toll was exacted according to a fixed tariff, averaging, over all imports, about five annas a maund. Imported horses paid something over three rupees a head. If goods passed through Sindh in transit to other countries, it was the same thing—the *sair* was claimed. The only favour shewn was to the wealthy trader, who sometimes was allowed to escape with an impost of two or three per cent.; and to individuals especially favoured, a further remission of a fourth or a fifth was made by order of the Ameer,—the less

reluctantly, as no note was allowed of such benefactions in the tax-gatherers' accounts. In addition, several of their chiefs were privileged to extort black-mail under various pretences on all that travelled in their way.

The Ameers' perquisites it were long to enumerate. All wrecked merchandise, and all stray droves were thus disposed of;—there was the annual peshkash of shopkeepers and brokers;—there was the poll-tax in all the principal handicrafts;—there were rates on water-wheels, and rates on inundated tracts; rates on fruit-trees, and rates on ferries; a rate on every stall, on every net of fish, on every anchor dropped, and on every beast brought to market; a rate on stills, and a rate on brawls; not a cow could be milked without a rate upon her udder, nor a crime be perpetrated but whose penalty was redeemable by a pecuniary mulct.

Various were the races on whom this iniquitous system of revenue was imposed, with more or less rigour. Some were of extraneous origin, among whom, probably from the superstitious respect with which the priestly caste is often regarded in half-civilized communities, the Sayyids, Kurayshis, and descendants of Ali and Abbas, were treated with most consideration. They appear to have been completely exempted from the poll-tax. The other strange races may be classified as follows:—

I. Affghans or Pathans; generally found about Hyderabad, and in the north of Sindh. These, the reputed descendants of Joseph, Lot, and other high Israelites, appear for the most part to have settled in the country after its invasion by Tymur Shah, to restore the Kalhoras. They are a handsome and intelligent race, with a very Jewish cast of feature, whence probably, and from their original locality in the Suleiman mountains, the tradition of their descent.* Sir William Jones considered them to be the representatives of the Parapamisadæ of Quintus Curtius. Their language is the Pushtu—without the smallest similarity to Hebrew or

* "Although their right to this proud descent is very doubtful, it is evident, from their general appearance and many of their usages, that they are a distinct race from the Persians, Tartars, and Indians; and this alone seems to give some credibility to a statement which is contradicted by many strong facts, and of which no distinct proof has been produced." So writes Sir James Malcolm. That the Affghans have been considered a Turkish or Mogul race, is possibly a mere induction from their being so often named with Turks and Moguls, in catalogues of forces and armies. For a long and learned disquisition on this point, see Dorn.—*Notes to the Affghan History of Nemat Ullah* Part ii, p. 65.

Chaldee, either in grammar or vocabulary. They regard the Autochthones with marked disdain.

II. Belochis; whose introduction to the territory has already been accounted for. Though they, too, have been considered of Jewish extraction, they themselves claim descent from the Arabs, and state their original home to have been Haleb (Aleppo). Emigrating thence under a chief named Kambar, their principal house, the Kambarani, became paramount in Kelat. But besides the Arab stock, a second family of Belochis is acknowledged, aborigines of Makram. From their inferior consideration, we imagine that the Talpurs must belong to this branch. There is a good deal of feudality in their institutions, every chief being required to attend his lord paramount in his campaigns, and considering it a point of honour to head as many vassals as possible. They are far superior to the Sindhis in appearance and morals, are fairer, and more robust and enduring; but though a brave and aristocratical race, they are violent, treacherous, and debauched, dirty in person, and rough and rude in manners. Their accomplishments are confined to the training of horses, and beasts and birds of chase, to which they attached great value; and the use of the sword and matchlock;* in the former weapon, their great men prided themselves on splendid importations from Khorasan and Persia. They fought in the late campaigns accoutred in steel caps beneath their silken turbans, outside which was not unfrequently a torho, or chain of steel rings. They wore a suit of light, tightly-fitting chain-armour, of steel or silver,—sometimes gilt or coloured. Under this, some of the Ameers had a well-wadded silk texture, of foreign material, impenetrable to a sword-cut. The short gauntlets on the hand were of a similar texture; and the shield, of device as various as the wearer's fancy, was of the hide of the buffalo or the rhinoceros.

Though not without a certain aptitude for warfare, from imperfect discipline and incongruous training, the Belochis were found to stand but ill against regularly disciplined forces. The *charge* was the national custom of

* Lieut. Burton states that "even the princes contented themselves with an imperfect knowledge of Persian, with writing books of poems composed for them, and sending westward for works never to be perused." Except our memory be much at fault, we have heard the medical officer who was in charge of one of the families of Talpur Ameers in 1849, rate the acquirements of a member of that family much more highly, and as extending to Mathematics and Astronomy.

attack, and, precipitated with much vigour and eagerness, it was found to answer very well against Arabs and Affghans. But before the late campaigns, methods of European drill had been attempted, doubly prejudicial from their own imperfectness, and the foil they placed against the ruder, but more successful, system of onslaught. The military pay of the ranks varied from $3\frac{1}{2}$ Rupees a month to a Rupee a day ; but so large an allowance as the latter was confined to some few choice troops of horsemen. The officers of the several grades had respectable allowances, "besides what they made by plundering in an enemy's, and forgetting to pay in their own, country." Great as was the devotion of the troops to their leaders, an extravagant license of behaviour in every rank hindered the payment of customary respects.

Besides the four wives legalized by the Qorān and the Shurra, the Belochi was permitted four recognized concubines, and any number of slaves acquired by capture, purchase, or inheritance. Still, the abandonment of the higher classes was not current among the population, in whose houses there for the most part presided a single honoured and respected spouse. The concubinage of the higher ranks had its common fruit in the debasement of the zenana ; whose inmates were generally accounted to be addicted to excess of wine. The security of the females was guarded by a strict espionage, and, as they expressed it, by "the sword in their trowser-strings ;" but their natural depravity exhibited itself at the period when the execution of offending paramours was prohibited by the British law. The common occupations of the Belochi women are spinning, dress-making, and the arts of the toilette ; very few can read, and still fewer write. The upper ranks are rather formal and serious ; widows seldom remarry ; but poison and suicide are almost unknown among them. There is a constant amalgamation of the clans by intermarriages, though females would universally give the preference to suitors of their own clan. Some few are found to devote themselves to a religious celibacy. Abortives are rarely given, perhaps because so unreliable :—but female infanticide was formerly all but universally practised, and is still frightfully prevalent.

In conclusion, we may remark that Lieut. Burton gives a catalogue of nearly eighty of the principal Beloch clans which have settled on the plains of Sindh.

III. Jats, a people whose appearance and peculiarities seems to connect them with the widely-dispersed gypsy race. They claim descent from Ukail, a companion of the Pro-

phet, but their language proves them to have been originally from the Punjab; whence, driven by war and famine, they migrated to the hills West of the Indus. "They are supposed to have entered Sindh a little before the accession of the Kallhora princes, and shortly afterwards to have risen to distinction by their superior courage and personal strength." But they have now lost all their former distinction, and become a poor, though quiet and inoffensive race, of camel-graziers and agriculturists.

IV. Memans, corrupted from *مومن* orthodox;—a race of Islamite converts from Hinduism, common about Sehwan, Hyderabad, and Kurrachee, and originally, perhaps, from Cutch, where great numbers are still found. These are camel-graziers and agriculturists, dress like the common Sindhi, except in the head-gear, and are one of the most enlightened tribes in the country. "They have done much," says Lieut. Burton, "to introduce the religious sciences," in which some of them have earned a reputation for learning. Unlike the Memans of Bombay, they do not disinherit their females, but provide for widows and daughters according to the Qoranic law. But the polygamy of their Pirs is excessive—the founder of the house himself having had thirty-two wives, which he would justify by the example of David and Solomon, and upon the principle that to the pure all things are pure; as is the custom of the Sufis. They are moreover grasping and exactious, a "great me-man" standing among the Sindhis for a miserly usurer.

V. Khwajahs; a small Shiah tribe of about 300 families, settled principally near Kurrachee. They assert their original emigration from Persia, and hold the Ismailiyeh heresy, except in so far as they consider that the line of Imams did not become extinct with the death of Ismail son of Jaafar, but is continued to the present day. They have no mosques in Sindh, but worship in a house prepared for the purpose. Their chief priest, who arranges their religious and civil disputes (marriages and funerals being left to the Sunni Kazis) is authorized to assess an eighth of each Sindhi Khwajah's profits, in the aggregate perhaps a lac a year, for the Imam. They are rarely well-educated, and inferior in this respect to the Khwajahs of India and Muscat. Their costume resembles the Sindhis', except that they avoid dark blue. They shave the head, but leave a lock on each temple; wear beards, and do not trim the moustache, as the Sunnut, which they regard as apocryphal, directs. The Sunnis give them the sobriquet of *Tundo*, or maimed; it is supposed in insulting

allusion to their abuse of the Khalifs; and relate the grossest and, perhaps, very exaggerated stories of the orgies practised at the Khwajahs' annual commemoration of their Sindhian Saint Taj Din Turel. They in their turn occasionally retaliate by defiling the Sunni mosques.

VI. The Mohanas, or fisher caste; also, apparently, Hindu converts to the Islām; who give the following singular account of their origin:—

“When Sulayman, the son of David, was amusing himself by ballooning over Cashmir, he saw a horrible looking woman, and, although the wisest of human beings, was puzzled to conceive what manner of man it could be that would marry her. Some time afterwards, the Prophet King lost his magic ring by the wiles of Sakhar the demon, who ascended his throne, seized the palace, and drove out its lawful owner. Sulayman, impelled by destiny, wandered to Kashmir, and there became the husband of that ‘grimme ladye.’ Her dowry was every second fish caught by her father, who happened to be a fisherman. As usual in such tales, the demon soon lost the ring, and it was found in the stomach of one of the fishes. Thus Sulayman recovered his kingdom. His wife, who remained behind him in a state of pregnancy, had a son, who became the sire of the Mohanas.”

The Mohanas reside principally about the Sindhian lakes;—their complexions are usually very dark, and though some of the females are handsome when young, their figures and features soon fade by hardship and excess of labour. One was so beauteous as to captivate a ruler of the province, an event immortalized by their Sufi poet, Shah Bhetai. Though hardy and industrious, they are grossly immoral, inebriate, and unchaste; yet they support mosques, with Pirs and Mullas, and the usual paraphernalia of devotion. They besides adore the Indus, under the name of Khwajah Khizr, which they periodically propitiate by offerings of rice.

VII. African Slaves, either the progeny of previous importations, or brought from the harbours of Eastern Arabia. Under the Ameers, some six or seven hundred were imported annually, each worth from forty to a hundred and fifty rupees;—girls being more valuable than boys. (A very choice female of Abyssinian race has been known to fetch as much as forty or fifty pounds.) The traffic has now almost entirely ceased. They describe the district from which they profess to have been sold as extremely well-defended by forts, chiefs and armies, and the people as for the most part moslems, with a few idolators. They were the offspring of very various tribes, of the principal of which Lieut. Burton names some two-and-twenty. They were employed principally as saises, grass-cutters, and as apprentices to the more irksome handicrafts; but some few rose to distinction,

and became favourite servants of the princes. One of these, Sidi Hosh Mohammad, the confidential attendant of the Ameer Sher Mohammad, has been suspected by "a celebrated historian"—we presume Sir W. F. Napier—to be connected with Marshal Hoche! They married within their own race, their children of course being slaves by inheritance; and manumission was rare. A good many Sindhis married African females, and the offspring of such unions possessed attractions for the native eye. The Africans at present in Sindh are extremely rude and illiterate, and though with a certain native cheerfulness and mirth, are "as revengeful as camels, and subject to fits of sulkiness so intense, that nothing but the most severe corporal punishment will cure them." They were the terror of the population under the native rule, whom nothing but the certainty of death could deter from robbery and bloodshed. Scarce a week elapsed without their using the sword against one another. Still, the affections of those under mild treatment seemed soon to be interested, and their susceptibility to gentle amours often rendered a repulse suicidal. Feasting was a passion with them, and music, and dancing, in which the sexes either intermingled, or formed two bodies *vis-à-vis*. The excitement was, towards the close of the figure, increased by the furious roll of kettle-drums, at the sound of which the exertion became so tremendous as to prostrate many of the figurantes. Lieut. Burton has given an interesting, though slight, vocabulary of the dialect in use among them, or at least of the slender proportion of African words which they have preserved in an adopted and most corrupt dialect, even the Sindhi words in which are, in general, unintelligible to other inhabitants of the country.

VIII. Hindus. These are principally merchants or ministers of religion. There are therefore few of the outcast tribes so numerous in Hindustan proper. The old race of Hindus in Sindh either fell or emigrated or went over in the first Moslem invasion—the present race is of Punjabi origin, as is manifest both from their countenances and their ceremonies,—the faith of Nanak Shah being strangely amalgamated with ordinary Hinduism. There are seven classes of them, the first, Brahman, the last, a mixed race between the Brahman and the Sudra; the five intermediate being branches of the great Vaisya division.

The Brahmans are of two classes, Vaishnavas and Saivas. The former, who are designated as Pokarna Brahmans, are the priests of a particular class of Banyans known as Bhatio.

They worship Maharaj. Traditions differ as to their original home, some deriving them from Pushkara-Kshetra near Benares, others accounting them emigrants from Jesulmere, a third class staining their escutcheon by ascribing their origin to the union of a Tapeswar (devotee) with a Mohani (fisherwoman). Others, again, declare that Pokarno is a Sindhi compound, and means neither more nor less than "he does as he pleases." However, though manifestly of uncertain descent, and seldom averse to occupations beyond the prescribed pale, the Pokarna is the highest caste of Brahman in Sindh. Moreover, they keep up a sort of prestige by eschewing Persian and public occupation, and flesh and spirits, and by marrying in their own caste. Their learning is very limited—just enough judicial astrology to draw a horoscope and construct a rough almanac. They use the Vaisnavà or the Saivà tiluk indiscriminately, dress much in the ordinary fashion, but wear red turbans and shave the beard.

The other class is the Saraswatiya, or, as it is abbreviated, Sarsat, a very exclusive set, consisting of about forty families supposed to have settled in Sindh about two centuries ago. They worship Mahadeva, or, as they corrupt, Mahes, and his Sakti under her several well-known appellations. These live well, considering themselves prohibited only from beef and domestic fowls, as a Mountain Goddess, they say, in a famine, withdrew all other restrictions, save that they might not slay with their own hands. They consider even the use of wine, and the marriage of widows (if of their own caste) to be part of the privileges of their dispensation. They dress much like the Pokarnas, but with a white turban, and wear a Mala with twenty-seven beads, of sandal-wood. But some *exquisites* among them ape the costume of the Amil (revenue officer), delighting in rich costume, cultivating beards, side-locks and moustachios, wearing the Sindhi cap and drawers, and retaining no marks of discrimination except the tiluk, and the shirt opening down the *left* breast. They seldom learn Persian or accept government employment, and are more ignorant in their own Shastras even than the Pokarnas. For this they compensate, as best they can, by a judicial (as they call it) *nosery*;—pinching their nostrils, when any mighty puzzle is proposed to them, and at the same time stopping inhalation, they wait the motions of the spirit, and then pronounce *ex cathedra* and claim their fee.

There are no Kshetriyas in Sindh. Those pretending to that honour are merely heterodox Sikhs, who, as fighting

Sudras, have obtained a smattering of the system of Nanak Shah. These are theists, more or less corrupt; learn a little Persian to qualify them for business and office; eat and drink like Sarsats; but confine themselves, like the Punjabis, to meat killed by men of their own caste.

We may take the Lohano as the type of the Vais'yas in Sindh, being the sect most numerous and most influential. Originally from Lohanpur in the Mûltan provinces, the period of his emigration is too distant to be ascertainable. The sect is widely distributed, and, as far as the Arab coast, are notorious as hardy and adventurous transmarine merchants, in which capacity, as well as for their enterprizes of colonization, they are a people of much interest. Caste is not forfeited by foreign travel—probably it would not be even by judicious foreign intermarriages—the offspring of which, in Sindh, would, there is little doubt, be considered Hindus. There are about fifty subdivisions of them, each, almost universally, at feud with every other, and agreeing in nothing so much as the adoption of the *Upavit*. Some worship the Indus, others Vishnu, a third class Siva, and not a few conform to the *Grunth Sahib*. They eat and drink indiscriminately, even from the hands of the lower castes, and their gatherings are rather licentious than pious, the *religious* act in them being confined to the recitation of a few verses of Sanscrit or Punjabi. They dispose of themselves either as revenue officers, (Amils); or as merchants, shopkeepers, or farmers. The emergencies of the native *régime* rendered them eligible to the former office, and their skilful tactics endeared them much to the Ameers, who would occasionally, it is said, go so far as to embrace them. Thus they rose to much power, which they made no scruple of abusing—only being on their guard lest their employers should appear their victims—for that rendered them liable to suffocation in a bag of pounded chillis, hanging by the heels with loaded arms, torture with the *Billi*, (a peculiar arrangement of flesh-hooks)—or, in extreme cases, burial up to neck, or castigation with thorny clubs until they died. However, though their masters often fared but second best, *they* were generally trim enough to evade these severities; and even when they failed, such was their value to the Ameers, that they could seldom venture to execute extremities, and themselves tired of milder tortures even before the victims of them. The Amils were most dexterous forgers of documents, signs-manual, and even the most complicated seals. To achieve this art to perfection, they practised both Devanagari and Persian writing

with equal elaboration, to which accomplishments should be added a thorough mastery of the mysteries of *Arzi* (petition-writing), the routine of business calculations, and every art of intrigue, chicanery, and intricate rascality. Sometimes, too, the Amil could recite portions of the *Grunth*; but had seldom mastered the Gurumukhi character. In form he was usually athletic, with features regular and agreeable—only his affected tawdriness of costume bore the impress of acquired depravity. The whole class was sceptical of all religious obligation, and in the acuter members this doubt subsided into the coldest and most degraded form of materialism.

The other classes of Lohano stand more respectably, being sharp and prosperous men of business in their several departments. Cloth and hoondis are their staple articles; and by cautious transactions they seldom fail to reap a fortune. Often too, they adventure on extensive commercial travel, leaving their wives behind them, sometimes to return to encumbrances equally unlooked for and undesirable. They then *trim* their better halves, and things proceed as before. The costume of the Lohano merchant is much of the Moslem cut:—he shaves the beard and the crown, but leaves a lock at the poll, a bunch of hair over each temple, and the moustachio. In mourning, however, he is full shorn, except at the poll.

Sudras in Sindh have all adopted the sacred thread, and the tiluk. They marry in their own caste. They are principally dyers, shoemakers, or barber-surgeons; or else they deal in toasted grains. They worship Mahadeva and Devi and only Brahmans officiate to them.

The several orders of religious mendicants have also place in Sindh:—Jogis, with their pierced ears and yellow garments—they may now and then be seen, in the agonies of death, propped upright with a wooden fork, as to die recumbent is a breach of rule. Sannyasis—who, despite their profession, act as physicians and alchemists, debase the currency, and will even condescend to a contract under a Parsee. Unlike the Sannyasis, who, for the most part, bury their dead in the usual way, the Jogis half fill the grave with salt, and place the body on it with a mattock in one hand and the forked stick in the other. The Sannyasis are generally a set of drunken and depraved villains. They dress like the Jogis, but wear a turban instead of a cap. Occasionally, too, Gosains may be met with, whose presence seems to be much prized, as they amass considerable alms;—and Ogars, whose distinguishing mark is a whistle, which

they blow before commencing any act whatever. These, with some Coolies and Bheels, (the latter often in prosperous circumstances,) make up the sum of the Hindus of Sindh. In religion, as might be supposed, they are very impure, amalgamating with their Hinduism several incongruous observances from the systems of both Mohammad and Nanak Shah.

Such indiscriminating ecclesiastics maintain the unity of God with the Sikhs; and the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, with both those and the disciples of Islām; and, again, in imitation of the latter, they conceive the male and female Avataras to hold a place corresponding to Paighumbars. They also invoke Pirs, or Saints, as sub-intercessors with the deity. One of the chief of these they believe to be an impersonation of the Indus, "that noble stream," as Lieut Burton writes, "which it is difficult even for an European to behold without admiration, not unmixed with awe.

"The Oriental goes a step beyond, and from admiration proceeds directly to adoration. The Pujara (votaries of the river) are remarkable for the rigidity of their fasts, which generally last forty days together. During that period they avoid eating, drinking, smoking and other enjoyments, at all times from midnight till sunset. Every evening before breaking the fast, they recite the Sindhi verses called "*Pan-jarā Darya Shaha jā.*" When the forty days are concluded, they go to the Indus, or if the river be far off, to some well, repeat certain prayers, and hymns; sip water three times from the palm of the hand, and after eating a bit of the cake called *Patasho*, return home."

With the exception of a few Brahmans who have learned more orthodox forms, probably in India proper, this spurious ritual and ceremonial is universal among the Hindus of Sindh.

There are, besides, many Sikhs in Sindh;—both of the pure Khalsa, and more or less contaminate. The former are extremely zealous, both in offices and in proselytism. They carry the quoit, and wear the iron wrist-ring and the peculiar drawers of the Punjab devotee, whom they imitate in every way. They reproach their less exact and pure cousins as *shavers*, because, in mourning, they apply depillatories to the head and beard. Both classes wear a rosary of rings of Amritsur iron, which they suppose to have the property of inducing sleep. They are ready to welcome any convert, Christian, Moslem, or Hindu; whom they baptize by total immersion, and then introduce to their Thikana, to offer a gift to Nanak Shah. The ceremonies vary according to the rank which the neophyte aspires to in his new devotion; but all are enjoined to bathe every morning—then to bow to the Gruuth Sahib—to read Scripture before eating—

and to hear it, as nearly as possible, every evening, in a Sandar, or place of worship.

We may now proceed to a survey of the ordinary Sindhi. By this we mean the aborigines who have settled in the plains, for there are several nomadic hill tribes, natives of Sindh proper, who are scarcely distinguishable from the Belochis. The Sindhi, as compared with other people of the plains of Western India, exhibits many of the more perfect traits of the Caucasian family; his frame is taller, stouter, and more muscular, his hands and feet are better set-on, and the articulations about them more proportionate to the demands of labour and endurance; the head is good, the features regular, the facial angle, in a large number of instances, approaches the dimensions of the Persian or Indo-European pattern. The beard, though inferior to the Kuzzilbash's or the Osmauli's, is still handsome, and the general expression of the countenance reveals the genuine Arian stock. The higher classes, especially the females, are fair—occasionally, indeed, with complexions closely approaching to the Spanish tint; but the social gradations are most distinctly marked by the deepened tone of the skin. The Sindhi's moral character, however, has become greatly deteriorated from the indications of his organism. The perpetual prey of the usurer, and with the stigma of villainy, he has lost all that sense of manly independence which characterizes his neighbours of the mountains: he is as great a dastard in danger, as insolent in security; is idle and apathetic, unclean and inebriate, and dishonourable enough in the grain to be treacherous, but for lack of skill. The most remarkable of his acquirements indicate the imperfectness of his civilization; he is keener to track than the Choctaw, and an adept in hunting and in fishing. He deems no trouble excessive in training rams and game-birds for the ring; and prides himself and rates them upon their prowess. His passion for horses is of a vulgarer cast than the Arab's;—he is but an indifferent trainer, and races only short heats. But he is very fond of wrestling, his slaves being the gymnasiasts—of whom he picks the brawniest and the bandiest, and brings them to the lists in first-rate condition. The other out-door sports consist of various muscular feats, of which the hardest seems to be to sit with one foot in the air, and raise the body upright upon the other. The higher classes play chess in various games, and those who have visited Persia, backgammon; and are occasionally tolerably skilful at both boards. The common Indian

pachisi is a favourite diversion with them; and a variety of piece-games of simpler movements; and dice, of which they throw three (marked ace, deuce, cinque, six), and stake their ruin upon the venture. They are inveterate gamblers, even their Moslems; though the better class of these do resist the temptation to such purely hit-or-miss games as the *Jua* (Dice). They have two packs of cards—one borrowed from the English—the other, and the larger—of 96 pieces—said to be the invention of Changa Rani, a Sindhi lady, as a device to break her husband of perpetually pulling his beard. Their childrens' sports resemble those so well known both here and home, the *kheno*, or ball, often playing a conspicuous part; and elder people disdain not to take their place in the diversions, sometimes with a prodigality which has been dangerous and even fatal.

The Sindhi women, as compared with those of Hindustan proper, are fair and comely—not unfrequently, indeed, they have considerable personal pretensions, both as to face and figure. But they are extremely illiterate;—even in a large town, thinks Lieut. Burton, it would be rare to find so many as five who could spell through a letter. The fact is, the men have too good reason to know that they are quite expert enough in vice and mischief, without the incitements of prurient ballads,* and such weapons as the goose-quill. They are unchaste to a proverb, being, according to our author, represented in all the vernacular books as more worthless than in any other part of the world. Add to this, the men are far more unscrupulous in their *mésalliances* than in other parts of the continent, and the state of moral degradation may be conceived. A Talpur, we are told, was slain in detected intrigue with the wife of a common musician; and for the same cause, one of the chief Sirdars fell by the wea-

* Such is the famous legend of Sassui and Punhu, conspicuous in all dialects from Cutch to Afghanistan, from Jesulmere to Persia. Lieut. Burton has analysed it and given copious extracts. The story is well put together, but details a tissue of the most objectionable intrigues, little likely, however capable upon Sufy principles, to be interpreted as "the immortal spark in the breast of man burning to unite itself with the source of light." The same may be said of "Unar and Marui," though it be, apparently, a tale of much pathos. These, and the well known "Hir Ranjha," seem to be the purest of the amatory ballads; in others, the heroines are undisguised *Kanyaris*. Some of the martial legends appear spirited, especially "Dodo and Chancesar," which recounts the prowess of the Sindhis in conflict with the armies of the Emperor. Most of the ballads commemorate real or supposed incidents under the Summah dynasty. The Sindhi literature is almost exclusively poetical. Some of their writers have exhibited a smart vein of satirical humour.

pon (a sickle) of one of the polluted caste. In society, the females are obtuse and silent, except under excitement of *play*, when they would do honour to Frascati's. In language, they are extremely coarse and abusive; they drink extravagantly, and snuff and smoke. The consequences must be imagined;—it is impossible that we can detail the excess of license and of profligacy. The best feature in the account before us, is that injured husbands not unfrequently shew their spirit by marching to the receiving houses, and belabouring the procuresses. The most revolting, that there are to be found those of the lowest grade of infamy, who club their earnings to support a mosque.

The females generally are fond of gay attire; they have satins, silks and velvets, and brocades of silver and of gold. Young ladies generally dress in red, the widowed and the aged in white. To *over-dress* is thought respectable, so the dames of yesterday frequently appear absolutely burdened with apparel. They wear trousers like the men, only tight and carefully-finished at the ankle: the higher ranks secure them by a jewelled zone, over which, when out of doors, a petticoat is drawn, which conceals the person from the waist downwards. The Chuddar is universally worn, of various shapes and textures, according to the means or the fancy. A boddice opening in front, with sleeves to the elbows, and sometimes, beneath it, a tightly-fitting chemisette, confine the bosom. The slippers are most inconvenient—barely covering the toes; and the rich tassels which adorn the instep of the more pretentious belles render them yet more difficult to manage adroitly. Those who affect scrupulosity wear the *Burka* on parade, a vesture disclosing only the eyes; and the recognized symbol that the scrupulosity is *only* affected. Though fond of rich jewellery, they condescend not to worthless bangles, but adopt rings of ivory which sometimes cover the fore-arm. The caskets of the wealthier class are liberally furnished with the ordinary trinkets of the Moslem lady.

The ceremonial of a Sindhi family is curious, and may be worth a note or two. Boys and girls are welcomed into the world with equal rejoicings, varying only according to the means. Her female relatives visit the mother on the night after her accouchment, bearing lotas of milk, which they repeat for six evenings. They in their turns are refreshed with milk, sweetmeats, and tobacco. Then the priest is summoned, and a name chosen, either from the "Lives of the Saints," or with astrological punctilios.

Between the age of three months and a year, the Akiko, or shaving, is performed upon male children; when a ram above a year old, and without blemish, is sacrificed; the skin is cleanly peeled off, and the flesh separated from the unbroken bones; which, with the child's hair, are enclosed in the hide and buried, under the idea that, on the day of resurrection, they will arise as a horse on which the child shall be triumphantly borne into Paradise. To ensure the steed's perfection, every bone must be buried, but not a particle of the mutton; so the smaller articulations are well boiled, with the meat, which forms a feast for the priest and the beggars, together with certain members of the family. At four years and four months the boy is sent to school, which he attends from six to six, to learn reading and writing. The first exercise is to pick out the letters of the "Alhamdu lillah," a ceremony never foregone. Next he learns the last section of the Qoràn—and his tutor claims some little present. He may now be drawing on towards his fifth year, and writing is begun, and spelling; and certain other texts are committed to memory. After a few months he can read the Qoràn, but not understand it; and no further progress seems to be desired till after circumcision. This is performed in the eighth year, with much ceremony and many dainties. Musicians—as usual, the vilest ragga-muffins and the most exactious,—are summoned, and fireworks prepared. The youth, in croceous dress and garlanded, is shewn round the town on horseback, ushered by voices and instruments and the discharge of small-arms. On returning home the barber is found ready with his razors; and ghee and wax and neem-leaves to dress the wound. Presents are then dispensed, which are first waved round the patient's head, and hospitalities to all orders of the guests.

Soon after, school-work is resumed, and the Sindhi language begun, and continued, almost exclusively, up to the thirteenth year, by a prescriptive curriculum of study. The youth is then introduced to Persian, and subsequently—about the fifteenth year, if he resolve to become an Olema,—attends one of the Madrassas, of which six were supported in Sindh under the Talpur Amceers, who contributed to them liberally.

Boys in their fifteenth year, and girls in their twelfth, are ordinarily betrothed; though from poverty the marriage rite is often long delayed—sometimes even to the thirtieth year. Betrothals are conducted with much observance—the expence they entail often obliges the delay of the marriage

for years ; for that too must be done with ceremony, and therefore money be saved for it. After a good deal of dallying and affected offishness on the part of the girl's relatives, preliminaries are arranged—not however by the contracting parties—for they are prevented seeing one another. The youth's relations then repair to the house of his *fiancée*, with a present of attire, and heuna, rings and sweetmeats. Things are there in order, and they separate into two parties, the men of each family chattering together, while the females, and the family barber's wife, bearing the betrothal offerings, attend the bride-elect. Having dressed her in her new array and applied the henna, the *coiffeuse* withdraws to the outer apartments, with a *lota* of milk addressed to the bridegroom's father. This the gentlemen drink, and discuss the sweetmeats, sending a portion of these latter to the ladies. They then all raise the hands and recite the *Fatihah* ; and the *fiancée's* father is asked to fix the wedding-day. The party breaks up ; the match is considered settled, and is seldom disarranged.

About a month before the marriage, (up to which time the girl seldom receives beyond a trinket or a dress or two, and little gifts of sweetmeat) the bridegroom's family approach her, bearing, with other trifles, a circular veil of embroidered cloth, in which the poor girl's face is wrapped, never more to be extricated until the day of espousal. A jar of ghee forms a part of their devotion, which is an ingredient in a kind of sweetened bread, supposed to improve the delicacy of surface and complexion. The *coiffeuse* after this attends daily, with rouge, henna and kajjal, and the other cosmetics of an oriental toilette ; and numerous effects are tried, with a view of displaying the bride to the most advantage. The hair is oiled to saturation with a compound fragrant with the atr of roses and of jasmines ; and while that behind is trained to fall in rich plaits over the shoulders, the front locks are treated with bandoline, and flattened upon the forehead. A cosmetic of powdered talc and silver-leaf is applied over the face, and every extraneous hair on the surface of the body is brought within the tweezers. At stated periods, the head is washed with a preparation of clay and lime-juice, and combed sedulously, and perfumed, together with the whole body, with sandal-wood and rose-water. Moles are sketched upon the bride's face and lips, and, their arrangement duly settled, fixed by needles set with antimony. Meanwhile the house is dedicated to feasting, and throngs of visitors assemble. The bridegroom

has less to go through; he is rigged out in garlands and brocades, and having been the centre of attraction at processions and nautes for three days, the *hymenæa* begin at night.

As a preliminary, at dusk, the family barber waits upon the bridegroom, strips, bathes and redresses him in a span-new suit from turban to slippers, the service of his bride's relations; the while the wife of that worthy goes through a corresponding ceremony on behalf of the bride. An expiatory rite is then performed over both; and about midnight, the bride's father pronounces all ready, and sallies out to warn his son-in-law; at whose house he finds a throng of guests, and a mulla in attendance. Then, as usual in Moslem weddings, two witnesses are selected on the part of the bridegroom, who are dispatched to the bride's dwelling with a prayer that she now appoint her vakeel. About this she usually shilly-shallies a while, and at length communicates that her father, or some other near male relative, may manage the settlements on her part. On the return of the witnesses, the interrogatories are put to the bride's father, whether he consents to give, and to the bridegroom, whether he consents to take. Then the dowry is settled, with a specific engagement as to whom the jewels shall devolve on, in case of a divorce. Finally, blessing is invoked upon the wedded pair, with commemoration of the traditional worthies, Adam and Huwa, Ilraheem and Sara, Yusuf and Zulaykha, and so on. The bridegroom congratulated, the Fatihah recited, and the priest paid,—sometimes, in wealthy families, with horses, camels, and gold-lilted swords—some hour or two after midnight the bridegroom's procession is formed.

In this there is not much which is peculiar;—just the music, nautes and fireworks of an ordinary Moslem wedding; but one of the bride's near relatives—and not the bridegroom's people, as is usual in India,* dismounts him from his horse as he approaches her threshold. A number of silly formalities are gone through, the wedded pair the while seated on a bedstead with a bolster between them: the curtain usual in Hindustan is dispensed with, but otherwise the ceremonies are much the same. A week is, in most cases, past in the father-in-law's dwelling; and then the bridegroom takes his bride home, who afterwards, as long as there are no children, visits her family once a week; but, as domestic duties increase upon her, only on the great festivals.

* See Herklots. *Qanoon-e-Islam*. p. 127.

The Sindhi books wisely regard marriage as a *religious* duty, *when a man can afford it*; and as a *practical* duty, *when he has the means of livelihood*. Due respect to birth is enjoined; and the avoidance of widows; and the elect should be shorter, younger and less affluent than her suitor; and if a brunette, so much the better, as those are found in practice to be the most modest and virtuous. It is best to marry in a mosque; but the contract appears to be most frequently made in the bridegroom's dwelling. To sit at the nuptial banquet is equal in merit to a fast; and the first conjugal salute worth a hundred and eighty years of worship. The *marriée* is enjoined to pray five times a day, to keep the fasts, and to urge her husband to the same duties; knowing that the first question, on the resurrection-day, will embrace these very points. She is to ponder well her duty, and be obedient to all lawful requests; to be a keeper-at-home, modest in apparel, and devoted to household arrangements. She must never eat till her husband's meal is over, never complain of her diet, never taunt or brawl, or boast of supporting her husband; but ever meet him with a smile, and comb his hair and wash his clothes, and spread his couch—for such attentions are equal to a pilgrimage. How illy these advices are responded to, the Sayyid who delivers them most pathetically laments.

The Sindhi shrinks from contemplation of the hour of death. "Any allusion to it," writes our author, "excites his fear and disgust: I have often observed that individuals, even when in the best of health, could not describe or allude to the different ceremonials of burial without changing colour." To dream of a camel, as among the Arabs, is held a sure omen of approaching dissolution; and the flurried sleeper awakes to renounce the world, devote himself to prayer and penance, and make his will. To console him, there is lamentation and mourning and woe throughout the family. If he recover his equanimity, a direct divine interposition is alleged: if—as most usual and natural—he die, the affair is huxited abroad as a corroboration of the superstition. The Moslem infatuations on the pains and penalties of the tomb,—the examination by Munkir and Nakir, the scourgings of infidels and hypocrites, and then their torture with bites and stings until the day of resurrection, and compression by the contracting walls of the grave, are all scrupulously maintained, and descanted on amidst weepings and groanings. When a departure draws nigh, some authorised shahadat, or confession of faith, is recited by all present,

the *ush-hud-do-unna la illaha illa'llah* being, we presume, the form usually employed. Enquiry is also made for Zamzam water, to moisten the lips; but so far East as Sindh it is seldom at hand. After the last expiration, the eyes and mouth are closed, and the corpse straitened on a wooden frame, and bathed with water heated, if possible, by combustion of the sticks which the departed had used as tooth-brushes, and scoured with a peculiar clay called *Meta*, the same as is used for the purification of a bride's tresses. The mouth and nostrils are cleaned out with cotton—then stopped with the same material, and the hair and beard anointed with the *Meta*, and, with the whole face, carefully washed. Then the body is bathed again—and still a third time—with camphorated water—then dried in a sheet, and placed upon a charpai covered with another sheet. Next they put on the shroud, apparently with less complication than is customary with the Moslems of Hindostan; but it must not be sewn in any part, must pass over the head and as low as the calves, and the portion covering the breast must be ornamented with texts traced with Makkian clay. The body is then perfumed, and a sheet thrown over it, which is tied, at every corner, to the sheet upon the charpai. A shawl is spread over all, and thus, and with a *Qoràn*, the priest's property, at the head of the bier, is advanced to the burial ground by the hands of four relatives, and preceded by two or three chaunters. The grave is a square hole of about six feet, in the base of which is made another aperture to fit the corpse, which lies, as throughout the ceremonial, with its face towards the *Qiblah*. On arriving there, the officiating priest hands the *Qoràn* upon the bier to the chief mourner, and bids him set a price upon it. This settled with more or less liberality according to the party's means, we fancy the book becomes the mourner's property, and the cash the priest's. However—he seems also to claim the return of the *Qoràn*; for he asks "*Dost thou give me this Qoràn, in lieu of any prayer, fasting or debt-payment which the deceased may have omitted?*"—and being replied to in the affirmative, he takes the book, descends into the grave, and having recited that *Sûrah* (the 112th) which treats especially of the unity of God, he places a little mould in the palm of each mourner. Then all repeat the *Kul huw' Allah*; and the mould being returned to the priest, is scattered by him into the grave. The corpse is lowered, and the corners of the sheets are untied, and preparations made to close the tomb. Strong sticks, or, for want of them, a slab

of stone, is placed over the smaller orifice. If the former be used, matting is carefully laid over them, lest any earth fall and incommode the corpse. Next, all recite the text implying—"of earth we formed you,—and to earth return you,—and from earth will raise you another day." The grave filled in, the company form a circle, each touches the tip of his neighbour's forefinger, and they repeat from the Qoràn the *Ya Ayyuha 'l Muhammali*. And the benediction given, they return to their homes. Feasts are celebrated on the third, the tenth, and the fortieth day after the funeral; and finally, on its anniversary. On the first of these, the whole Qoràn is recited, gratuities are rendered to those who have aided in the obsequies, and the temporalities of the deceased disposed of after adjustment of the claims on the estate. On the feast of the fortieth day, mourning is put off. Up to this period rehearsal of scripture is made daily over the grave by the priests of all opulent families. The monuments precisely correspond with those which all Indian travellers must be so familiar with. The custom of accumulating tombs in the vicinity of spots celebrated for sanctity, and of bringing successive generations to one common place of interment, has produced the vast tracts of grave-yard so conspicuous in Sindh. Even after burial in a foreign place, the Sindhî is frequently disinterred, and carried to the family resting-place. A promise to this effect is often exacted in prospect of decease; and it is believed that the two dread judges of the lower world defer their inquisition till this promise has been redeemed.

The etiquette of society, under the fallen Ameers, was, as much of the foregoing detail might lead us to prejudge, miserably out of joint. A people given up to intoxication and sensuality, where even females of distinction might often be found in their cups, and the highest ranks are known to have condescended only too frequently to beverages whose ordinary range extends not beyond the tavern and the stew, could hardly have maintained the decorum of social gradations. It is true that the sensibility of undecorated and loss of prestige does often act as a provocative to an extravagant punctiliousness, just as Jack Falstaff with his familiars, and John with his brothers and sisters would be Sir John with all Europe. However, Poins's pungent scurrility is repeated as often as incitement provokes it. So it was in Sindh. The Ameers insisted much upon ceremonies and punctos—they would have none but the Persian style of court—they would, as long as might be, meet every approach

to familiarity with a proud port and an indignant rebuff. But naturally enough, this soon died out, as is abundantly evident from Lieut. Burton's well-pointed account of a *Salam i Am*, or levee.

"When the prince thought proper to receive his subjects, a chair was placed for him under the verandah of the palace, and conveniently close to the door. At the cry of '*Salami*' (audience!) the mob rushed in, and found their ruler surrounded by a body of the tallest and most muscular *Farrashes* belonging to his establishment. The first attempt was to break through the line by sheer force; the servants, on the other hand, opposed the people with as little ceremony; the mob, when defeated in its endeavours to reach the prince, began to pelt him with petitions and addresses, vociferating prayers and curses with all their might. When the ruler could endure the scene no longer, he quietly opened the door, and slipped through it into his own apartment. By this time the people would probably have broken through the line of fatigued *Farrashes*, and finding themselves again foiled, would amuse themselves by trying to break open the door. Such scenes took place periodically in the palaces of all the younger *Ameers*, not excepting even *Sher Mahommed*, though the latter was, generally speaking, feared and respected. On one occasion, when very much pressed by a petitioner, he availed himself of his religious reputation, and stood up to say his prayers. As it is forbidden to the *Sunni* to look around him at such times, it might be expected that the petitioners would have waited for the close of his devotions; the more eager applicants, however, thrust their petitions close under his eyes, and pertinaciously kept them there till dragged away by the servants. How different the formality of *Ranjit Singh's* *Durbar*, or the apparatus of *Fath Ali Shah's Salam*!"

The sciences, it hardly needs to say, were in the lowest degradation. Mathematics, and its kindred disciplines, were almost wholly untaught; to the sad injury of the bulk of the population, as we have before shewn, under the scourge of an unscrupulous fiscal. Only medicine was pursued with the least approach to system. The initiative reading was either in the standard Persian books, or translations of them into the vernacular. Then the druggist's shop was resorted to, and, for the lowest and the middling class of practitioners, generally nothing beyond. But the highest class of physicians were, as times went, cultivated gentlemen, without regular study under one of whom no aspirant was admitted within their pale. Still, though indifferently good pharmacopœists, they were utterly ignorant of anatomy and surgery, religious scruples prohibiting the use of the scalpel. They, moreover, resorted to the lowest shifts of the profession, such as the demand of pre-payment before undertaking a case; and therefore, though exactious of etiquette, and so far succumbed to (lest the poisoned chalice avenge the dishonour); they were held, in reality, as but a

mean and mercenary set, not much above the reputed alchemists and witches who would do their best to entangle their neighbours in the extravagant fancies of Oriental credulity. We must satisfy ourselves by saying that of all the superstitious devices for divination and fortune-telling, as well as of the *corps malin* which is signalized in the demonology of the province, Lieut. Burton has an exceedingly good account.

We now approach the last subject which we propose to advert to, and perhaps the most difficult to manage with, at the same time, brevity and perspicuity—we mean Tasawwaf, or Sufyism, that extraordinary inoculation of Atheism with Pantheism, still so imperfectly investigated and little really understood, which, prevailing, more or less, in all the “criticks of pure reason” of the Eastern and the Western schools, adduces as its main tenet the development of all the present, visible and invisible, from a single and compact unit. When or where this speculation began it is perhaps beyond man’s power to determine:—upon the date of Zoroaster it is absurd to pretend to an opinion; and even if this could be determined, it would be equally uncertain whether he derived the leading features of his system from more ancient oracles of the far East, or whether, on the other hand, as has been respectably maintained, the system first appeared in Bactria, and thence spread both Eastward and Westward. It may be observed, however, that the Shiahhs contend that the modification of Magianism which constitutes the Tasawwaf of heretical Mussalmans is traceable to the Khalifs of the House of Abbas; whereas the Sunnis derive it from a Saint of Hindustan;—and with shew of reason, as Lieut. Burton appears to think, from “the remarkable resemblance between Tasawwaf and the Vedantic system; and the exact correspondence between the modern Indian’s opinions concerning the efficacy of *Jog*, and the Sufy’s ideas of *Rizayat*.

“Both,” he continues, “believe that by certain superstitious practices, the *divine particula aurea* in man so emancipates itself from the tyranny of impure matter, that it acquires supernatural powers of metamorphosing the body, transferring the mind to men and beasts, forcibly producing love, causing the death of foes, knowing what is concealed from humanity, seeing spirits, fairies, devils and angels, flying in the air, counteracting magical arts, prevention of pain, curing the venom or wounds of animals, alchemy, healing the sick, subjugating the planets, visiting the heavens, and obtaining by prayer all that one desires. But human nature always presents a general resemblance; and among similar races, in similar climates, and under similar circumstances, the same developments may be expected, and are found to be exhibited. The prudent archaeologist will probably be inclined to believe that the tenets of Tasawwaf or Vedantism are so consistent with man’s reason, so useful

to his interests, and so agreeable to his passions and desires, that their origin must belong to the dark beginnings of human society."

Tasawwuf, as it appears in the writings of the mystic Poets of Persia, and their *élèves* in Moslem countries generally, is, as our author puts it with successful brevity, "the blending of Polytheism, the poetry, with Monotheism, the prose of religion." The soul—immaterial, and *therefore* (says the Sufy*) immortal—without beginning—and without end—is consubstantial with, and therefore, a fragment of the Deity. As such, it can appreciate the absolute perfection of divine, and its terrestrial counterparts, human beauty and love. Abandoning himself to one or the other, the Sufy becomes either an ascetic or a debauchec. He finds, if of the latter caste, or pretends to find, a recondite heavenliness in wine, music, and dancing, amid the fascinations of glorious gardens, where the fragrance of the rose, and the song of the bulbul elevate the soul, for the very reason that they enchant it. This sensual delusion found place in Sindh. Its high priests were the Pirs, of whom there were between fifty and sixty, with genealogies ascending to the Prophet or the Saints who succeeded him. These Pirs were most of them infamous wretches—disguised as beggars, but who could support a hundred menials, and as many horses. Their disciples on some occasions have not scrupled to assassinate at their instigation, under the idea that their Murshid's supererogatory works would be a wall between his disciples and eternal perdition. The outrages upon the female population of Sindh, and *its* infatuation, by the Pirs, by their relatives, and by all their followers, are almost incredible; and the incomes which these miscreants succeeded in amassing by their abominable machinations, were revenues for princes. Even royalty they were so venturesome as to disdain and dishonour; and, sad to say, were fawned upon and crouched to, rather from the hypocrisy of the Ameers than their superstition, they being, Lieut. Burton tells us, "glad to make an easy show of religious humility."

Ranged under the Pirs, are a set of disciples of various ranks and degrees of erudition, but each aspiring to that advance in mysticism which may entitle him to investiture with the prophetic mantle of his indoctrinator. They

* A doctrine current among the Atomic Philosophers of the Greek School; which Cudworth has copiously illustrated (i, 29—33), and passed an able censure on (34).

stalk through the land shrouded in sombre garments, and with a head-dress of felt, which in use as well as shape resembles the "zour folly hattis" of our elder poets. A blanket completes the body-costume of some of them—others, with more decency, adopt some form of nether garment. The rosary is on their necks, which they rattle mechanically; and with one staff in their hands, for assault, or for hemp-pounding, and a second, and pronged one, for supporting the head during meditation or repose; with a girdle of wool about their loins, the gourd and wallet on their arms, and the discordant goat's horn, whose voice can win alms from the reluctant, they rank as kings* in the imaginations of their credulous infatuates. They are then trained to the practice of the most delusive ceremonial; to meditate, till they can see their Murshid with their eyes shut;—after causing the words "*Ya Allah*" to pass between the heart and the right shoulder a hundred times, to change the process, and cause the words "*Ya Hu*" to pass from the right shoulder to the heart;—and a dozen other equally seraphic exercises, the while their Murshid is *merging the creature into the Creator*! At length the pupil becomes *perfect*;—but only comparatively—he has more to do. He must then acquire that height of sentiment which may persuade him that he is himself a stone, or a clod of earth—acting only from its Creator's impulsions. He must learn essentially to metamorphose himself into some ancient Saint—actually and carnally to establish Moses near his navel, and Mohammed in his brains, and the other greater Worthies in other regions of his carcase;—then, by intense reflection on the Prophet's person, to become absolutely identical with him;—until at last he consummates the efforts of the highest Pirs, and has, in his own impious expression, "nothing within his coat but God."

We should, however, say that there are degrees of iniquity even among such wretches as these. As bad as we have yet represented, they all are; but some of them are worse. These devote themselves to the contemplation of the terrors of the Lord, and aim, by angering him with the commission of every flagrancy, to obligate their absorption into His own essence. The heart and intention of the believer, they say, are of more importance than his works and deeds; and upon this argument, and their presumptuous Epicureanism,

* The title of *Shah* is universally conceded by their victims to those pestilent aspirants. See *Qanoon-e-Islam*, p. 286.

they would compel the dissipation of their corporeal identity, and the reunion of the spirit with the Deity whence it proceeded.

We now shake hands with Lieut. Burton, with the most cordial friendship and good-will. We thank him both for what he has done, and for what he has enabled us to do. We have journeyed with him through many paths ;—more, it may be, than either he or his publisher will thank us for. We have found his company too agreeable to leave hastily or abruptly. The *two* volumes which he has given us on the Unhappy Valley (for there is another—beyond the *metier* of the present article—sparkling with humour, and the very *beau-ideal* of conversational raciness) denote him to be a model for the subalterns of his order ; gay, good-humoured, and adventurous ;—at the same time that his perseverance, his observation, his research, and fine penetration may be advantageously recommended to the notice of many of his seniors. Would that there were more such in the Indian army ! We should have long ceased to hear complaints of how comparatively insignificant has lately been our advance of knowledge in Eastern affairs, the immense extension of our dominion being considered.

Faults the book has—like all Lieut. Burton's, (and whose has not ?)—it is somewhat rambling and ill put together ; the author's powers of analysis and of arrangement are, we incline to think, very unproportionably developed, or else our own organ of order must be in sad derangement, for strange it is, even to us, what diverse chapters of the volume are made to meet in our discourse upon it. Still, though somewhat unskilfully compacted, it shows both head and heart to be in the right place ; and is full of curious information no where else to be found, perhaps which no other man could have supplied. It shows a wide range of reading, and a laudable curiosity, on oriental subjects ; a happy tact of comparison, and a remarkable capacity for general research.

II.

AMERICANS IN INDIA.*

SOME of our readers may, possibly, be perplexed to conjecture how it can be shown that the Americans are nearly enough connected with India to merit the attention of the *Benares Magazine*. But this connection is, we suspect, rather more deserving of account than most people suppose. Be this, however, as it may, an apology scarcely seems necessary for directing a few reflections towards a branch of the Anglo-Saxon race, whose influence, next to that of their Cis-Atlantic kinsfolk, must preponderate wherever Christian civilization is more than a name.

Americans in India, to generalize comprehensively, are, with but very few deductions, adventurers, mercantile or spiritual. Of the former class the public at large naturally hears but little. Being few in number, they could not well become conspicuous, save at the charge of obtrusiveness; and obtrusiveness happens never to have been imputed to them as a distinguishing trait. On the contrary, they are, in a marked degree, retiring and reserved, confining themselves strictly to their own affairs, and usually returning home, after a few years' absence, with competent fortunes and bad livers. Perhaps, if we resided at one of our great emporia of foreign commerce, we might be able to add a touch or two to this somewhat vague and characterless draught; but we are satisfied that our sketch, abating its incompleteness, is hardly open to exception. Pleading, however, our ignorance of the mazes and mysteries of trade as our excuse for waving all remark on it in this connection, we shall thus summarily dismiss our American merchants. We know little to their discredit as a body; and, as for their enterprise and other merits, those capable of doing them ampler justice will easily pardon our leaving them to their appreciation.

The American Missionaries that have wrought on Indian soil will expect, as they are entitled to, a less imperfect

* 1. TWO YEARS IN UPPER INDIA: By JOHN C. LOWRIE, One of the Secretaries of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. NEW YORK. 1850. pp. 276. 8vo.

2. INDIA AND THE HINDOOS: Being a Popular View of the Geography, History, Government, Manners, Customs, Literature, and Religion of that Ancient People; with an Account of Christian Missions among them. By F. DE W. WARD, Late Missionary at Madras, and Member of the "American Oriental Society." NEW YORK, 1850. pp. 344., 8vo.

notice at our hands. Their operations are not, like those of traffic, determined by certain topographical limits; neither have their pursuits reference only to the present time; and the fruits of their labours remain behind them as an accumulative heritage to the future.

In these particulars they differ in no respect from their fellow-evangelists in general, over whom they likewise enjoy no advantages. On the other hand, they are in nothing less favoured by circumstances for the prosecution of their peculiar designs. Their motives also are alike high and disinterested. From the very nature of their calling, the sentiments of jealousy, except in the more devoted service of their Master, can have no place in their feelings; and the sole ambition that, as Christians, they can harbour, is the rivalry of taking closer pattern after Him who went about doing good.

The conversion of the heathen has largely engaged the sympathies of the New World almost from the date when the sons of Englishmen there became a separate nation. And this sympathy, distinguished, as it has been, by true Christian expansiveness, and the energy of strong blood, has been restricted to no particular country or people. Wherever the lure of gain has prepared the way by engendering the confidence of a common self-interest, and, in some positions, where it has not, the name of the Messiah is now proclaimed, with more or less articulateness, by men of British parentage. If, as genuine believers in our religion, we have special reason, with reference to our race, to be proud of anything, it is of this. In spite of change and chance, the missionary cause has been making constant progress ever since it was called into increased activity by Catholic philanthropy and the facilities of modern travel. And the most sanguine infidelity is now constrained to doubt that the propagation of the Gospel will ever abate, or will not, in fact, go on steadily increasing until the whole earth shall have been offered the option of light or darkness. To this great spiritual movement the Christians of America have thus far contributed their full contingent of zeal and exertion. They have wisely chosen, too, this very country for the theatre of their most extensive efforts. Their influence and success, as apostles of our faith, are recognized from end to end of India,—from Ceylon to the Panjab, from Burma to Bombay, at Madras and at Allahabad, in the wilds of Orissa, and among the hills of Assam. This body, collectively, represents no less than five sects, which we shall not stop to enu-

merate, as we do not profess to understand their precise points of difference. Suffice it to say that the Episcopal Church is not one of them,—a circumstance which, after a word or two of explanation, will occasion no surprise. Episcopacy, in the United States, it should be borne in mind, receives no peculiar patronage from the government. Again, the number of American Christians who prefer this mode of church discipline, is comparatively, and as to numbers, almost insignificant. This minority, further, is not noted for its wealth. It bestows, nevertheless, with due liberality, of its substance, for purposes of Christianization; and if other ends of the earth than India have been selected for the bestowal of its charity, we have no disposition, on that account, to lay any blame to its charge.

Adverting to the Americans in a more general way, as there is at all times a considerable collection of them in India, it is curious to inquire into their estimate of the English polity and character as here exhibited. To the verdict of judges who have so much as they in common with ourselves, we cannot be altogether indifferent. With reference to our local government, there is hardly a single American out of all those whose opinion on the subject, published or oral, we are acquainted with, that has not expressed a degree of favour for it which we little anticipated. The national character also, as displayed amidst the influences of a tropical climate and oriental lives, is spoken of with sufficient good will by such writers among our democratic cousins as have made it matter of individual observation. This is all very natural, and, indeed, could not well be otherwise than it is. The precise description of personal liberty enjoyed in this country is certainly not to be matched elsewhere. At the same time, so small are our numbers, and so precarious are our comforts, that a feeling of mutual dependence must operate, on occasions, to rebate the pride of the proudest. Hence, in some measure, it may be supposed, arises that graceful recognition of temporary equality, which may thus be, at once, the result of the disadvantages of Indian life and the source of no small share of its amenities. This semblance of a republican spirit cannot but be acceptable to most Americans; and to an American of any delicacy or sensibility, it must seem a grateful substitute for that pestilent agrarianism which he has loathed and recoiled from in his contact with the *faeces Romuli* of his fatherland. It has been asserted, but with more smartness than truth, that, in India, every Briton appears to pride himself on being out-

rageously a John Bull. This notion, it may be surmised, was suggested rather by the striking contrast between the simulation and timid sycophancy of the Asiatic, and the frankness and intrepid self-respect of the true Englishman, than by any gratuitous ostentation of physical or moral force on the part of the latter. In truth there are many influences at work on the Englishman in this country, which have a direct tendency to soften down his most salient and obnoxious Anglicanisms. And, on the whole, strange as it may sound to the uninitiated, we know of no place in the two hemispheres where Brother Jonathan will be more likely to be surprised into a liking for his gruff kinsman, than the very land in which we write.

Let us now turn to the other side, and give the Englishman's opinion of the American whom he may fall in with under the circumstances already mentioned. In the main, this opinion will tell to the credit of the American, whom the Englishman, even in the teeth of ancient biases, must feel inclined to pronounce a companionable and very intelligent fellow. Certain eccentricities, of course, he cannot help observing in the stranger. His manners are, some of them, not altogether after the most approved models; his accent is uncouth, and his use of our common tongue is marked by some most unaccountable solecisms; and a letter from him will afford opportunity to admire a most perverse economy of vowels, to say nothing of a reckless repudiation of conjugal consonants. Though the new acquaintance may profess, in words, the opening clause of the "Declaration of Independence," he will, ten to one, demonstrate, by his conduct, that a democrat is not of necessity either a bear or a blackleg. On the subject of slavery, as might be expected, he will be found more or less disposed to be tindery; and any injudicious allusion to the superannuated scandal of Madam Trollope, of ominous name, or to the effete gall of the *Quarterly*, will just as likely as not inflame this disposition into an actual explosion of national vivacity. Taken all in all, however, the educated American will pass, with most Englishmen, for a relative, though distant, in no wise deserving to be disavowed. What principally distinguishes him as belonging to the world beyond the Atlantic is his untiring admiration and superfluous advocacy of "the model commonwealth,"—but for which very venial monomania, and his oddness of speech, it would frequently be difficult for any but a Londoner to discriminate between a Yankee and one of his own species.

We now return, for a few moments, to the American missionaries of India, and, particularly, to their views and sentiments as set forth in the two works whose names we have placed at the head of this paper. Not that these two works are the only ones of their kind that might have been named there, but we happen to have no others at hand. Among these others, some of which we have read and forgotten, may be mentioned *The Christian Brahmin*, by the Rev. Hollics Read; *Journals, &c.*, by the Rev. Wm. Ramsay and the Rev. S. B. Munger; and two or three anonymous publications. This list, all things considered, is neither very meagre, nor very copious; and we doubt that its average character is higher than that of the two books we have before us.

Two Years in Upper India, which is a sizable octavo volume, is, in fact, only a re-impression, with sundry alterations, of *Travels in North India*, by the Rev. John C. Lowrie, which was published at Philadelphia in 1842. Mr. Lowrie's tarriance in India was very brief, it having been cut short by his being seized with an attack of congestion of the liver. And yet, during his stay in the country, he seems to have made no ill use of his opportunities. As for information, his book contains none that would be novel to our readers, though his sketches of river travelling, of Ranjit Singh, and of Loodiana and Simla, will doubtless be perused with interest in the United States. His general remarks on what he saw and heard are pretty much the same as an Englishman would have made under similar circumstances. He speaks, for instance, of the changes in the political condition of the Panjab as "changes which the Christian must recognise as permitted by Providence for wise and holy purposes." The opinion which Mr. Lowrie expresses of the Hindus, spiritually, is exactly our own. Though, for their ignorance and error, objects of the deepest pity, he thinks them a "highly religious people." But their religion does not receive the same measure of justice from him that they do themselves. He surely misjudges of Thuggee, or he would not mix it up with the universal Hindu belief, by which, as all but the Thugs themselves understand it, it is no more countenanced than the delusions of Joanna Southcote, or the perversions of Joe Smith are upheld by the Christian scriptures. Much, nevertheless, as our author abominates superstition, he shows that he is slightly infected with it himself, by way of an optional substitute, we suppose, for the acid of Presbyterianism, which, as far as we can judge from his book, he has never been

able thoroughly to assimilate. We allude to his pernicious doctrine of special providences. The assistance of a particular civilian stands him in good stead in a season of emergency, and forthwith the timely aid is set to the account of a special providence. So, too, on another occasion, nothing short of the "almost direct power of the Lord" is reckoned competent to have saved his budgerow from swamping. Sectarian sourness, we protest, would be preferable, in any conceivable redundancy, to such melancholy but unconscious irreverence.* The same person patronizes the residents at Simla, in his day, in the following strain:—"Of the Europeans some were decidedly religious people, and I should suppose nearly all regarded religious institutions with respect." Nobody, certainly, could object to having a line drawn between saints and sinners; but our missionary's style of demarcation savours too closely of what he would probably call "the language of Canaan."

Mr. Lowrie does not trouble himself to deal very profusely in erudition; and for this reserve we have not to blame him so much as for not taking more pains to be accurate when he does step out of his path to display his learning. For example, he ventures on stimulating the wonder of his gaping disciples by acquainting them that, according to the Brahmanical cosmography, the earth is supported by "the tortoise *chakwa*." Now, the word *chakwa*, as we need hardly say, means a sort of goose, which, to play the part of the strong-backed *kachchua* of Hindu fable, must be about as amphibious an animal as our author's "Musul-

* It seems only proper to remark that the sentiments of Archbishop Tillotson—a Prelate who, least of all, can be considered as the advocate of pernicious fanaticism—remarkably coincide with those which the above passage so severely reprobates. In his Thanksgiving Sermon for Late Victories at Sea, preached at Whitehall, Oct. 27, 1692, he said, in reference to special providences, that "thus much might safely be affirmed, that the providence of God doth sometimes, without plain and downright miracles, so visibly shew itself, that we cannot, without great stupidity and obstinacy, refuse to acknowledge it;"—the more especially if these signs occur "in the cause of true religion, and the necessary defence of it against a false and idolatrous worship." And specially in the case of William III, he remarked—"This is the man whom God hath honoured to give a check to that mighty man of the earth, and to put a hook into the nostrils of that great leviathan, who had so long had his pastime in the seas. But we will not insult, as he once did in a most unprincely manner over a man much better than himself, when he believed him to have been slain at the Boyne: and indeed death came there as near as was possible to him without killing him; but the merciful providence of God was pleased to step in for his preservation, almost by a miracle; for I do not believe that, from the first use of great guns until that day, any mortal man ever had his shoulder so kindly kissed by a cannon bullet."

mán Hindus." We are further advertised that the name *Panjab* comes from "two India words,"—a statement which, in Mr. Lowrie's own classical diction, furnishes proof that, though a man "of clever abilities," his knowledge of Persian was "quite sparse."

We will take leave of Mr. Lowrie, after citing from him some statistical facts, touching the American missions, which may not be generally known. "There are now ten stations in upper India, occupied by about sixty American and Hindu labourers, under the patronage of the Presbyterian Church.... An extensive system of schools is in operation, embracing about twelve hundred children and youths." At the two American presses at Allahabad and Loodiana, "nearly ninety millions of pages have been printed and circulated, embracing works in the Hindí, Hindustání, Gurumukhí, Persian, and English languages."

The other work under review is of a much more pretentious character than the unassuming straight-forward narrative by Mr. Lowrie. In fact, it professes to present nothing less than "a popular view" of the Hindus in almost every aspect under which they can be regarded. Such an attempt, at this late day, is, to say the least, attended with hazard. The man who, in the face of the thousand and one volumes, scientific and literary, lumpish and light, that have been elicited by India and the Hindus, comes forward to concentrate the recorded knowledge concerning these vast topics, must, at least, be possessed of tolerable confidence in his own powers, and ought to be a person of more than ordinary ability, learning, and discrimination. That Mr. F. De W. Ward entertains no disparaging conceit of himself is certainly to his honour. Otherwise, he might never have been "the Reverend," which he is so fond of calling himself; but this most laudable trait of character is, unfortunately, capable of misdirection. This gentleman's general capacity, also, it might be presumption in us to question. But his specific fitness for the task that he has here taken in hand, is another thing; and of this fitness even the little that we shall say of his work may have the effect of removing all misgiving.

Mr. Ward can scarcely aspire to a higher rank than that of compiler; and, as such, his valuation of authorities is certainly unique. After giving up, in prudent despair, the hope of being able to throw any light, personally, on the early history of India, he comforts himself with the reflection that "but few can hope for victory where Robertson, and Jones and Milford [*i. e.*, Major Wilford,] have met with

signal and admitted defeat." On this we shall make no comment, or on his citation of "Halhed, Talboys, Adelung, and others," as testifying to the perfection of the Sanskrit language. Some readers may not at once infer the exact calibre, as an historian, or whatever Mr. Ward may claim to be, indicated by these leashes of authorities; but few will require directions to stare, when told that some Hindus are "jet black"; that we sojourn amidst "quarries of common salt and saltpetre", that "lions exist in vast numbers throughout the provinces of Saharunpoor and Loodianah;" that "camels are found in large droves throughout Guzerat, Patna, and Mooltan," or that "the Bishop of Calcutta stands next in rank to the Governor General." Equally novel is the information that tiger-hunting has been "generally abandoned;" that Muhammadans are more moral than Hindus; and that the natives wear "hats" and "togas," and "cross themselves" when they pass their temples, where the priests, we may presume, are engaged in the celebration of High Mass. The more recondite inquirer will also be surprised to learn, from Mr. Ward, that Vishnu rides on a "skate," that the fourth incarnation is a "man-monster;" and that the tenth will be "a white horse," instead of *bestriding one*; and that "Sir William Jones fixes the date of the Vedas at 1,500 years before the birth of Christ, which Mr. Colebrooke and others consider as far too modern a period." Manu, we are assured, is as sacred as the Veda; and the Panchatantra is described as being ranked by the Hindus "among their oldest productions," and as illustrating the "five points of industry." Had Mr. Ward said the "five points of Calvinism," he would have been almost as near the truth. Just as accurate, too, is the laudation in which he indulges of the "great success in Bible translations" of the early missionaries of the "world-renowned Serampore." Does Mr. Ward here allude to the world-renowned fact, that they *did* the Pentateuch into Sanskrit "from the original Greek"?*

But we have not yet exhausted our author's singular discoveries, for which recourse must have been had to authorities quite unknown to vulgar research. Calcutta is declared, by this remarkable statist, to contain 550,000 inhabitants; and Benares 700,000, including "Turks, Persians, and

* The Pentateuch translated into the Sanskrit language from the Original Greek. (Sic.) By the Missionaries at Serampore. 1808, 4to, *sine paginarum numeris*.—

Armenians." These numbers may, without much risk, be transposed and then divided by two; the Persians of Benares might be counted on the fingers, and its Turks and Armenians, to the best of our knowledge and belief, exist only in imagination, or as goblins. The Holy city, furthermore, "has degenerated into mud and thatch;" and the learned Brahmans that survive amidst this wreck,—men who, it is intimated, sometimes rashly "venture to publish editions" of works in Sanskrit,—are rated at "a few." Only on the assumption that a *few* can be wrested to stand for a couple of thousand, more or less, can this computation pass muster. And these same pandits would indignantly resent, we suspect, the representation of the manners of their class, which is given by Mr. Ward in his account of the visit he received from some trembling "twice-born" styling himself literate, who hazarded an approach to "the Reverend." And while we are on the subject of pandits, it is an easy transition to revert to Indian literature, which was never more disgracefully distorted than by the Rev. F. De W. Ward. His illustrations of it are derived, almost wholly, from local dialects, and those of the South; his idea of the Sanskrit, and what it contains, being derived chiefly from the crazy traditions of his dreary namesake. His description of the Vedas and Shāstras is the most flagrant mingle-mangle that ever helped to extemporize a chaos; and his confident analysis of the rest of Hindu literature is twaddle quite inexplicable in a man who is not afraid to talk of Colebrooke, and in a way that now and then actually indicates some small acquaintance, at first or second-hand, with his writings.

Of the Missionaries Mr. Ward has, of course, something to say, and he says it with rather more exaggeration than can strictly be allowed to pass for rhetorical. The swallow of Exeter Hall, for such matters, is sufficiently well known; and that of the atrabilious piety of Boston or New York may be equally capacious. But it will never answer for Mr. Ward, or any other apostle to the Hindus that has passed through the perils of evangelization, to tell us of the missionary's "almost certain exposure to personal violence," if he keeps a civil tongue in his head. A Missionary in India, whether pursuing his calling in doors or out of doors, is subject to no more danger than a magistrate or a merchant is, and, ordinarily, not so much. And even if he were subject to more, the consciousness of his high vocation ought to reconcile him to his lot. The magistrate and the merchant would be ashamed to appeal to your sympathy or your

pocket handkerchief; and why should not the Missionary as well, who ought to glory in persecution which he does not wantonly invite? The pertinacity with which some Missionaries still persist in clamouring for the merit of virtual martyrdom evinces how feeble a restraint is the love of candour before the temptation to purvey for the cravings of credulity. If Mr. Ward is to be believed, the inhabitants of India, instead of being the wily but timid creatures that we all know them to be, are, with here and there a reservation, simply brutal dolts. In proof of their pretended shrewdness, or, rather, positive stupidity, he recounts, at length, the particulars of a controversy between a "philosophical Brahman," and a person of his own class, in which, it is needless to say, the latter comes off triumphant, and the other is made to babble the rankest nonsense. This style of thing also must be bracketted among the hackneyed and unworthy fetches which some Missionaries are only now learning to disdain. There is reason to believe that, not in one case out of a hundred, where the belief of an educated Hindu is shaken, is it shaken by the objections urged to his own arguments so much as by his conviction, abstractedly, of the irresistible cogency of the new doctrines presented to him. Proof is not yet forthcoming that a single Missionary has ever acquired any distinct apprehension of Hindu philosophy, which, indeed, is as yet impossible without a respectable knowledge of the Sanskrit; and, such being the case, it is not to be expected that random shafts in matters like these,—any more than in those that are less momentous and more tangible,—have in controversial skirmishes often hit the mark. Missionaries would do well to deal more in investigation, and less in vain glory, and above all, to address themselves to other feelings, when descanting to their fellow-Christians about their labours, than such as are likely to be excited by Mr. Ward's trite and dubious terrors, and his revolting engraving of hook-swinging.

As Mr. Ward is obviously a person of no very limited ambition, we feel all the freer of scruples in dismounting him from his pinnacle of self-satisfaction. His measure as a writer *De rebus Indicis*, we have assuredly made pretty apparent by this time. A few words remain to be said of his delinquencies of style, and with these he shall be released.

Mr. Ward, it needs no penetration to discover, is one of those magnanimous republicans, who deem it beneath them to learn the language of their foolish forefathers. Alike

in sentences and in single words, he luxuriates in solecism. For instance, he declares, with nebulous felicity, that the Hindus manifest "that unfortunate hypocrisy which seldom has its concealed abode under a perfectly innocent exterior." Sometimes his expressions smack strongly of Hibernianism, as where he speaks of a couple of his friends who "followed each other" out of the world. Elsewhere, in a passage which suggests a bare possibility of ambiguousness, he is so good as to lodge the Governor of the N. W. Provinces in the Taj Mahal. Also, in a work not avowedly burlesque, the human mouth, however homely a feature, surely deserves some better name than that of a "facial orifice." We were not before aware that American proscription had trespassed beyond the legs. In our author's jargon, a cockroach is, with the elegance of pseudo-delicacy, dignified as a simple roach; a striped squirrel is a "chipmuck"; and to loan, signifies the act of borrowing,—an enormity of neoterism which is likely to take an Englishman completely aback. To continue, "making oneself off" means going away, "to fall down in a faint" is intelligible, and a "prudential committee" will be found explained in Webster's "American Dictionary." Mr. Ward's pictorial palankeen is described as "underway," his wealthy Hindus "own" their millions of rupees, he himself solemnly "concludes upon retiring to rest," and he learns that India "anciently composed several separate kingdoms." He speaks, further, of expense that can "illy" be afforded, just as we once heard an American remark that his horse could go very "fastly" if he chose. If Mr. Ward ever publishes another edition of his book, it is to be hoped that he will enlarge his glossary, which at present contains only Indian words, so that it may embrace such American coinages also as might puzzle a foreigner.

This same glossary, by the by, presents some entirely new views of orthography and interpretation. Such forms as "gomaster" and "maher-rajah" may indicate nothing more than a bad ear; but we will be bound to say that no one ever before heard that a "dacoit" meant "an attack made by robbers," a "khidmutgar" a "footman," a "munsy" a "judge," or "zamindari" a "province;" or that any "epic poem describing the exploits of Rama" was called "Ramazun." Several cacographical individuals, "Suraja Daulat" and "Jehonghier, for example, likewise need reformatting, not to mention an institution termed "Foujde a dawlat;" and "the Empress Aurungzebe" must either be unsexed, or relieved of her title, at discretion.

Let it not be thought that the pages we have devoted to this trashy book have been written without a purpose, or have been prompted by ill-will. We yield to none in admiration of the Missionaries for their sincerity and perseverance; and we would have India, from every point of view, depicted to the world plainly and fully and fairly. But we are under no obligation to be tender of swelling sciolism or sterile presumption; we are persuaded that Indian Missionaries run no extraordinary risks, and endure no extraordinary hardships or privations; and we would insinuate to every American that writes a book, the propriety of regarding correctness in language, as, at all events, a trifling element of civilization; more particularly, the volume that we have been noticing, which is dedicated to the American Oriental Society, will, without doubt, have many thousand readers in the United States, where there is no current work of authority on the same subject, by which Mr. Ward's misstatements may be counteracted or contradicted. *Dans le pays des aveugles le borgne est roi.* That whatever deserves to be known at all, deserves to be known as it is, there is no denying, if saws and proverbs retain their truthfulness. The Americans, moreover, are a people whose thirst for knowledge is surpassed only by their "energy of labour"* and not unhallowed lust of empire; and whoever comes forward, now-a-days, as a candidate for the honour of their special enlightenment, places his reputation at a critical stake. Very possibly this paper may never meet the eye of Mr. Ward, and it is quite immaterial whether it does or not. But it will meet the eyes of many of his countrymen in India, and if it have the effect of dissuading a single one of them from burthening the press with crudities and platitudes, it will not have been sent forth in vain. Mr. Ward, though devoid of the slightest instinct of criticism or industry of research, has offered himself for an undertaking from which the most varied qualifications might be excused for shrinking. Be it nothing more than a "popular view" that is in question, still something a pitch above the talents of a mere lacquey of literature are requisite for its successful accomplishment. An individual who, like Mr. Ward, can be such a pigmy as to plume himself, before men, on not being alarmed by the grunting of his palankeen-bearers, ought to know, if he has any gift of comparison, that the world would not lose much in being deprived of the story of his prowess. And his sentiments

* *Mill's Principles of Political Economy*, Vol I. p. 124, 1st Edition.

on the history, literature, religion, and prospects of one of the oldest and most intricate nations of the earth, as one might naturally presuppose, could scarcely be of the profoundest type. It may be perfectly true that the autobiography or personal reminiscences of almost any man except a fribble or an idiot would be worth having; but the case is widely different with a flimsy account by a trivial and desultory observer of things, which it may task the highest abilities to appreciate and represent.

NOTE.—The Editor, though unwilling to forego a paper so full of curious detail, and some severities abated, so timely as the preceding review; must still be allowed the remark, that he should not himself have chosen to revive the discussion of occasional defects in the labours of, it must be allowed on all hands, a very earnest and indefatigable body of Christian Missionaries. It is certainly difficult to account for the introduction of such an error as Gildemeister quotes from the title-page of the Serampore Sanskrit Pentateuch. But that it is a *mere* error, and that the ignorance of such a man as Carey (a man of many and considerable accomplishments, and of much research, as we know from the testimony of more than one of his most gifted friends) that Moses wrote in Hebrew, must not be gathered from it, is too obvious to need remark. Again, as regards the Rev. Wm. Ward, the Editor is not inclined to disallow the justice of Mr. Colebrooke's strictures on that gentleman's pretensions as an expositor of Hindu Philosophy. But his accuracy "as an observer and recorder of Hindu superstitions, manners, and customs" has been gratefully acknowledged by Dr. Duff, and his godly devotion to the great work which he made the business of his life, needs no encomiast. It is distinctly in the Editor's recollection that, at the commencement of studies now unhappily interrupted, Professor Wilson, of Oxford, recommended to him the perusal of Mr. Ward's work, to be received generally with some allowances, but still as embodying a large amount of acute practical observation. It may be said, too, that as a man, Mr. Ward was anything but *dreary* just as, as a man of observation, he was any thing but *crazed*. On the contrary, an excess of "Oriental pomp and princely grandeur" has, with equal tenability, been charged upon him. The Editor must be excused in this instance for enlarging on the loose generality—that he is "not answerable for the opinions of his correspondents." He has considered it incumbent upon him to express *direct dissent*.

There is one other point to which the Editor must advert particularly, though it needs be but briefly; first, because it will not be presumed that his opinions coincide with his correspondent's, on the necessity of State support for the vigour of the Episcopate; secondly, because he hopes that the position of Episcopacy in the United States may be reviewed in his next number. At present, therefore, he will merely adopt the resolution of Lord Harrowby and the Bishop of Salisbury on a recent interesting occasion*—that "the two distant portions of the same Apostolical Church seem in the Providence of God to have been set in the two hemispheres for the same special purpose, of maintaining in its primitive purity and integrity the faith once delivered to the Saints;"—at the same time recording his opinion that the Triennial Meetings and Reports of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States, will furnish a demonstration of the efficiency of its very various and important projects for evangelization.

* The reception of the Rev. Dr. Wainwright, Secretary to the House of American Bishops, and their Representative at the last Meeting in the Jubilee year of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, London, May 29, 1852.

III.

WHAT SPORT WE HAD IN 1852.

FROM the slender success that attended our sporting attempts on the occasion of our day in the woods with the Rajah, and our abortive endeavour to see the Saone, it may have been inferred that we would thereafter settle down definitively at our desk in disgust. The inference, if any one made it, was fallacious. Our literary friend, for a succession of years, had had, in the way of sporting success, nearly as little to brag of as ourselves; and we now resolved to club our united forces against our united bad luck, and see whether we could not out-general the enemy. We examined the map, and fixed upon a distant unfrequented and very tigerish-looking part of the district for the scene of operations. We bought buffalos, to bait the ground; and had them taken out some months previously, in order that the tigers might be attracted by the report that there was "corn in Egypt." We laid in large store of provisions, intending to go out early and take things leisurely and make sure work. We bought ponies, and made some advance towards a resolution to mount them, and get into training for the jungles. Finally, we kept the servants casting bullets, till it became a serious question how they were all to be carried; and now the time was approaching, and we felt a not altogether groundless confidence that for even our worst luck we were more than a match.

About this time a note was put into our hand. It was from our literary friend, and it ran thus. "Come up and sleep here on Monday, to be ready to start at four o'clock on Tuesday morning, under the guidance of a trustworthy Buheliya, for a very little known jheel which swarms with ducks. I send a wild-goose, as a sample, in evidence. Have you any duck-shot?"

Finding, on reference to the dictionary, that a Buheliya is a fowler by birth as well as profession, we looked out the duck-shot, put up our rifle with a prospective eye to a distant wild-goose, and were punctual to the appointment. We were prepared for the banter of our literary friend's lady, and resolved not to mind it. The sarcastic intimation that, if all went well, she should expect two geese to breakfast, but shouldn't calculate upon any ducks for dinner, was thrown away upon us. The servants were warned not to oversleep themselves, and we retired to rest, after loading all the guns.

The loading of the guns was a suggestion of our friend's. He remarked that we should not be able to see to load them in the morning; and he was right. We had better have left the servants to their own devices. Our repeated injunctions, and our evident enthusiasm, communicated to them a sort of sympathetic excitement, and the consequence was that we were all up by half-past two, with no prospect of the sun's being up before half-past six. Our friend made an elaborate toilet, by way of passing the time; but this resource (like the miser's radish) was "but transitory." Coffee furnished another expedient, the process of making as well as of drinking it, being gone through with exemplary deliberateness. A remonstrance to the servants, on the preposterously early hour that they had called us at, elicited nothing satisfactory, but sufficed to dispose of some three minutes and a quarter. All expedients being now exhausted (including an abortive attempt to go to sleep), we resolved to start in the dark, and wait for daylight at the jheel. The "trustworthy Buheliya" had not made his appearance, but one of the servants declared he knew the jheel perfectly well, so we started by the light of the stars. The coolness of the air was pleasantly bracing, and we stepped briskly out. This, by a natural association of ideas, set our friend a talking on his juvenile rambles in the mountains of Wales; and we really wish the editor would get him to write some account of these for the *Magazine*. It was still so dark that we were ever and anon stumbling into holes; but, after four or five miles walking, we felt ourselves rewarded by the glimmer as of water with ducks on it. Cocking the guns, we advanced, but to be disappointed. The hard white clay is very deceptive in the light of the stars. Three miles more brought us within six hundred yards of the jheel, and then indeed there was no mistake about the ducks. Such a gabbling, and such a snattering of bills in the mud, we never heard before. The mellowed multitudinousness of the unintermitting squish-squash was something indescribable.

"Didn't I tell you that I would show you where *ducks* were?"—exclaimed, in triumph, the blockhead who had undertaken to act as guide in the absence of the "trustworthy Buheliya"—whom, by the bye, we have never set eyes on from that day (when we saw him not) to this. "Well!—and do you mean to frighten away the ducks by talking in that tone?"—was the sportsman-like reproof with which our literary friend snubbed him into silence. The ducks, however, had taken the alarm. A rushing roar, like a volley

in platoon-firing, rose from the lake. We could barely see, in the starlight, a dim cloud of duck-life hovering over the almost equally dim belt of sedge and underwood that skirted the jheel. Then, like a volley from the next platoon, up rose another swarm with the like effect. We rested on our arms, and held our breath; and the ducks, thinking apparently that it was a false alarm, dropped down into the jheel again.

The dawn was now beginning to look out, and we looked around, though ever and anon turning our eye more particularly in the direction of the feeding-ground of the ducks. The aspect of an early morning scene on the wide level plains of the Gangetic valley is, to our mind, exceedingly impressive. With every scene, not of the highest order of natural sublimity, that appears to any one *very* impressive, visions of memory must needs, to account for the impressiveness, be intermingled; and with these we are not here concerned. What we wish we could do is, to paint in words the mere outward aspect of this level scene; and this we feel that we have not the skill to do. We can but tell,—and we speak to those far away, who will probably never have occasion to look upon the scene that we describe,—that the ground stretches away level all round you, and loses itself in the distance when nothing intervenes to check the view sooner. The ground nearest you, and all round you, is likely to be white sun-baked mud. Some twenty yards off there is a row of straggling things like stunted young willows in an ozier-bed. These are the advanced guard of a field of *arhar*—a plant which yields a kind of pea. This field, which to the eye grows pleasantly green as it recedes, is either brought up suddenly by a mango-grove, with its heavy dark-green, cabbage-headed and highly meritorious trees, or else it comes to an end, of its own accord, and is succeeded by a field of sugar-cane or of Indian-corn, with or without a strip of the white sun-baked mud between. To diversify this, which is the groundwork of the picture, there are other clumps of trees, less valuable than the mango-groves, but much more picturesque. These are the groups of the tamarind, the most beautiful of all the trees here, over-topping, usually, all others, and throwing its delicately feathery foliage—over the mud-huts of the Hindoo village—into far the handsomest shapes of any here seen, except the princely palm,—from which it differs so absolutely that any comparison between them would be as much to the purpose as a comparison between mustard as a relish for corned beef, and gutta-percha as a covering for the electric tele-

graph. With regard to the comparative merits of the tamarind and the *neem*-tree, on which our friend Philoxenus doats (to the disparagement of our favourite the tamarind) on the ground that insects hate it and the sun does not shine so readily through it, we might here offer some remarks,—but the dawn is breaking in earnest, and the ducks are beginning to look sharply around them.

“How *are* we to get a shot?” enquired our literary friend, looking at the swampy and quicksand-looking rice-fields, intersected by deep ditches filled with water, that now became gradually visible between us and the ducks. Not being prepared with a reply, we shrugged our shoulders, and the ducks themselves here put an end to our perplexity. The platoon-volley of thundering wings that we had heard in the darkness of the starlight, was repeated in our sight. Volley followed volley, and soon the united squadrons, forming themselves into a waving column, which looked like a winged dragon of a length such as a romancer had never even dreamt of, sailed off—very far out of shot.

“Had we not better,” said we, “go back to breakfast?” “Breakfast?” retorted our friend—“Why, it’s not time for *chota haziree*; there’s nobody up yet; and besides, we must not go home without a duck.” He had learned that there was another pond some three miles further on. Thither we proceeded. Finding that the rifle, however much elevated, always fell short of the distance within which the ducks, at this second pond, would allow us to approach them, we gave it up,—feeling that we had *deserved* success if we had not got it. At the former jheel, on our return, we found the buggy waiting; and we got back in time for breakfast, now fully aware of what we had never clearly apprehended before—that an infinitude of ducks does not necessarily imply duck-shooting.

Giving up ducks as delusions, we reverted (in anticipation of the tigers) to our accustomed quiet rifle-practice at snip-pets, pariah-dogs, and water-jars; and we had got into very fair training when the Governor-General, as ill luck would have it, announced his intended approach. Loyalty forbade (even if some of us had not had—or expected—friends in the suite) our leaving the station at such a time. Delay came upon the top of delay, and our grand expedition fell through. We were obliged to give up all thoughts of it.

Ruminating over our disappointment, some days subsequently,—it was after dinner, and our friend’s children had moved off, with their lady-mother, into the drawing-

room,—our friend, removing his hookah from his lips, remarked, as if musingly, "There's a tiger thirty-two miles from here." "Oh, hang him," said we, pettishly. "Would it not be better to shoot him?"—said our friend—feeling his way into our inclinations. Suffice it to say that two days thereafter we were upon the road, and the day of our starting brought us to our encamping ground. It was the prettiest encamping ground that we have yet seen in India. The grove of huge old trees, under which the tents were pitched, was skirted by a river, not then running—for the elephant crossed the rocky bottom dry-shod a few hundred yards further down,—but lying quiet in its still blue depths, over which the shady trees hung out their branches as over one of the rivers of England. The vista of leaves, as you looked up the river, was something quite novel after the Ganges, with its wide margin of sand or mud on each side to furnish room for the annual inundation. Where the brown weather-stained bastion of the ancient fort mingles with the trees on the river-bank, the monkeys have established their head-quarters. Monkeys are odd brutes. Sitting up in the trees, they took it into their heads to speculate about the otters which are numerous and gregarious in this deep reach of the river. Whether it was by common consent, or whether at the instigation of some single crotchety monkey, we know not, but we are assured that on one occasion, when the otters, in a body, were coming ashore, the monkeys descended in a body and would not permit it. The monkeys argued vociferously, as far as could be made out, that the otters ought to know their own mind, and either live on shore like land animals, or else stay in the water like fish, and not go chopping and changing about in a way that no consistent monkey could put up with. The otters appeared not a little confounded at this odd interference; and the dispute was put an end to by the gentlemen who witnessed it rushing forward and compelling one of the monkeys to take to the water contrary to his own recently declared principles. There was some hope that an alligator might seize him, for there is a legend of an ox having been here carried off by an alligator when drinking; but the monkey, more fortunate than deserving, got across and escaped.

It was in the afternoon that we reached the encamping-ground, and our friend, with the cool impetuosity natural to him, proposed that we should immediately go out deer-stalking with some of the foresters who had flocked in on hearing of our arrival. With that rash acquiescence in the

suggestions of others, contrary to the dictates of our better judgment, from which we have frequently suffered, we consented, tired as we were. Half an hour's brisk walking brought us to a jungle. Another half hour's still brisker walking at the heels of the wiry forester (—our friend having taken a different route, in order that we might not interfere with one another,—) brought us blind and breathless within sight of a deer. We fired at it, missed it as a matter of course, and sinking on the ground enquired of the forester whether he could not get a cart to carry us back to the tent. The unmingled astonishment of the man, which was amusing, was the only consolation available under the circumstances. After gasping for a moment, he asked; "Why didn't you hit the deer? I was told that you were a splendid shot?" We explained to him that we should be happy to evince the splendour of our shooting on some other occasion, that we were so knocked up that we could neither see the deer among the branches nor point our rifle correctly, and that if he could *not* get a cart or other conveyance for us, we had better proceed leisurely to the tents. This we accordingly did, our companion from time to time casting many suspiciously disparaging glances at us. Dinner revived our injudiciously exhausted energies, and next day we set to work more methodically.

Our first *hankwah* (or driving of game) was to be in the tiger-jungle; but, as it appeared there was no great chance at present of our meeting the tiger, we were to take post, not in trees, but on the ground, each behind a skreen of leafy branches. To within half a mile of the place we proceeded on the back of the elephant, through an ordinary jungle of smallish shrivelled trees. Dismounting, we then walked silently along (—silently after a check from our more experienced friend—) towards where the trees gradually presented a larger and more succulent aspect. We were evidently approaching water. Just before we turned down a steepish declivity, our friend pointed to the right and whispered "There's a lair for a tiger." It was indeed just such a one as, in dreaming of the fitness of things, we should have thought of. In a gully, leading down to the channel of the river that we were nearing, there were some half-dozen yellow clumps of bamboo, streaked with dark lines by the overshadowing large trees. It was like a swarm of tigers. We shuddered, looked valorous, and went on. Down in the bed of the river, which consisted of dry sand at that point, though some fifty yards above and below, there was

deep water under the fine umbrageous trees that hung gracefully across it, we found a hundred and fifty men, boys and children waiting to drive the deer. On our arrival they moved off quietly (all except one noisy fellow whose ears our friend boxed accordingly) to form themselves into a semicircle and so circumvent the game.

The leafy skreens were arranged about sixty yards apart, and about thirty yards from the margin of the river; the opposite bank rising some sixty or eighty feet very abruptly. The animals were to be driven down this declivity, and shot in the water. This being understood, and our friend and ourself having taking post behind separate skreens, (—with an understanding that, if a tiger *did* come, each was to refrain from firing at it when in such a position that it would be likely to diverge, wounded or nettled, towards the locality of the other one and eat him,—) the driving of the game began. Our proceedings had not been unobserved by the monkeys, or rather the long-armed apes, which went nimbly creeping about the branches of the trees on the opposite bank in a fashion that justified the name of spider-monkeys. One of them, either trusting himself on too slender a branch, or pushed off by some mischievous acquaintance, fell over head and ears into the water, from which he emerged in a state of vociferous wrath and alarm, the expression of which commingled ludicrously with the chucklings of his compatriots. Monkeys, like men, evidently enjoy a joke at another's expense, and by no means at their own.

A parcel of pigs now made their appearance on the opposite bank, testifying, by short grunts and short runs from one side to the other, their impression that there was something in the wind. With sudden unanimity they commenced moving off to the right; but three ominous taps on a tree, by a man stationed in concealment there for the purpose, made them change their mind. They tried the left hand, with the like result, and then they came grumbling down into the channel in front of our friend. From his not firing, we concluded that he was asleep or polishing a period. The crack of his rifle at length told that he had woke up, but not sufficiently, for no pig's death-squeal echoed the report. The whole party vanished helter-skelter. We consoled ourselves with the anticipation of an approaching herd of deer, five splendid bucks having fallen to the rifle of a single sportsman the last time that this same cover had been drawn. That sportsman must have had his own luck—not ours. The voices of the beaters sounded ominously near, and they

emerged from the covert just as our friend had covered with his rifle a solitary stag. The temptation to gratify two feelings at once by killing the stag and the provoking coolie behind him with the same ball, was very great; and our friend's merit was the greater that with a pang he refrained. Having duly rated and ridiculed the beaters for their inefficiency, and—what was as much to the purpose—having distinctly explained that another blank *hánkwa* would tell seriously in the day's distribution of pence, we moved off deeper into the jungle.

The scene here was very beautiful. High trees, with long and nearly branchless stems, spread a dark covering overhead, through the clefts in which the sun shone down in bright streaks and patches that flickered on the ground as the wind played above among the foliage. For some distance the ground between the trees was pretty clear of underwood. Large creepers, thick as the cable of a man-of-war, hung in deep festoons from tree to tree; and on the biggest festoon sat a long-armed ape, swinging, and watching the forester as he cut the branches for our skreen—or *patwa* as the hunters call it. The *hánkwa* commenced, and three large spotted deer rushed past. Before we had fully recovered from our surprise, they were no longer to be seen. Our friend the forester watched their transit without remark, and now pointed to a thick part of the jungle, some eighty yards off, where we discerned the head and neck of a Sambar deer looking out from behind a tree. We raised our pea rifle, and the forester whispered earnestly—"Don't fire *now*," (—he was thinking of our yesterday's shot,—) "wait till he comes close up, and you can see him completely." "No, no, friend,"—thought we to ourselves,— "we shall show you that we can hit when we have time to see what we are shooting at, though we don't undertake to bring down meteors, or quails, or will o' the wisps." Taking aim behind the head, we touched the hair-trigger, and the deer was on his back with his feet in the air. The forester gave a low whistle of astonishment,—not so much at the shot as at our having made it,—and as his open eyes travelled incredulously from the deer to ourselves, we preserved an air of abstracted unconsciousness which gradually transformed his astonishment into respect. As the beaters were now close at hand, we sallied forth, and gave the *coup de grace* to the poor deer by means of all the remaining barrels,—six in all. Little did we suspect, while engaged in this work of mercy, what despair, verging on envy, we were occasion-

ing in the other *patwa*. At every fresh bang, our friend's teeming fancy conjured up a fresh deer falling before our unerring aim, while not a living thing came his way except a parrot which our seventh shot well nigh provoked him to massacre, or attempt massacring. The discovery that there was only one deer bagged, restored his peace of mind; the more so as we were now sure of returning to camp not absolutely empty-handed, the Samber being about the size of a cow.

Having distributed the coppers, we dismissed the beaters, and then parted company with the view of stalking our way separately to camp. The route which fell to our share soon brought us to a rather elevated ridge, from which we had an extensive view in several directions. Here again we find reason to regret that we have neither the knack of word-painting nor of handling the brush; for the scene was one that we would fain have had some loved ones to join us in contemplating. Hadst thou been there, mine own brother, the scene might have been daguerreotyped on canvas,—that is to say, if thou couldst have been got to handle brush where there was pig-shooting and the possibility of a bear. On a promontory of the ridge we sat down on one of the weather-stained slabs of red sandstone of which these hills are chiefly composed. Clumps of bamboo, feathery and graceful even in the sere and yellow leaf,—huge silk-cotton trees (if we mistake not), with every particle of bark stripped off, and stretching their wild glistening arms, clad seemingly, like *Tilburina* when she went mad, in white satin, far over the brink of the precipice,—a wilderness of brushwood, and long withered grasses straggling among the slabs and lumps of sandstone;—such was, to be concise, the aspect of the ridge that we had got upon. Before us was a deep basin, or amphitheatre, of perhaps a mile across and some two or three miles in length, surrounded by hills or rising grounds, all wooded to the top, and with promontories stretching into it and suggesting other wildernesses beyond them. Mellowed by the distance, the rugged branches of the jungle melted into softened masses of foliage; and some glades of open ground in the bottom set us a thinking of quiet flocks and herds, and of a stately mansion embosomed in this glorious domain. The forester, whose reverie had been of another strain, dispelled the fancy by pointing to a lodge on the opposite ground. "That," said he, "is where we kill the tiger. The shooters take their places severally at that point, and at yon one, and yon one. The string of guards is placed along that line to prevent the tiger

from breaking away, and the beaters advance from the foot of this precipice." "A very compact arrangement," responded we;—"and, pray, where is the tiger at present?" "Who can tell?" rejoined he;—"we have not found signs of one lately;—but—hist—look down there, at that clump of bamboos." We looked, and saw, as it seemed to us, the hind-quarters of a deer peeping out from the clump referred to, at the foot of the descent. Calculating where his head ought to be, we fired. The tree seemed to be transformed into a catherine-wheel. We had fired into a whole family of wild-hogs, and at the shot they scattered in every direction like the firework just mentioned. The clump was searched in vain for any remanent porker, and we reached camp without further adventure of much note.

Remains of what has passed away are touching things. At the old bastion of the fort there, we could not help thinking of the maidens who, many a time and many a year ago, must have tripped down the massive flight of steps,—which still defies time's ravages,—to dip their pitchers in that clear still pool—(for, when it is a stream instead of a pool, we can fancy its being muddy enough). We thought too of the lady of those halls, and of her destiny when her husband, loved or unloved, had departed before her;—the last look of agony, perhaps, at the calm clear water, with the otters swimming in it, and the doves cooing in the overhanging branches, and the setting sun shining softly through the trees, and evening settling down calmly and caressingly on all things, save the pyre of immolation. But the remains of what had passed away, to which we now meant more particularly to refer, were of another sort. They met our eye as we entered the sleeping-tent to make our toilet, where the little beds of our friend's children, ranging in length (—the beds we mean—) from three feet four to four feet three, reminded us that the cheerful little voices had departed to the station. As we deposited our multifarious guns and powder-flasks upon the little couches (—which proved extremely convenient for the purpose—) we sighed to think ourself (for the time being) "monarch of all we surveyed;" and then we went to see the Sambar distributed among the natives. The vociferous eagerness of each to secure a share of the coveted venison excited our own curiosity to taste it. We ordered a steak in spite of the strong dissuasions of our literary friend; and its indescribable toughness furnished one more occasion for marvelling at our friend's extraordinary extent of knowledge and invariable want of success.

IV.

CAMPBELL'S MODERN INDIA.*

MR. Campbell's work on Modern India and its Government contains a well argued, and, to our mind, a just apology for the local Indian Civil Administration. He has said a good deal, much to the purpose, within a moderate space. Writing for the edification of English members of parliament, and other persons equally ignorant of India, he has done right to embrace the entire peninsula in his lucubrations, but had he written for his own fame alone, or for the information of the Indian public, he would have confined himself to the N. W. Provinces and the Punjab. Of the rest of India he knows about as much as most of our readers, and no more ; but regarding the civil administration of Upper India he has much and generally accurate information. It took our author, he tells us, his " spare time for the last few months " to dispose of " Modern India." We, who have but a few hours to devote to Mr. Campbell, and who have not the talents (for compression) of the cook in " High Life below Stairs," who promised to read " Shikspur " " one of these odd evenings " will not attempt to cram an abstract of near six hundred pages of " Modern India " into a corner of our *Magazine*. It will suit us and our readers better if we note the broader features of the work, and extract a few of the *tableaux*, and then advise the public to read and digest for themselves a very useful and readable volume.

To begin with the beginning, or rather before the beginning, with the author. Mr. George Campbell is a Civilian of some ten years' standing, five years of which have, as he tells us, been spent in charge of the civil jurisdiction, revenue, and police of the Loodianah District. We may add, what Mr. Campbell does not tell us, that he is the reputed author of some remarkably able letters which appeared in the *Mofussilite*, and attracted much attention at the time when the Punjab was about to be annexed, under the signature of " Economist." No man ever chose his own name better. Dip into " Modern India " where you will, and you cannot go far without finding that you are in the hands of a thorough-going " economist." In a young man, one might expect to find some little touch

* MODERN INDIA. *A Sketch of the System of Civil Government, to which is prefixed Some Account of the Natives and Native Institutions.* BY GEORGE CAMPBELL, Esq. B. C. S. LONDON. JOHN MURRAY. 1852.

of enthusiasm, romance or sentiment. Not a bit of it; from preface to index it is economy throughout. Even political questions resolve themselves according to our author into sums of proportion. Does it pay? This seems the main question, when Mr. Campbell discusses a political event. The following account of the annexation of Scinde will serve to give at once a good specimen of our author's style, and of his political creed:—

“But though we withdrew from Cabul, our military expenses were not yet over. On invading Affghanistan by the Bolan pass, Scinde became a base of our operations, and troops were then cantoned. When our misfortunes occurred it was supposed that the Beloch chiefs would have liked to have turned against us, but dare not and did not. Major-General Sir C. Napier then commanded a division in Bombay; he was a good soldier, of a keen energetic temperament, but somewhat quarrelsome disposition; had at one proud period of his life been in temporary charge of a petty island in the Mediterranean, but was, I believe, deposed by his superior, most unwisely as he considered; and he had ever since added to his military ardour a still greater ambition for civil power—as it often happens that we prefer to the talents which nature has given us those which she has denied us. He was appointed to the command in Scinde, and Lord Ellenborough, an admirer of heroes, subsequently invested him with political powers. He soon quarrelled with the Chiefs, and came to blows with them. Their followers were brave but undisciplined, and they had no efficient artillery. An active soldier was opposed to them. He easily overcame them, declared the territory annexed, and was made Governor of Scinde.

“Now, the Beloch chiefs had no other right to the territory than that of the sword, and we, having the better sword, were perfectly justified in taking it from them if we chose, without reference to the particular quarrel between Sir Charles and the Chiefs, the merits of which have been so keenly disputed, and on which I need not enter. But the question was one of expediency; and this premature occupation of Scinde was not so much a crime as a blunder, for this very simple reason, that Scinde did not pay, but, on the contrary, was a very heavy burden by which the Indian Government has been several millions sterling out of pocket.”—pp. 137-138.

Mr. Campbell has been an Indian Magistrate, and is now, we believe, training as an English lawyer.* We wish him all success, and doubt not that he is “equal to either fortune.” But, we cannot congratulate him upon either his law or his logic. He writes such good plain English, and gives his sentiments so broadly, that the following version of the historical extract just given is almost superfluous. A great nation finds it convenient to locate troops in the territories of a small one. Both powers hold their existing status by force of arms. Great nation is represented by a fighting General of a ‘some-

what quarrelsome disposition with plenty of big guns, little nation has leaders 'brave but undisciplined' and, unfortunately, 'no efficient artillery.' Great nation has reverses, little nation looks on and does nothing. In return for this forbearance, great nation turns to and thumps little nation. Why not? Both owe their origin to the sword, and why should they not cut each others' throats whenever they please? All perfectly right. Only, when great nation, after cutting little nation's throat, came to empty its pockets, it turned out that little nation was not worth killing, the plunder was so small. So the whole affair was a blunder. It is true, we are told in the same page, that the Chiefs had amassed in their own way considerable property and treasure which the General obtained for the army. The General thus got "unprecedented prize money and the government of Scinde."—But, alas, says our Economist, "Bengal paid the costs of the Government he had gained."—*Hine illæ lacrymæ!* Let right, wrong, let all the common vulgar notions of humanity, be put aside, let every man take from another what that other has acquired, only don't let him take what is not worth keeping. That, says Mr. George Campbell, as M. Talleyrand said before him, is worse than a crime, —'tis a mistake.

Fortunately for our author, it is pretty well known in India that he is an upright respectable member of an honorable service, and just as observant of the laws of meum and tuum as "my dear Uncle" Chief Justice Campbell, to whom his book is dedicated. Otherwise, if strangers were to judge of Mr. Campbell's private morality by his political sentiments here given, an opinion might be hazarded that he had been taking a lesson from his friends the Jats of Upper India, *Jiska lathee oosha bhyns*. "The buffalo is his who possesses the club." This reminds one very much of our Scinde policy, and of Mr. Campbell's remarks thereon. We regret the harshness, to use a mild designation, which pervades Mr. Campbell's political sentiments. For it must take off from the authority of the work, and strangers in India cannot be expected to discover at a glance how much sounder Mr. Campbell's opinions on civil affairs are than his arguments on political events. As we shall not have occasion to bring Sir C. Napier before our readers again, we cannot resist giving the following *morceau* concerning his government of Scinde:—

"That famous personage is very distinguished in his own way, and would have been a capital commandant of a Military police to repel the hill marauders; but that he, an officer of the army, inexperienced in

civil affairs, utterly ignorant of the people, the language, the manners, and the institutions of India, should understand civil management—should be fully equal to that in which Monro, after a life of labour, declared that we were yet but feeling and groping our way—would have been nothing less than a miracle. There have arisen among us heaven-born Generals, but never heaven-born Collectors.—p. 195. * * *

* * It was the most difficult field for the most skilful and able administrator to be found. It was then hardly to be expected that Sir Charles should succeed, nor a matter of blame to him that he could not; but he himself had no such misgivings. The Company's servants were corrupt, the Company's system vicious. He would show them a model province.—p. 196. * * * The revenue was collected in kind, and sold for the benefit of Government. Various officers were nominated as Magistrates, under magniloquent quasi-parchment commissions, such as were heretofore unknown in benighted India, setting forth in terms somewhat as follows, that "We, Charles Napier, Governor of Scinde, &c., &c., &c., by virtue of the power in us vested, do constitute and appoint our trusty John Smith a Magistrate in Scinde," and so on. At the same time efficient but very expensive military police corps were organized; and there was a camel baggage corps which was to move to musical signals, and would have been very efficient too if the camels had not most unexpectedly and perversely proved themselves to be unmusical animals. As it was, the corps turned out to be a scheme for carrying the minimum of baggage at the maximum of expense."

The work before us opens with a hasty, but comprehensive sketch of "The Indians to the decline of the Mogul Empire." It were out of place in this necessarily brief notice of "Modern India" to enter upon an enquiry into the details of ancient Indian ethnology. We will therefore satisfy ourselves with the remark that Mr. Campbell, in treating of the two principal tribes of the Hindoo race, commonly called Brahmin and Kshatriya, dubs the Kshatriya "Khatree," and denies or ignores entirely the identity of this, the ancient military class, with the Rajpoot tribe of the present day. Of the Brahmins he says:—

"In Northern India they form a large proportion of the population of some parts of the country—in the divisions of Oude, Allahabad, Benares, and Bahar (all on the Ganges).

"They are in fact not merely a priestly class, but an ancient tribe or nation. Alexander found the Brachmani, a separate nation, possessing territory and cities of their own. The most remarkable feature in their present position seems to be, that they are almost the only class which engages in all professions. Among the rural population they cultivate largely; they are very numerous among the sepoys of our army; they are commonly found as bankers and traders among the mercantile classes; they take all kind of service, and are even constantly met with as common labourers. They are priests, astrologers, and, where they can find employment as such,—cooks; because a Hindoo who can afford only one servant keeps a Brahmin to cook his meals.* All classes can eat at his hands, and the employer has also the merit of supporting one of the sacred order. But, generally speaking, where

the Rajpoot family have been long dominant, the Brahmins have not the same respect, influence, and share of good things as elsewhere; are in fact very much superseded as priests by the monastic orders, and as men of business by the writer caste; and so they are reduced more nearly to a level with other people. But they still retain some share of respect from all good Hindoos; and in all positions (except perhaps as pure agriculturists) they have something of the wily character of the race,—try to assume the attributes of a tribe of *Levi*, to influence fellow-servants, fellow sepoys, and such like, and are generally cunning, clever, and insinuating, yet bold and manly enough when necessary. Although but a small proportion of the Brahmins are priests, there are a good many of them about the country in that capacity, and as schoolmasters, &c.; and they are the exclusive guardians of all the Hindoo sacred places, and reap an excellent harvest from devout pilgrims.

"In the South they are altogether an immigrant race, settled there within the historic period, and both in Bengal and in the Deccan they seem to hold a much higher position than they now do in Hindostan, to have much rank and influence, and in the Deccan to monopolise the profession of the pen and all the business of the country. There too they are numerous, and follow many professions; but they seem to have the best of every thing, and not to descend to the lowest offices; to have acquired the most valuable landed rights, and most of the district and village offices, which never fall to any priestly class in the North.

"As priests the Brahmins are a purely secular clergy; profess no contempt for the things of this world; have wives and families, and riches as much as they can get. The four stages of a Brahmin's life, and all that kind of thing, as described by *Menu* and related in Europe, have no existence now; a Brahmin never wanders about as an ascetic, but lives comfortably. Hence they are deservedly superseded in much of their influence by the comparatively modern religious orders which are drawn from the general population, and many of whom, renouncing the world, lead an enthusiastic devoted life, and form a kind of regular clergy. They are described by Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 110, and are an innovation, doubtless caused by the short comings and worldliness of the Brahmins. But even of them many have now become secular and corrupt. Many of the orders permit marriage and acquire property. Sometimes they have well-endowed institutions, where they dispense food to the needy, and do a great deal of good." p. 40.-42.

After alluding to the Aheers, Goojars, and Gwalas (or cow-keepers) as nomad races contrasting strongly with the gardening tribes, our author goes on to describe what he calls "the democratic farming tribes who now form the great mass of the population of a large part of India, and unite the occupations of herdsmen and cultivators.

"They are in fact by profession agriculturists in our sense of the word. They have nothing at all nomad in their character, but settle down to the possession of arable land, and farm on a large scale, growing principally grain and all kinds of farm-produce, rather than sugar, tobacco, and the finer articles; and also keeping as many cattle as the nature of the country will permit. In low lands they may cultivate exclusively; in some high, dry situations may depend principally on their cattle. They are not a literate race, never follow the profession of the

pen, and read and write only to keep their own accounts; but, wherever occasion calls them forth, they make excellent soldiers, and especially regular infantry. In all their physical, moral, and social characteristics they eminently resemble the races which overran Europe. They have none of the Oriental Jewish cast of countenance found among the Affghans and many Mahomedan tribes in Asia. The Rajpoots are the first and best-known type of this family, but I describe it rather as it originally was than as the Rajpoots now generally appear after long ages of conquest and domination. The original type is much more perfect in the Jats, whom I have mentioned as identical with the Rajpoots in all essential characteristics, although a more-recent tribe, which had not till lately aspired to general conquest and domination. They claim kindred with the Rajpoots, and allege that they are Rajpoots who have lost caste. But it is more probable that they are tribes of the same family who never attained the same rank, and, not having been the conquerors of India, were content to assume a lower place in the Hindoo scale.

"I have mentioned that some of the democratic tribes seem to have gone south, and I find mention made in the Tamul country, and even in Ceylon, of a people called Vellallers, who must, I imagine, occupy much the same position as the Jats in the North. It is stated that they are cultivators by profession, and that these cultivators look down upon, and consider themselves superior to, the other classes. The Vellallers invariably represented themselves to have settled in and taken possession of the country in a body at a comparatively recent date. They formed large communities of a purely democratic constitution, and alleged that they were the originators of the democratic Meerasee tenure in the south, which is described as existing in their villages word for word as I should describe the constitution of a Jat or Rajpoot village of the present day. They are doubtless a cognate people settled in the other extremity of India. I also observe that the hills of the Northern Circars are said to have been conquered and ruled over by a people from the Tamul country called Velmas, just as Rajpoots have established themselves in other parts, but I have not been able to ascertain whether these Velmas have any connection with Vellallers.

"All the tribes of this race refer to some period of uncertain date when they settled in a body. They claim and exercise a very strong proprietary right in each village over the whole land, cultivated and uncultivated, and divide the cultivated land in fixed shares, which are supposed to represent the original division by the first settlers, and the subdivision by inheritance. Among themselves their constitution is, as I have said, purely democratic, and they are represented by elected committees or Punchis. They do not admit any other inhabitants to such rights, but regard them as their servants or serfs, and so it happens that though democrats where they form the main portion of the population, wherever (as has occurred in many parts of India) they are merely dominant families settled in villages, and claiming superiority over the rest, they are rather oligarchs. As the Rajpoots became military conquerors, and successive conquerors have since exercised political rule, there has been in modern times no opportunity for democratic institutions on a large scale such as Alexander found. The democratic races are now quite content to acknowledge a general government, and pay the revenue of the state, so long as they enjoy unimpaired the democratic institutions of their own villages, and care not for further political independence so long as they have that personal independence, the love of which Guizot mentions as introduced into the Roman world by the

barbarians, and which these races also especially esteem. The constitution of the village communities will be afterwards more particularly described.

"The Rajpoots seem to have been settled as a nation about the Upper Ganges, Jumna, and Sutlej; Lower Rohilcund, the middle Doab, and Bundelcund are still, to a certain extent, Rajpoot countries. The armies which they have sent forth to conquest have doubtless, in course of time, much thinned their numbers, diminished their vigour, changed their character, and made them somewhat effete. But still many large and perfect Rajpoot communities exist in the countries I have mentioned. There are the remains and scattered villages of the race to the west and in the Punjab, and many of them seem to have found their way into the neighbouring Himmalayas. To the east, in Benares and Bahar, they are numerous, but there seem to be settled rather as dominant families than as great cultivating communities. The old Rajpoot princes are settled with their military followers in feudal style in parts of Malwa and the habitable portions of the desert, forming what is now called Rajpootana; but this is rather their adopted than their proper country. In the rest of India the Rajpoots have only settled in smaller numbers, as chiefs, princes, and military dynasties—more numerous in the nearer parts—less so in the farther. They are numerous in Guzerat, there are a good many in the Maratta country; and farther south they are scarce, and principally known as the princely families who preceded the Mahomedans. A curious fact is the way in which Rajpoot families have made themselves clannish chiefs of remote districts, and alien peoples never properly conquered by them; and there is a great analogy in this respect between them and the Normans. They have pushed their way by superior vigour just like the Normans, and we find Rajpoot chiefs of the savage aborigines of the mountains, just as Norman families in Scotland became chiefs of our Celtic Highland clans.

"Besides the pure Rajpoots, there is in the original Rajpoot country a large class claiming kindred with them, forming the same kind of communities, but not of pure caste. They are all doubtless of the same family, and are, like the Jats, better behaved and better cultivators than their brethren spoilt by prosperity.

"It is not to be wondered at that the Rajpoots should have somewhat deteriorated. They are now but indifferent cultivators, and bad revenue payers—too prone to idleness and fighting. Many of them, especially of the higher classes, were converted to Mahomedanism. West of the Jumna most of the Rajpoot communities have gone over in a body, and are generally the worse for the change, very bad cultivators and great thieves, living in the remembrance of their privileged days, and rapidly giving place to the fresher and more energetic Jats.

"The Rajpoot chiefs trace their descent from times long anterior to history; blood and family they consider above all things; and the matrimonial alliances of different families are regulated by the nicest and most jealous rules. Of course the marriage in some instances of their daughters to the Mogul emperors was a political necessity, violating all rules, and in their eyes, no marriage, but a social death of the bride.

"The Rajpoot prince hardly exercises the authority of a sovereign. He is surrounded by feudatories, large and small, generally claiming kindred or clanship with himself, to whom the greater part of his territory is allotted on tenure of military service, and each of whom exercises most of the powers of government in his holding or Jagheer.

The relation between superior and inferior is so exactly feudal, that I need not farther detail it.

"Their religious guides are generally their own bards and devotees rather than Brahmins."—p. 44-48.

Mr. Campbell is, as we have already observed, an economist, and we will not quarrel with him for preferring the frugal and laborious Jat above the high-spirited but improvident Rajpoot. We dissent *in toto* from his proposition that the Rajpoots began as agriculturists and ended as soldiers. With them the rule has been to defend the plough with the sword, and to support the sword by the plough. War and agriculture have progressed amongst them *pari passu*. But if our author likes to call these tribes democratical in spite of their royal synonyms, and in spite of the existence of their Rajahs or Kings in most parts of the country, we are not disposed to break a lance with him on the subject. When, however, he goes on to draw a distinction between these so-called democratic communities, and to contrast them with the "simple communities, aristocratic in constitution, and under single headmen appointed by the King," of the South of India, we confess our hesitation. The position here adopted strikes us as incompatible with the following notorious facts. First, the existence of Rajahs as the acknowledged heads of the various Rajpoot tribes. Secondly, the observance of the rights of primogeniture in the families of these Rajahs. Lastly, we observe that the type of the *village republic* has, whether truly or not, been invariably found by historians amongst those very societies whom the author of "Modern India" has selected as specimens of "the original aristocratic form."

Of the democracy of the Rajpoots we may observe that their general rule is one of equality. Their monarch, little more than "*primus inter pares*," and seldom venturing to meddle with that "*imperium in imperio*," which before the Mahometan invasions formed the normal status of the Rajpoot village communities. Still the accidents of feudality to which Mr Campbell confesses the Rajpoot societies were subject consist not at all with a truly democratical constitution. Is it not indeed almost paradoxical to call these tribes democratic whose very name implies sovereignty? Next, we come to the village communities of Southern India, with their "Potail or head inhabitant, who has the general superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs the duty of collecting the revenue within the village;—the Curnom, who keeps the ac-

counts of cultivation, and registers every thing connected with it;—the Tallier and Totie—the duty of the former appearing to consist in a wider and more enlarged sphere of action, in gaining information of crimes and offences, and in escorting and protecting persons travelling from one village to another; the province of the latter appearing to be more immediately confined to the village—consisting, among other duties, in guarding the crops, and assisting in measuring them;—the Boundary Man who preserves the limits of the village, and gives evidence respecting them in cases of dispute;—the Superintendent of Water-Courses and Tanks, who distributes the water for the purposes of agriculture;—the Brahmin, who performs the village worship; the Schoolmaster, who is seen teaching the children in the village to read and write in sand;—the Calendar Brahmin, or Astrologer, who proclaims the lucky or unpropitious periods for sowing and threshing;—the Smith and Carpenter, who manufacture the implements of agriculture, and build the houses of the ryots;—the Potman, or Potter; the Washerman; the Barber; the Cowkeeper, who looks after the cattle; the Doctor; the Dancing Girl, who attends at rejoicings; the Musician, and the Poet.”*

From this passage, in which the writers go on to describe the Indian village as “this simple form of municipal Government,” Mr. Campbell proceeds to argue the existence of an “original aristocratic form” of village society. We are rather inclined to agree with Mill, who commenting on this description observes, “These villages appear to have been not only a sort of *small republic*, but to have enjoyed to a great degree the community of goods.”†

The truth is that royalty, aristocracy, and feudality, have more or less prevailed amongst the Rajpoots and their congeners, whilst, amongst the softer tribes of the South, municipal institutions have taken root and flourished: not under the shade of any landed aristocracy (which in truth belongs to the Northern tribes) but under the influence of hereditary functionaries, who again are or were directly under the protection and orders of the king. The real *apīstoc* of India is not the Desmuk or headman of the Deckan, but the Thakoor or Chief of Northern India; who is born if not a king yet one of a royal tribe. At the same time we are not prepared to

* Extract from the Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, printed in 1812, and quoted by Mill and Campbell.

† Book II., ch. 5.

deny that Desmuk, Patel, and Thakoor belong alike to one common parent stock; and that the variations to be observed in village government, and the changeful phenomena of Indian village society are to be attributed to the force of circumstances, rather than to any essential and original differences of constitution.

To leave ethnology, and to come to national characteristics. The following touches of native character are given with a firm hand and a just discrimination:—

“Litigiousness is to a certain extent the result of the transition state from anarchy to order. The rights of the different classes are unsettled by anarchy, and rendered uncertain by a new system. They have been accustomed to fight over their claims, and that mode of arranging matters being forbidden them, they love to fight it out in courts of law; and the feeling is exactly that described by Scott in the case of Dandie Dinmont, who, as he might not fight his neighbour about the disputed boundary, was determined to ding him in the court of Session.”—p. 61.

So much for litigiousness; now as to the want of truth of the Native races:—

“Truth certainly is not in the nation; but the difference is that some lie with more cunning than others. A Bengallee makes up a story with all kinds of premeditation and circumstance, and supports it by artifice; while a Northern Jat lies in a good humoured way, and may be reasoned with, and induced to cut down his statements.”—p. 62.

He might have added that in Upper India, at all events, there is one unfailing plan for arriving at the truth of any fact known to the people, namely, a public examination *on the spot*. Men who would lie without shame within walls of a Cutcherry, will scruple to tell a falsehood before their brethren in any matter known to them all. This was the secret of the success of our reformed revenue system. An English official, with his tent in the village grove, who walked, rode, hunted and shot; lived in short amongst the village people, acquired a knowledge of the real state of things, whether affecting the interests of the Government, or of the people, which he never could have obtained at a distance. A native, like any body else, gives up trying to deceive a man who is not to be deceived.

The difference between the higher and lower classes of Europe and India, and the absence of that very important ingredient, ‘the gentleman,’ is thus given:—

“It is, I think, a remarkable distinction between the manners of the natives and ours, and one which much affects our dealings with them, that there does not exist that difference of tone between the higher and

lower classes—the distinction in fact of a gentleman. The lower classes are to the full as good and intelligent as with us; indeed, they are much more versed in the affairs of life, plead their causes better, make more intelligent witnesses, and have many virtues.

“But these good qualities are not in the same proportion in the higher classes: they cannot bear prosperity; it causes them to degenerate, especially if they are born to greatness. The only efficient men of rank (with of course a few exceptions) are those who have risen to greatness.

“The lowest of the people, if fate raise him to be an emperor, makes himself quite at home in his new situation, and shows an aptitude of manner and conduct unknown to Europeans similarly situated; but his son is altogether degenerate.”—pp. 63-64.

Mr. Campbell arguing from these premises, the justice of which to a considerable extent we are obliged to admit, goes on to infer the necessity which exists for *creating* a new class, (we suppose he means for the public service,) and adds; “From the acuteness and aptness to learn of the inferior classes, this can be done as is done in no other country.”

Now, if a superior class *is* to be *created*, and supposing that the class of natives to be trained for the service of Government needed only to be good men of business, and expert accountants, we should incline to Mr. Campbell's opinion. A faded aristocracy might be pushed on one side to make room for the ready-reckoner and upstart expectant of whatever breed. But we must not hope to find amongst this mushroom tribe the stern sense of honor, the courage, and the self-respect, which yet linger round the good old families of Hindustan. It is our duty, as well as our best policy, to enlist good blood into our service, lest to the necessary evil of centralization which belongs to our Government, we add the gratuitous curse of a *parvenu* functionarism, unable to sympathize with the better part of the people. It is one of the results of an elaborate system of government, incidental to human progress in general, and not peculiar to India, that “*coute qui coute*,” aptitude for business and expertness must be found for the public service. But if in India this ready talent is, as Mr. Campbell has stated, common, it becomes the dispensers of patronage here to seek anxiously for the far rarer and more valuable, though unfortunately less indispensable, qualifications of honor, probity, and self-respect. Every effort should be made to foster these virtues, where found adorning, as is not seldom the case, the sons of good ancient houses; as well as to create them, where they certainly are not indigenous, amongst the humble classes of native society. It were hard measure for the chiefs whom our rule has supplanted to thrust them on one side without trial,

to make room for more pliable men, simply because the race of native gentlemen is deteriorated.

To take one of the worst cases of modern functionarism. It has been even in Prussia the policy of the Government to induce the nobles of her newly-acquired states to enter into the official rank the "*Beamptenstand*," rather than to disgust them still further, after taking away their former rank, by putting some low-born civil clerk over their heads.

If we must have one powerful class, and one only, between the Government and the people—"the officials," let us engage for the public service as many as we can of those who are by nature and by right the best suited for offices of trust and importance. If the native aristocracy be degraded, let us strive to do something that may elevate and enlighten them, not drive them to despair, by neglect and starvation.*

But to return to our author. We have already presented to our readers Mr. Campbell's sketch of Sir Charles Napier. As a *pendant* thereto here is my Lord Ellenborough :—

"Lord Ellenborough reigned from 1842 to 1844.

"That he had abundance of zeal, energy, and talent is admitted on all hands, but it is equally undeniable that he was utterly wanting in sane, sound judgment, and in subordination to his lawful superiors, and had, after Pollock's success, a great deal too much warlike enthusiasm. He did reform some abuses, and introduced considerable improvements in the immediate offices of Government. He infused a good deal of energy and method into several important departments, and he did a great deal towards completing the beneficial change of system in the miscellaneous branches of revenue. In his reign vexatious duties were, for the most part, abolished in Bombay and Madras, as they had previously been in Bengal, and the Customs system was still further improved and consolidated. But he was, at the same time, so hasty and inconsiderate; showed so much little and personal hostility to the civil employés of the State; added to his reforms so many unjust, vexations, and unprofitable innovations; spitefully drove from office or kept down so many men distinguished by former services; raised to the most important posts so many men utterly inexperienced, but distinguished by his imperial whim and favour; after

* Whilst touching on this subject, we cannot but express our regret that the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut of Agra, in a set of rules which have received the sanction of Government, has lately made it incumbent on a candidate for the office of Moonsiff or native Judge, to qualify first as a Vakeel or pleader. The better classes of native society had, since the promulgation of Reg. V. 1831, which opened out prospects of good pay and promotion to the gentry of the country, been inclined to press into the judicial service. But if a man, must first act as a pleader before he can arrive at the lowest seat on the bench, the judicial profession will probably be left to the Kayeths and adventurers. Men of good blood will have nothing to do with a calling which, right or wrong, they consider degrading. The late order may tend to elevate "the Bar," but it will also degrade 'the Bench.'

the manner of capricious autocracies, devoted so much of his attention to pomp, circumstance, and pageant; and contrived to effect all the evil so immediately, while he had not time to mature the good parts of his projects, that from all these causes he, perhaps, did more harm than good. He systematically excluded from all appointments in which he had a latitude of patronage—from the political and non-regulation branches—almost all those who had previous experience or had acquired previous reputation; so much so, that at the close of his reign hardly one single civilian, and very few military men of any civil or political experience, remained in those appointments. Colonels, who had exhibited coolness under fire, and had made notable remarks about the polish of their boots in the middle of the Khyber Pass, were by the imperial will taken from their regiments, and put in charge of the most important civil and political affairs; and dashing young Herculeses rose with the rapidity peculiar to Oriental sovereignties. But in the regular branch of the service, where his choice was limited, it must be admitted that Lord Ellenborough made some very good selections for promotion; and, in particular, he had the merit of giving to the North-West-Provinces the present admirable Lieutenant-Governor, at an age unprecedentedly early, and when he was yet capable of doing long and good service.”—pp. 194-195.

Here is Major Broadfoot:—

“In 1845, Major Broadfoot was political agent. He was a man of great talent and immense energy, but of a rather overbearing habit. In difficult and delicate times he certainly did not conciliate the Sikhs.”—p. 142.

To Lord William Bentinck due praise is awarded. “The principal advances in our older territories during the last twenty years have been those originated by Lord William Bentinck.”

Under Lord Hardinge “the administration was steadily and efficiently carried on, and the confidence in the discretion, justice, and impartiality of the Government, so sorely shaken by Lord Ellenborough, was fully repaired.”

Due credit is given to our present Governor-General for establishing and working under his own eye a system of administration in our new territories, “under which they have been unprecedentedly quiet and contented, and are exceedingly prosperous.”

To complete our picture gallery, we must give the Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. Provinces and Mr. Lawrence.

“Mr. Thomason, of the civil service, and of constant *civil* experience, was nominated in 1843, and still holds the appointment. To him is due an improved executive administration, such as we have never had elsewhere in India.

Its details will be noticed in detailing the different departments. Here I need only say that by personal supervision he has very much increased the efficiency of all officers, European and native, introduced

method and energy in all departments, completed and worked to the best advantage the new settlement of the North-Western Provinces, defined and explained the rights of different parties in the soil, improved the efficiency of the police, done what was in his power to make the most of a vicious judicial system, applied himself to the vernacular education of the masses of the natives, and given to the upper classes opportunities of acquiring practical science, carried out important public works, made good roads and canals, rendered travelling easy and secure, regulated the mode of procuring supplies and carriage for troops, and superintended with personal knowledge and personal energy all the minute details of civil government only understood by those who have made it a profession.

* * * * *

"The Lieutenant-Governor has ample duties; but being a practical working Governor, selected for efficiency, unembarrassed by a council, and holding his appointment for a long period, he does his work thoroughly. The North-West Provinces can alone be said to be fully governed. Every thing is done systematically, and nothing neglected." p. 229.

And speaking of the honours which, few and far between, fall to the lot of the Indian Civil Service—

"Several colonial governments have of late years been bestowed on them, several civil K. C. B.-ships, one or two baronetcies, and one peerage. In regard to badges of honour, it is, however, to be regretted that (as generally happens) these rewards are more freely given for political services, which meet the public eye, than for the less obtrusive internal administration of great territories. Mr. Thomason, who has made the North-West Provinces, and Mr. John Lawrence, who is making the Punjab, still remain undecorated."—p. 255.

Mr. Campbell's remarks on the newspaper press of India are so well known, and have been so severely handled, that we need not here revive the subject at any length.* Respectable papers have met his sweeping assertions with argument, and quite sufficiently demonstrated that the Press has done good service on certain occasions. Every one knows that the worst fault of the Indian newspapers is the opening they afford for personality and detraction. A man has a grudge to pay off, and forthwith tries to get a letter, or, better still, an editorial into the nearest local print. As

* Mr. Campbell expresses his belief that the newspaper editors were bribed (some of them) to write up Jotee Purshad. This we are not inclined to suppose. But may we not justly accuse those men as guilty of corruption of the vilest sort, who for money's sake, to fill a subscription list, and to pander to the bad passions of their supporters, *systematically and knowingly* misrepresent every act of the government under which they live? That a paper may be *radical*, and yet respect truth, nobody who has seen the *Calcutta Citizen* can doubt. It is not liberty we object to, but licentiousness, or say rather lying.

a matter of course, a burning public spirit (patriotism—that last refuge of a scoundrel, as honest Johnson said,) covers the attack; and the editor, from carelessness, ignorance, or the necessities of the compositor, gives it publicity. In short the press is abusive. So said Mr. Campbell. He got a characteristic reply. To prove the moderation of the gentle craft, a perfect volley of vituperation was discharged at his devoted head. If it were a question before, nobody will doubt the Billingsgate energies of some of our Indian editors in future.

On the other hand, as an instance of a just and dignified rebuke, we may point to the remonstrances of the *Friend of India*, and the *Bombay Times*.*

On the most interesting and important of all subjects connected with India, our author scarcely touches. We allude of course, to the future of Hindostan, heathen or Mahomedan, as influenced by Christianity. We gather from an expression here and there, that Mr. Campbell's opinions are latitudinarian, in its widest sense; and some of his sober English readers will rub their spectacles when they come to such expressions as "the more uncompromising doctrines of Nauak or of Calvin," p. 73—and again "Hindoos, Mahomedans and Christians all look to and appeal to one and the same God, invisible and all powerful." p.—71.

We have called "Modern India" an apology for the local Indian civil administration. It may be considered also to a certain extent an apology for the Indian Civil Service. Not that either the Government or the Service requires any apology in the vulgar sense of the word;—a fair field, and no favor is all they want and more than they often get. In Mr. Campbell's estimate of the position and prospects of the covenanted Civil Service we on the whole agree. We think with him that the time spent on Sanscrit at the Haileybury College is lost, lost too at a time when every hour is of importance. We also believe that if the East India College, Professors and all, were transplanted to Cambridge, "so as to combine the education of Haileybury with the tone, character, contact, and competition with other classes of the University," the move would be a wise one. Calcutta and its nominal College is, for obvious reasons, not the best place in which a youth just beginning life may acquire the elements of professional knowledge of whatever kind. However, Calcutta

* The *Bombay Times* exposed with due severity Mr. Campbell's ignorant flippancy on the subject of *Female Infanticide*.

College does not last long. Sooner or later the student is made an assistant to a Magistrate and Collector up the country, when he "generally becomes a zealous servant of Government," and in due time is qualified for the higher offices of the State. And now to come to the question of emolument.

"There is an ancient popular belief that the Civil Service is a monopoly, and too highly paid." But, as our author goes on to say, "it is only by entertaining an exclusive service from boyhood that the work is done so cheap as it is, and supposing the duties to be efficiently performed, the pay is not only not too high, but has become of late years too low." The many sufferings, privations, trials, the constant wear and tear of mind and body, which a civil career entails, all this is compensated by the satisfaction of a certain though moderate provision, and of a position of no common distinction and opportunity. But if the mere "*argent comptant*" be taken into account, it were easy to prove, and Mr. Campbell has proved most fully, that the pay of the Civil Service in India is at all events not too high now, though in some cases, that of the Magistrate of Bengal for instance, it is clearly too low. "Would most men," asks Mr. Campbell, "who have appointments of £1,000 per annum in England think it a very great gain to get one of £3,000 in India? Would a Master in Chancery with £2,500 a year always care to accept an Indian judgeship or seat in Council with three or four times that salary?"—We trow not. Then may we ask why should the Chief Magistrate of a District, whose lot it is to preside amongst the rice swamps of Bengal over a million of souls, get less than your mere Police Magistrate of Marlborough or Worship Streets, whose lodgings look out on the Wandle or the Thames? The one has been carefully trained to his work, and discharges it with zeal and fair ability; what more can be said of the other? The English stipendary sleeps in his snug rooms at the Albany, or amidst the roses and honey-suckles of Hertfordshire or Kent, without an official care beyond the morrow. It was his turn to-day, to morrow it will be his colleague's. The Indian Magistrate gets to his bungalow amidst bull-frogs and paddy-birds, to rest, as well as heat and musquitos may permit;—when a police or some other interruption puts rest out of the question. Any thing like real repose is unknown to him; he need never, it is true, trouble himself about whose turn it is for duty on the morrow, for it is his turn every day. The Police Magistrate of Worship-Street (save on Monday) has

little to do; he may make smart speeches or charitable reflections, which are duly reported in all the morning papers; then read the *Times*; and retire to a snug private room to burn her Majesty's coals, and enjoy "*otium cum dignitate*." When a case comes on, the evidence is generally clear and convincing, and at all events he can believe the statements of his own police. A. 60 and B. 45 come forward like men, and state what they have seen or known in an honest, open manner without fear or affection.

The Bengalee Magistrate comes to a damp muggy room, full of people still damper and muggier; reads a letter in the Calcutta papers signed "Veritas" holding his personal peculiarities up to derision, and his official performances up to contempt; plunges deep into work, but, instead of "A. 60," having "Peer Buxh Burkundaz" as a witness, can hardly decide with the satisfaction which his English brother Magistrate knows. If the Bengalee Official were to give his head for it, he could not find a room to retire to, or to wash his hands in. Every verandah, passage, or anti-room, is full of records, stolen property, clerks, or witnesses.

We need not pursue the comparison further. The Magistrate of Bengal hopes, when he numbers as many summers (hot ones they are like to be) as he of Worship-Street, to be a Judge or Commissioner, and to receive a salary of from £2,000 to £3,000 a year. In the mean time the Englishman has the best of it to our apprehension.

Mr. Campbell has laid much but no undue stress upon the importance of the regular training for the administration of public business which every civil servant receives in the course of his official life. Public men in India are from their first start subject to two antagonistic influences, flattery and (may we use the word?) snubbing.

A young man gets an independent charge. He is told twenty times a day that he is a very Daniel come to judgment. Native officials, for their own objects, and the public, such as it is, combine in the attempt to persuade him that he is infallible. But some day, owing perhaps to an excess of zeal in a good cause, he takes a hasty or illegal step, and the consequence is a reprimand, whether in a dignified or bilious style depends on the temper or digestion of his superior, but in any case, he gets a reprimand not easily to be forgotten. Thus between flattery and reproof, the embryo statesman grows up like young Hercules between his rival mistresses, Virtue and Pleasure. He learns first to measure justly his own powers, and then to use them with certainty and prompti-

tude. Take a man thus trained, before the sun has dried up all his English juices, transplant him to any colony you please, and put the reins of Government into his hand. The chances are that he will make a good governor. We cannot call to our recollection the name of any statesman who, having once obtained a reputation for civil administration in the East, has lost it on any other field. We could, on the other hand, name a score of statesmen who, having learned the art of government in India, have sustained a brilliant reputation all the world round. But we must conclude. Mr. Campbell's opinions on the judicial system in force in our older Provinces, and on the rules of judicial practice, on the revenue, and police, deserve a longer consideration than we can give them here.

In bringing our present notice of "Modern India" to a conclusion, we may honestly recommend the book to those who would become acquainted with the principles and practice of our Civil Administration in India. The remarks on the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Presidencies are not without their value, whilst the information bearing on the N. W. Provinces and the Punjab is, as we have already said, extensive and accurate. Here and there a trifling slip is to be detected; as when, for instance, he says of the Abkaree, "This branch of revenue has generally been managed by the *Magistrates*;" but, we repeat, on the whole the information given in "Modern India" is to be depended on. And no library in India will be complete without the only popular work devoted to the consideration of Indian Civil Government in all its branches.

FROM THE SANSKRIT.*

CALMLY the good man, though the life-blood choke

His utterance, smiles forgiveness on his foe ;

The sandal-tree, while bending to the stroke,

Sheds perfume on the axe that lays it low.

* सज्जनो न याति वैरं
परहितबुद्धिर्विनाशकालेऽपि ।
हेदेऽपि चन्दनतरुः
सुरभयति मुखं कुठारस्य ॥

V.

SYDNEY SMITH'S LECTURES ON MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

(Continued from page 218.)

THE twelfth of Sydney Smith's Lectures is on "Taste;"—a word which—when applied to those mental feelings by which we express a proper appreciation of the works of Nature or of Art—is plainly used *metaphorically*. When of any one it is said that he is "a man of taste," it is not very easy to express in few words what is meant thereby; still less, how the phrase came into use. Apparently, there is no similarity between the bodily enjoyment of eating a savoury dish or a piece of ripe fruit, and the mental enjoyment in seeing a fine painting, or grounds laid out in one way rather than in another. Why then should the two be said to be the effects of *taste*? It appears that there are certain feelings of the mind, which take place on the perception of certain objects, or the contemplation of certain actions, which it has been agreed upon to compare to the sensations of the palate on the application of certain flavours. The word taste thus used includes the feelings of beauty, of novelty, of grandeur, of sublimity, of propriety, and so on, just as the natural taste takes notice of sweetness and bitterness, heat and cold, juiciness and dryness. Addison, in the *Spectator*, says—"We may be sure this metaphor would not have been so general in all tongues, had there not been a very great conformity between that mental taste, and that sensitive taste which gives us a relish of every different flavour that affects the palate. Accordingly we find there are as many degrees of refinement in the intellectual faculty, as in the sense, which is marked out by this common denomination." (No. 409.)

To consider some of the applications of this metaphor of taste. It is certainly applied to *beauty*. Beautiful forms or figures, whether the handiwork of Nature or Art, demand the exercise of taste. A beautiful face, or a beautiful arch, or a beautiful piece of sculpture, must all be referred to the general standard of taste in these particular matters. The word, both in its original and figurative use, is always, or almost always, applied in cases of some difficulty. It would be no mark of natural taste to discover that honey was sweet, or vinegar sour; though it would be so to distinguish between half a dozen various sorts of port wine, or a dozen samples of green tea. So it requires no taste, or

very little, to discover the magnificence and sublimity of the Snowy Range of the Himalayals; or the soft loveliness of the Bay of Naples; or the solemn grandeur of York Minster. But taste *is* required in order to appreciate the Italian above the Flemish school of painting; or to lay out a demesne to advantage; or to give the preference to Gothic before Corinthian architecture; or to choose one order rather than another, according to the description of building for which the decision is required to be made. The metaphor of taste is also applied to *Ridicule*; and to all questions of *Propriety*, whether in manners, or actions, or words. But it is not applied to the greater vices or virtues:—

“If a man were to kill the minister and churchwardens of his parish, nobody would accuse him of want of taste. The Scythians always ate their grandfathers; they behaved very respectfully to them for a long time; but as soon as their grandfathers became old and troublesome, and began to tell long stories, they immediately ate them: nothing could be more improper, and even disrespectful, than dining off such near and venerable relations; yet we could not with any propriety accuse them of bad taste in morals. Neither is the word taste used in subjects of pure reasoning. We could not say that he who discovered an error in a mathematical problem had a good taste for reasoning; that he who made the error had a bad taste;—to find that 12 times 12 is 144 is not a business of taste. Neither can we use the word taste with respect to very useful inventions. We could not say that Bolton and Watt exhibited a great deal of taste in the improvements they made upon the steam engine: nor could we say that Archimedes exhibited a fine taste in the machines he invented for dashing to pieces the Roman galleys, and knocking out the brains of the Roman soldiers. Some of these things appear too important for the application of that word; others, too certain. It seems to have been intended that the metaphor should apply to feelings connected with pleasure and pain, not with duties and crimes; with the superfluous, the lighter and more luxurious sensations of the mind; not with those which become the subjects of approbation and disapprobation; not with those parts of knowledge which are reducible to proof and demonstration, but in those which are shaded with doubt, and rest only on the basis of opinion.”—p. 158.

Whether there is any *standard* of taste, and what that standard is, and where it is to be found, are questions which will probably remain* unanswered till the end of time. There are some points respecting which two opinions can hardly co-exist. The great mass of mankind are perfectly able to decide these, without their being summoned before the tribunal of taste. “Are splendid colours more beautiful than dull colours?”—says our author—is a question “for whose settlement the most ordinary understanding is as good as the best.” But is any taste *at all* required to decide such a point? Taste would seem to be only *admissible*

where any thing is to be decided, about which there *may* be difference of opinion. There is no room for a second opinion whether an autumn setting sun in the country is more beautiful than a cloudy day in London; or whether any thing can equal the *want* of beauty in the scenery near the Grand Trunk Road of India, or in the architecture of some of our Indian places of worship. It is on coming to the more complicated meaning of the word beauty, adopted in the phrases, a "beautiful" poem, a "beautiful" picture, a "beautiful" description, that taste has room for its exercise. And the exercise pre-supposes at least a slight knowledge of the subject; the power of judging between rival competitors; skill in distinguishing between the shadow and the substance, between mere gilding and pure gold. Hence, for the exercise of taste, there must be the absence of all prejudice and party spirit. There must also be *experience*. In seeing a picture, it is not enough to receive pleasure from looking at it; it is also necessary that more pleasure be received from looking at *it* than at a good number of others of the same class and description, before our admiration of it would be any test of the correctness of our taste. In hearing a speech, it would be no proof of good taste to be struck with the speaker, and the effects which he may have introduced, unless we had previously learnt to form a just estimate when eloquence was true, and when false. Further, good taste implies, says our author, the existence of "delicacy of feeling." "There are some men of such metallic nerves, and blunt entrails, that Milton could never have written them into sublimity, or Michael Angelo painted them into emotion: of course they can be no judges of the beautiful, any more than the blind can determine upon the diversity of colours." Probably delicacy of *discrimination* more readily expresses a requisite of good taste, than what is generally called delicacy of *feeling*. In questions of *propriety*, where taste has so wide a field for its exercise, delicacy of feeling is most necessary; but in judging the merits of a painting, or of an eloquent speech, or of fine scenery, it is rather doubtful how far delicacy of feeling may rightly be termed a *sine quâ non* in good taste. At least, many examples might be adduced of men who have never been supposed to possess this delicacy of feeling, having excellent taste in composition, being very good judges of the fine arts, and perfectly knowing how to appreciate well-laid-out grounds, and so on. However this may be, wherever a standard of taste is to be found on any of the many

subjects in which good taste can be displayed, it may be said decidedly to exist in the opinion, or rather the judgment of candid men; men not ashamed to find out excellence wherever it exists; men who have had experience in that particular department of beauty which is to be submitted for their approval, and who have the capacity, in part innate, in part acquired, of distinguishing between what is really, and what is apparently, excellent. Men of this sort are to be found at all times, and in all places where civilization and education have been at work for generations; and where they have learnt to gain wisdom slowly and cautiously, by reading, and attention, and thought; by digesting the learning and the experience of others, until these are reproduced in such new forms and combinations, as to appear the original creation of their own minds.

Closely connected with taste, are the ideas that we form of the "Beautiful." This is the subject of the three next Lectures. The expression "beautiful" is applied to the simplest sensations of sight; as colour, form, figure. It is also applied to sounds; but ~~not~~, correctly speaking, to smell, or natural taste, or touch. We apply the expression to the face of nature, to personal appearance, to animals, to poetry, to painting, to sculpture, to architecture, to all the fine arts which represent animate or inanimate nature. We apply it to certain moral feelings. We apply it also to inventions in machinery. In using the word beauty, it expresses generally the *emotion of the mind*, and the *cause* of that emotion. When we speak of the beauty of a landscape, we mean to speak of certain feelings that looking on it excites in our minds. In another person, no such feelings are excited; and, in consequence, he denies its claim to be called beautiful. The *causes* which excite the feeling in the mind are in the landscape, the building, the painting, the ingenious piece of mechanism, and so on; the *effects* which these causes produce are in ourselves. Many extraneous causes add to our ideas of beauty by *association*; but that beauty is an original quality of matter, there can be no doubt. Some matter has beauty, as it has hardness, or any other quality; though the feeling excited in the human mind may be wonderfully increased by association. "The lively green that the herbage assumes after rain is of itself agreeable to the eye, but it is infinitely *more* agreeable when that colour becomes the sign of plenty, of freshness, of liberty, of boundless range, and of innocent enjoyment, and all the pleasures of *mind* we associate with the idea of the country." (p. 174). That association has an

immense influence in the ideas we form of the beautiful there is no doubt. To take the case of simple melody. That it is beautiful in itself without any of the aids of association, there is no reason to doubt for an instant. A plain air, sung well by a good voice—which is the simplest form of good music—is beautiful, from the beauty of each particular sound, as well as from their variation. Some notes joined together are naturally agreeable; others naturally disagreeable; and perfectly unpractised ears are delighted with some combinations of sounds, and not with others. The simplest airs have thus oftentimes by far the most beauty. They are understood and appreciated by all. Whereas the more complicated pieces of harmony inspire us with the feeling of *wonder* rather than beauty. One is amazed at seeing such a variety of instruments all performing their own part so very properly and exactly; and at hearing such a number of voices all getting to the end of every chorus so precisely at the same time, and all combining with such wonderful exactness. Let a solo break forth in the midst of the concert with some lively and simple air, where every thing depends on *one* voice, and the accompaniment is not thought of; the beauty of this simplest form of music, when carried to perfection, is instantly confessed by the largest audience. There is no aid from association needed. All that is required is that the song should appeal to the feelings, and be *well sung*; and its effect will be far greater than that of the more laboured and complicated pieces of music that are not understood by above half that hear them. A plain and unsophisticated air, in order to have this charm, must of course be sung with *execution*. Even “Lucy Neale” admits of this; and the utter difference in the beauty of that popular song, when sung as only *some few* can sing it, will be acknowledged by every one. Another reason doubtless why plain and simple airs are such universal favorites, is found in the *associations* with which they are accompanied. Some people can never hear “The Bay of Biscay, O!” without summoning up the happy countenance that in days of yore they were wont to watch, as its owner completed the satisfaction of his guests by giving them that—his favorite song. Others again cannot hear it without certain singularly unpleasant reminiscences of the day and night they actually passed in that renowned Bay. Some delight in “The Young May Moon”, not by reason of its having shone on a well remembered lover’s walk; but because the band of their regiment struck up that merry stave, as they

marched to the spot appointed for them on *the Field of Sohraon*: and they have never heard it since, but anon lines of well-marshalled troops, and the gallant Irish Viscount, and white clouds of smoke, have carried off their thoughts to the realities of that hard-fought battle to which "The Young May Moon" introduced them. Is it not, too, astonishing how long the air lingers by the young bachelor which his *first* Love sang, and how utterly impossible it is to dis sever it from all the associations with which in his mind it is so closely united? So that to sum up what has been said of the beautiful in music;—

"It proceeds from an original power in 'sound to create that feeling, either in its simplest state, or in those instances of its combinations which we call concord; that feeling of the beautiful may be aided by our admiration of the skill displayed in harmony, as one agreeable feeling always aids and increases another;—but the principal cause of beauty in music, is the facility with which it is associated with feelings, from its resemblance to the tones in which feelings are expressed; and that these feelings are made specific by the ministration of poetry, from the combination of which with music great part of the power of the latter is derived."—p. 180.

Passing to the beauties which fall under the province of sight; though association may add to the charm, there can be no doubt that the eye naturally delights in one colour more than another; in a rich blue, and a lively scarlet, more than in a dingy brown, or dirty white. But, in the case of forms, the same is *not* altogether true. There appear certain *reasons* for the feelings of the beautiful, which are excited by the forms of objects. Any form which excites the idea of smoothness is beautiful, except when such notion of smoothness is united with something disagreeable, as, *e. g.*, the smoothness of a swelled face. The forms of regular figures are agreeable from the relation observed between the parts; whereas a form unnaturally regular would be monstrous, *e. g.*, a square nose, or a head tapering off to a cone. A tree trained on espaliers is not nearly as beautiful as a tree left to itself; because it gives the idea of restraint: still less is a tree cut into the form of a cock, or a windmill, or any other fantastic shape. On the other hand, a square house gives no idea of restraint, since nobody wishes for wildness in walls, and luxuriancy in buttresses. Again, forms are beautiful, associated with agreeable ends, as strength, health, or activity: but strength in animals may so easily be turned to our destruction, that it requires to be joined with the notion of utility, to legitimize the usage of the word beautiful. A horse may be termed beautiful: but only

Capt. Smith could ever allow that he had shot a beautiful tiger.

In one point of view custom has an immense deal to do with our ideas of the beautiful. There is, so to speak, an ordinary mould in which the average of animals are cast ; and any sensible deviation from this customary form conveys a sense of deformity. A hunched-back, or crooked leg, or even one leg an inch or two shorter than the other, is enough to do away with every idea of beauty that the rest of the figure might convey.

“ In order to show the effect of custom upon the beautiful, take a chin, which is of no use at all. A chin ending in a very sharp angle would be a perfect deformity. A man whose chin terminated in a point would be under the immediate necessity of retiring to America : he would be a perfect horror : and for no other reason that I can possibly see, but that nature has shown no intention of making such a chin,—we have never been accustomed to see such chins.”—p. 187.

Whilst the opposite to that which is the customary form is deformity, it does not follow that the customary form itself need be beautiful. In a similar degree that deformity has in it something of novelty, so must that which we decide to be beautiful. The beautiful must be rather uncommon. A mere adherence to the customary form is *common place*, and we pass it by as unworthy of any particular notice. In the human countenance, beauty is the result of a very great variety of causes. Though all the features should eschew any thing like imperfection ; and though each should bear a proper and customary proportion relatively to the others ; yet even all these beauties of regularity, and proportion, even though accompanied with a well-modelled figure, are not in themselves sufficient to account for the extraordinary power which in all ages, and in every country, *some* faces have been found to possess. Most persons will have seen a beautiful female face, with which no one absolute fault could be found ; which however they have found themselves only able to describe by comparing the lady to a beautiful statue. Probably in such a case *expression* is the one thing wanting ; but what is expression, and where does it dwell ? The eyes have usually been supposed to have most to do with expression ; but certainly the mouth has something to do with it ; and though we never hear people talk of expression in the nose, or in the chin, it is very doubtful whether every feature of the face does not lend its aid to, or is not itself aided by, what we usually call expression, and which must be confes-

sed by every connoisseur to be absolutely necessary to impart to beauty its irresistible power.

“ Oh stay! I have no power to let her pass;
My hand would free her, but my heart says—no.
As plays the sun upon the glassy streams,
Twinkling another counterfeited beam,
So seems this gorgeous beauty to mine eyes.
Fain would I woo her, yet I dare not speak.”

K. HEN. VI—i, 3.

But as our readers would probably like to hear Sydney Smith's own account of the power of beauty, he shall speak in his own words :—

“ In the beautiful face there is not a single deviation from custom ; the figure of every feature is the average figure ; the magnitude the average magnitude ; the proportion each bears to the other the *customary* proportion. The only thing which is not average, and not customary, is the extraordinary assemblage of averages and common standards in one single face : that whereas all human faces deviate from the custom of Nature in some of their magnitudes, figures, and proportions, she has assembled in this single face one and all her models for every separate feature : and indulged the eye of man, unused to excellence, with the spectacle of that which is without spot, blemish, or objection. Now mind what we have to add to this bare assemblage of proportions, figures, and magnitudes ; in the first place we add to it smoothness, a great cause of beauty ; then beautiful colours, which are also the signs of health, youth, and delicacy of feeling. It shall also express goodness, compassion, gentleness, an obliging spirit, and a mild wisdom : and, putting all these powerful causes together, I think I have said enough to explain the effects which personal beauty produces on the destinies of men.—

“ These, when the Spartan Queen approached the tower,
In secret own'd resistless beauty's power :
They cried, ' no wonder such celestial charms
' For nine long years hath set the world in arms ;
' What winning graces, what majestic mien !
' She looks a goddess, and she moves a queen ! ' ”—

“ These are the causes which made all the old senators of Troy exclaim, at the sight of Helen, that the Trojans, and the well-booted Greeks were by no means to blame for having endured such griefs so long a time for such a beautiful lady.”—p. 192.

All the beauty of motion is probably the result of association. Grace is either the beauty of motion, or the beauty of position. Graceful movements must always be without difficulty or embarrassment : and graceful attitudes must always indicate the absence of restraint—a remark which we recommend to all who study attitude. The effects of utility and fitness, though not in themselves causes of beauty, certainly become so when accompanied by a *surprising*

adaptation of means to the end, *if* not associated with any disagreeable ideas. Hammers, and axes, and saucepans, can hardly be called beautiful inventions, though exceedingly useful; for in them the adaptation of means to the end excites no surprise. Nor are such inventions of war, as mines, shells, and the like, deemed beautiful, on account of the dreadful idea with which they are connected, although, in their case, the adaption of means to the end is very remarkable. But the Steam Engine, the Air-pump, the Electric Telegraph, are all beautiful inventions. An astronomical telescope is a beautiful instrument; so is one of Broadwood's Grand Pianos; although they are both very old inventions, yet have they an important end in view, and would both exceedingly surprise any body who saw them used for the first time. Whereas should any gentleman invent a very remarkable trap whose highest end was the destruction of rats, or a very ingenious pair of snuffers, we should not consider him to have hit upon a beautiful discovery.

The beauties of Architecture are referable to the feelings of utility, symmetry, delicacy and association. Originally, it is very doubtful whether one order could have been more beautiful or appropriate than another, apart from association. We have learnt to connect certain orders of Architecture with certain buildings. A Gothic theatre, or an Early-English ball-room, would both be very horrible, though it is only the force of association which could make them so. We have learnt so regularly to couple the idea of a Church, and some form or other of Gothic Architecture, that any other building assuming that form of Architecture, unless it be devoted to religious purposes, such as alms-houses or schools, is considered almost a solecism. To judge of the *beauty* of any grand piece of Architecture, ordinary people take for granted that all is right in the choice which the Architect made; and merely concern themselves with the way in which he has carried out his ideas. They derive pleasure from the beauty of the building, if symmetry, regularity, delicacy of design and execution, utility, and subservience to the end to be attained are plainly apparent; and they very little trouble themselves what particular order of Architecture they have been examining. No one can have ever had the barbarity to wish St. Paul's had been built in the Gothic, or Salisbury Cathedral in the Grecian, style of Architecture. No one can have stood by the Taj and longed that it had been Corinthian; or by St. Peter's at Rome and wished it Oriental.

In Poetry the feeling of the beautiful arises from various causes. Poetry describes natural objects, or moral feelings, and *generally* such as are beautiful in themselves. The cadences at certain intervals, and the rhymes, are frequently another cause of beauty. Accuracy and truthfulness of description are also amongst these causes. Sometimes the subject of a poem may be anything but agreeable, and its descriptions be descriptions of things highly disgusting in themselves, and yet this may not detract from its beauty. The "Siege of Corinth" is a beautiful poem, and in calling it so, one certainly could not exclude this passage describing Alp's midnight walk, disagreeable as are the matters of which it treats:—

"And he saw the lean dogs beneath the wall
Hold o'er the dead their carnival,
Gorging and growling o'er carcass and limb;
They were too busy to bark at him!
From a Tartar's skull they had stripp'd the flesh,
As ye peel the fig when its fruit is fresh;
And their white tusks crunch'd o'er the whiter skull,
As it slipp'd through their jaws when their edge grew dull,
As they lazily mumbled the bones of the dead,
When they scarce could rise from the spot where they fed;
So well had they broken a lingering fast
With those who had fallen for that night's repast."

Now, generally, description is always so much *less horrid* than the reality. There is a great comfort moreover in reading this, that we were not ourselves accompanying Alp in his walk. The *obstacles* to the feeling of the beautiful are overcome, in the thought that, after all, this is but a description; and, if we please, a description of something that never happened; and, even if it did happen, and an actual person saw dogs feasting on the remains of those who, a few hours before, had been full of health and vigour, yet the horrid reality took place a long time ago, and a great distance off; and distance considerably detracts from the sense of ugliness. The feeling of our own personal security, and absence from danger, in this way wonderfully tends to detract from the horrors of any description, poetical or prosaic. Shipwrecks and battle-fields and the miseries attendant on these are utterly different things in poetry and in reality. The beautiful in Painting is referable to the pleasure derived from the display of the imitative faculty, and the skill evinced in the execution of the Artist. Here also, if the subject is disagreeable, or even horrible, as *e. g.*, Herodias carrying to her mother the head of John the Baptist, or the martyrdom of

St. Stephen, reflected horror is far less intense than real horror. It is a picture of something done long ago, which cannot now be undone. The beauty of the painting may stand out apart and distinct from the painfulness of its subject.

As to those mental feelings which have received the epithet of beautiful, they comprehend nearly every calm emotion of pleasure; such as content, innocence, affection, esteem, benevolence, pity. No feeling that excites pain is beautiful; such as envy, malice, cruelty, hatred. "When we see a man bearing testimony to the merit of his rival, *that* is beautiful; when real injuries are rapidly forgiven, *that* is beautiful. When any human being who has power and influence to defend his oppressions is as just and considerate to the feelings of others as if he were poor and defenceless, *that* is eminently beautiful." When a man sacrifices gains rather than his integrity; when a brave man consents to lose credit, or be called cowardly, rather than act inconsistently with his moral sense of rectitude; when a man scorns to take advantage of another's mistake, and repays kindness where he has received injury:—it is beautiful. That there are those who do these things prevents us from thinking the world destitute of virtue, or from supposing that selfishness is one and the same with self-love.

The Sublime, like the Beautiful, is a feeling of the mind: it is a feeling of pleasure, but of tremulous pleasure, bordering on the confines of pain; such as men experience amongst grand scenes of nature, or when they see great actions performed. A mixture of wonder and terror almost always excite the feeling of the sublime; and thus, says our author, "Every body possessed of power is an object either of awe or sublimity, from a Justice of the Peace up to the Emperor Aurungzebe—an object quite as stupendous as the Alps. He had thirty-five millions of revenue in a country where the products of the earth are at least six times as cheap as in England: his empire extended over twenty-five degrees of latitude, and as many of longitude: he had put to death above twenty millions of people. I should like to know the man who could have looked at Aurungzebe without feeling him to the end of his limbs, and in every hair of his head! Such emperors are more sublime than cataracts. I think any man would have shivered more at the sight of Aurungzebe, than at the sight of the two rivers which meet at the Blue Mountains in America, and bursting through the whole breadth of the rocks, roll their victorious and united waters to the Eastern Sea."

Whether Aurungzebe's tremendous perfidy might not have somewhat detracted from his sublimity is a question about which people will of course hold their own opinions. The feeling of terror would have been somewhat a stronger ingredient than that of wonder in the sublimity that his contemporaries would have felt for him, and that such sublime sovereigns, who could nod people's heads off, are not amongst the wonders of the world in our degenerate age, is a thing on which its present inhabitants may most heartily congratulate themselves.

Lofty mountains, and tremendous falls, strongly excite this feeling of the sublime. They mingle wonder with terror, and we never more utterly feel our own insignificance than when gazing on them. A storm at sea is sublime, until the terror that it causes swallows up the wonder: then the feelings of sublimity give way to those of imminent danger, or despair. On the other hand, when more of wonder than terror constitutes the feeling of the sublime, it is almost wholly a pure feeling of *delight*. A good but distant view of the Snowy Range of the Himalayahs is more delightful than sublime: approach nearer, and the delight receives that admixture of awe which constitutes the feeling of sublimity. A description, in order to be sublime, must thus excite no undue proportion of one or other of these feelings which go to form the ideas of the sublime. If too wonderful, we are pleased with its marvels; if too dreadful, we are overcome with sorrow or disgust or indignation: though it is to be remembered that we are aroused in a very different way by reading the most forcible descriptions, and by having the horrors that they describe acted before us.

Firmness and constancy of purpose are often *very* sublime. Sydney Smith cites the resolution of St. Paul in going up to Jerusalem (as described in Acts xx,) whither, though certain that he shall undergo every sort of persecution, nothing should deter him from proceeding. How truly sublime, also, was Latimer's speech to Ridley, as they were about to suffer at the stake: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man! We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out!"

The next subject treated in these Lectures is "The Faculties of Animals." Philosophers have been in all ages considerably puzzled respecting the distinguishing characteristics of brutes and human beings. Some define a brute to be an animal incapable of laughter. The Peripatetics denied them any rational powers. The Platonists allowed them reason

and understanding, though in a degree less pure and refined than that of men. Lactantius allows them every thing a man has, except religion. Descartes considers, not only that they are absolutely destitute of reason, but of thought and reflection. In Père Bougeant's work entitled "Philosophical Amusement in the Language of Beasts," he contends that each animal is inhabited by a distinct and separate *devil*! Doubtless the worthy Father would have allowed that the malevolence of these familiar spirits must have considerably varied; those dwelling within tigers, or cobras, or scorpions, being decidedly more mischievous than those inhabiting faithful spaniels, favorite horses, and such like companionable creatures. Now-a-days most persons agree that animals are guided by *instinct*, and it is supposed that *instinct* differs from *reason*, in that the former acts without the consciousness that the means it uses are subservient to the end that is to be attained. "Actions performed with a view to accomplish a certain end are *rational*. Actions performed without the spontaneity of the agent are *automatic*. Actions regularly performed without a view to the consequences they produce are *instinctive*." What instinct is, however, it is not very easy to determine. If it is not reason, it certainly is not imitation; for animals follow the same rules of action as the seniors of their own species, without the smallest instruction from them, and without the benefit of their example. A brood of young ducks, hatched under a hen, take to the water without having seen so much as one duck dabbling about in her favorite element, and even against the strongest remonstrances of their spurious parent. Nor can instinct be mere accident; for nobody (except Buffon) *could* call it accident that contrives the combs and cells of all the new swarms of bees that are constantly starting into being on one and the same exquisite plan for combining strength durability and convenience. It cannot be accident that a robin red-breast, artificially hatched, should build a nest exactly like all other robins that have ever gone before him: or that a wasp, in laying one egg in one hole in the sand, should place in each hole just sufficient food to secure the juvenile wasp from dying of hunger, and for supporting it till such time as it can itself go in search for food! Nature, or rather Nature's God, has decided with the most perfect precision how every animal shall breed and build, and has restricted them to a particular style and description of habitation, and to a particular mode of preparing for their infant progeny. However their knowledge

is gained, it is certainly not gained as *our* knowledge is, by experience, and imitation, and the adaptation of certain means to certain ends. Their wonderful instinct appears to be given them solely for mere purposes of existence. "When an animal's life is endangered, he developes the limited resources of his nature; for every thing else he has no talents at all; nor has any animal ever betrayed the slightest disposition to knowledge,—except as knowledge gratified immediately his hunger, or as it would immediately have secured his life." (p. 271.) This doubtless is the *rule*; but what are we to say of the intelligence of a shepherd's dog, and his selecting *out of a large flock, one sheep* which has been named by his master? There is nothing in this that one can refer to eating and drinking, unless the shepherd were to punish a mistake by refusing his faithful companion a bone at his next meal. It is not merely knowledge, but knowledge acquired apparently for the sole use of being an assistance to man. And if we take the definition above given of *rational* actions, that they are those performed with a view to accomplish certain ends, who can possibly deny that a dog—able to select a particular sheep out of the flock, on being spoken to by its master—has something which, if it be not reason, is a singularly good imitation of it? Or take a case cited by Sydney Smith himself,—the case of two greyhounds whilst coursing a hare,—one of them runs to a gap in the hedge, which it has known before, and through which, it is very probable the hare will pass; and waits there till puss falls into the trap that he has set for her. But even this is not to be compared to an anecdote in the late Bishop Stanley's interesting *History of Birds*, because dogs have long ago established so very high a reputation for sagacity. The good Bishop (and he was not a man to print, as facts, mere fables) tells us of a landlord of an inn in Cambridgeshire who possessed a Raven which frequently went out hunting with a dog that had been bred up with him. On their arrival at a cover, the dog entered, and drove the hares and rabbits from the thicket, whilst the Raven, posted on the outside of the cover, seized every one that came in his way; when the dog immediately hastened to his assistance, and by their joint efforts nothing escaped! (*History of Birds*, p. 202.) Now, nobody can conceive any respectable dog and raven being compelled to carry on such very ingenious poaching from sheer hunger's sake. We suppose them to have been imbued with an actual love of the sport; though how are we to explain this by

what we call instinct? Who can wonder that the game-keeper of the preserves which the dog and raven patronized should have completely agreed with the view taken by Père Bougeant?

It appears that, under altered circumstances, animals change, and even reverse, their original propensities. Eagles have been brought up on bread and milk, and doves fed on raw beef. A most curious change of instinct is mentioned by Darwin:—"The bees carried over to Barbadoes and the Western Isles ceased to lay up any honey after the first year, as they found it not useful to them. They found the weather so fine, and materials for making honey so plentiful, that they quitted their grave and prudent and mercantile character, became exceedingly profligate and debauched, eat up their capital, resolved to work no more, and amused themselves by flying about the sugar-houses and stinging the blacks." (p. 252) So that a change in the circumstances by which animals are surrounded may produce a change in their minds as well as their bodies. This however does not disprove the existence of instinct, but only points out the *causes* on which it depends. Nor does it disprove the existence of instinct that a hen will sit on other eggs than her own, or on a piece of egg-shaped chalk. The instinct it has leads it to cherish by its body's wrath that which it produces. If this is, well, or even partially, represented by something else its instinct is not sufficient to detect the deceit. Human cunning is unquestionably too much for animals' instinct.

All the best writers on this subject, such as Locke, Reid, Hartley, and Stewart, consider that there are in the minds of brutes traces, faint though they be, of human faculties. The great source of man's superiority is the immeasurable disproportion of those faculties of which nature has given the lowest rudiments to brutes. Addison sums up some very interesting remarks on this subject by saying:—"There is not in my opinion any thing more mysterious in nature than this instinct in animals, which thus rises above reason, and falls infinitely below it. It cannot be accounted for by any properties in matter, and at the same time works after so odd a manner that one cannot think it the faculty of an intellectual being. For my own part, I look on it as upon the principle of the gravitation of bodies, which is not to be explained by any known qualities inherent in the bodies themselves, nor from any laws of mechanism; but, according to the best notions of the greatest philosophers, is an immediate impres-

sion from the first Mover, and the Divine energy acting in the creatures."

One very observable thing is the *uniformity* of those actions of which instinct is the cause. Bees and birds build as they built two thousand years ago : and village girls cause new swarms to settle, now-a-days, by the same tinklings.

"Hinc nescio quā dulcedine lætæ
Progeniem nidosque fovēt : hinc arte recentes
Excudunt ceras, et mella tenacia fingunt.
Hinc ubi jam emissum caveis ad sidera cœli
Nare per æstatem liquidam suspexeris agmen,
Obscuramque trahi vento mirabere nubem ;
Contemplator : aquas dulces et frondea semper
Tecta petunt : huc tu jussos asperge saporēs,
Trita melisphylla, et cerinthæ ignobile gramen :
Tinnitusque cie, et Matris quate cymbala circum."

Georg. iv. 55—63.

Then wolves and other beasts of prey kill a very great deal more than they can possibly eat at one time. Experience has not yet taught them any good method of curing their superfluous supply on one day, and preserving it for another. Sheep and oxen and pigs are now the same easy prey of man they ever were. They have never yet entered into any alliance whereby to defeat the counsels of men ; and mutton and beef and pork are just as popular as they were hundreds of years ago ; and will in all probability continue so till instinct rises into perfect reason, and animals can "lay their heads together" to defeat the evil designs of mankind. Nor is it any objection to this that certain races of human beings—such as Hindoos—are apparently as averse to improvement as animals ; since *they* are so by reason of religious prejudice, transmitted from father to child. Plainly, if a Brahminical infant, on first coming into the world, were steadily to refuse the breast of a Soodra nurse ; or if, on advancing to years of discretion, and having been brought up where Hinduism prevailed not, the young gentleman should faint away on the sight of a piece of roast beef, we might reasonably suppose his aversion to have anything to do with an inferior caste, was an original principle of his nature, and that his veneration for cows was instinctive. But as his ideas about caste and cows are formed under the advice and instruction of other Brahmins, we conclude that such ideas are the result of imitation, strengthened,—as we happen to know them to be—by all the aids of association that religion, or rather education, can possibly be made to produce.

Of the *Affections* of animals innumerable anecdotes might be told, not mere unauthenticated myths, but real, positive, facts. As ravens have been brought into some notice by one of Dickens's earlier fictions, it may be as well to justify the story of the novelist by an anecdote from the *Saturday Magazine*, exhibiting the attachment formed between a dog and a raven, not merely for spending a pleasant hour together out hunting, but for real friendship's sake:—

"A gentleman, who was staying at the Red Lion Inn, Hungerford, as, on one occasion, he drove into the yard, broke the leg of a favorite Newfoundland dog. Whilst he and one or two others were examining the injury, a raven named Ralph—long connected with the establishment—was looking on also, and was evidently making his remarks on what was going on. The dog was tied up in the stable, and Ralph from that moment regularly visited him, brought him bones and more costly provisions, and treated him as a nurse would treat a sick child. One night, by some accident, Ralph's hole of ingress into the stable was blocked up, and in the morning the door was so pecked away that, had it not been opened, in another hour he would have effected an entrance for himself."

It appeared, moreover, that this raven had acted with similar kindness on other occasions to dogs who had retired for a time on medical certificate.

Sydney Smith does not particularly refer to that remarkable instinct which displays itself, so far as we know, in *every* animal—in the wonderful affection on the part of the parent towards its young, *so long as the young ones are unable to take care of themselves*. But so long only. Immediately the young one is capable of supporting itself, the parental affection seems to cease. Birds drive their young out of their nests, and yet if the young one is confined to a cage, or from any cause unable to supply itself with food, the parental care continues!

If, then, it is correct that animals have many of the same sort of faculties as man, it is very interesting to enquire into the causes of man's superiority. Our author notes amongst the causes (1) his longevity; (2) his gregarious nature; (3) the structure of his body and mechanism of his hands; (4) his size and strength. But then elephants live to a very respectable age; and the habits of various animals are gregarious. Some baboons have very good hands, and make a very good use of them. One we heard of, not long ago, descended from a tree, and put his arms round a lady's neck, whose palanquin had been put down for the bearers to rest! Then they are very good mimics, and are extremely fond of society, though wont to be somewhat pugnacious; and that

class of the simious tribe which attains to the greatest stature has very great strength also. Yet, at present, with all these advantages, none of this tribe have taken any very surprising part in the political revolutions of the earth; they have done nothing for science; are very ignorant of the use to which steam may be put; do not even consult telescopes; and have not provided themselves with any more formidable weapons for the annoyance of man than cocoa-nuts. The fact seems to be that, though some of the qualities of mind which we possess are shared in by brutes, it is in so very trifling a degree as to be insufficient to render them any advantage against us. Further, it is a great misfortune to brutes that they are unable to read, and write, and cast up accounts. Doubtless, in the case of such as are fond of society, their gregarious habits would be wonderfully improved by these little accomplishments. Till a new era dawns in which they shall be able very greatly to surpass what they are at present, the human species has little to fear from any serious rivalry on the part of other animals. One may safely allow that, whilst it has pleased our Maker to endue these, the inferior creatures of His Creation, with some qualities of mind, to man there has been given all these qualities, in a totally different degree, and for far higher and nobler ends. In him are implanted the voice of conscience, and the power of exercising his reasoning faculties, and turning them to the best account in the preparation for an eternal state, for which his reason and conscience alike declare him to be intended; and, in the preparation for which, his best faculties are most nobly employed.

We pass to the third course of these Lectures—the first in which course is “On the Active Powers of the Mind,” that is, those principles of our nature which impel us to action—the *Will*, as distinguished from the *Understanding*. Reid and Stewart divide these active principles into Appetites, Desires, Affections, Self-love, and the Moral Faculty. By *Appetites* are understood those feelings which, originating in the body, operate after certain intervals, as hunger and thirst; and cease, for a time, after the attainment of their objects, those objects being, for instance, food, and drink, and the refection of the body. By *Desires* are understood such feelings as neither take their rise from the body, nor operate periodically, nor cease after the attainment of their objects, as the desire of knowledge, of power, or of superiority. Under *Affections* are classed all those active

principles, whose object is the communication of joy or pain to others. Accordingly resentment, revenge, hatred, belong to this class, as well as pity or gratitude. The common word for such affections as hatred or revenge, in their higher degrees, is *Passions*. Emotion is a transient fit of passion. It is necessary always to bear in mind the difference between *the affections themselves*, their *signs*, their *causes*, and their *consequences*. If a man grievously injured is very angry, and strongly inclined to assault his enemy, he will exhibit certain *signs* of the angry feelings of which his adversary's conduct will be the *cause*, and the inclination to resentment the *consequence*. To define mental feelings is impossible, however easy to state their causes or their consequences. The particular feeling of which the consequence is compunctious confusion is called shame; and the particular feeling which creates a disposition to revenge is called anger; and the particular feeling which excites a readiness to relieve is called pity. But if any one does not know what the feeling of shame is, or what the feeling of pity is, it will be impossible to instruct him by definitions into feeling ashamed of himself, or into pity for any body else.

The first question that arises respecting human passions and desires is—What is their origin? Reid and his school consider them *original principles* of human nature, that no account can be given of their origin, and that they are in us, because such is the constitution of our nature. Hartley, on the other hand, that they are *not* original impulses of our nature, “that not only all our intellectual pleasures and pains, but that all the phenomena of memory, imagination, reasoning, and every mental affection and operation, are only different modes, or cases, of the association of ideas; so that nothing more is necessary to make any man whatever he is than a capacity of feeling pleasure, and pain, and the principle of association.” To take, *e. g.*, the emotion of fear. Were the capacity of being afraid an innate principle of our nature, a child of four months old would shrink from a viper, or the flame of a candle, or a loaded pistol. Fear is the expectation of pain; and till a child knows that pain will ensue on touching certain objects, he can have no fear for them. Directly, however, he has associated the two ideas, of the object, and the pain which it may cause, he will not touch it. When he has found out, as children exceedingly soon find out, that he is very ignorant about the consequences of doing certain things, he comes to have a general fear respecting every thing in which he has

had no actual experience; as children, often being burnt, not merely dread fire, but every thing resembling fire, and which *might*, therefore, cause the same uncomfortable sensations. Mamas are often astonished how kindly their babies take the *first* dose of physic, and how exceedingly suspicious they afterwards become even of the most harmless liquid possible; how glad they are to see the doctor's mild face, and insinuating manners, until they have learnt to associate him with a very sharp and unpleasant sensation about their gums. Take again the affection of *resentment*, and *benevolence*. A young child hates nobody; but if his ayah happens to pinch him when he cries, as ayahs are sometimes apt to do, he soon begins to associate her with the pinches. He first hates the pinching, and then the pincher. He further learns by experience that threats, and afterwards actual pain, are the consequences of disobedience. Connecting these things, he finds that obedience is more to his interest than disobedience. If his servant does not obey *him*, he will endeavour to gain *her* obedience as *his* has been gained; and, so far as he can, will threaten and beat those who contradict him, and cherish resentment as a means of gratifying his will, until he passes on somewhat higher up the ladder of learning by experience, and finds out that resentment is often utterly useless, and that inferiors must submit to their superiors. The reason why the young gentleman at school could not bear Dr. Fell, though—so far as we know—never yet discovered, *must* have been in existence. It is utterly impossible that it was a natural dislike, or that if the excellent doctor had been presented to the boy, whilst he was a baby in his nurse's arms, he would have entertained the smallest feeling of resentment against the black gaiters and bald head of his future preceptor. So again, an infant loves nobody, but when he has once and again experienced the pleasure of eating, he begins to associate his nurse with that pleasure; she is always by him when he is being made so exceedingly comfortable; and, after a while, the idea of the food is obliterated, and the sight of her gives him pleasure after his meal, as well as before it. He begins to love her, without reference to the advantage she procures him—as mamas not unfrequently find out who leave their babies to *dhyes*.

These things lead to the establishment of a curious and important law of association, namely, that what we love or hate for its uses, we afterwards come to love or hate for its own sake. The idea, connecting two others, gradually dis-

appears, and the two others coalesce. As another illustration of this, take the passion of Avarice. A child admires a sovereign as he admires a shining farthing. Afterwards, discovering that sovereigns purchase more comforts than farthings, he greatly prefers them: afterwards money is loved, not merely for the comforts it purchases, but for its *own sake*; till, at last, the man will deny himself comforts, in order to indulge his love of money. The uniting idea is completely obliterated, having been sacrificed to the ideas which it was the means of uniting. Much the same may be said of the affections of esteem and of power; of all human affections, that have such mighty influence, and perform so many miracles in this passing scene, where the minds of men are alike actors and spectators. Providence has implanted the capacity of feeling pleasure and pain, and the faculty of association. These are the simple rudiments and beginnings of our nature, whence come all the joys which gladden, and all the woes which embitter life.

As the above view of the affections of the human mind seems to be the correct one, all human affections may be divided into those belonging to the family of *pain*, or those belonging to the family of *pleasure*.

As to the former of these, all bad passions are the growth of our sensations of immediate, retrospective or prospective evils. From the sensation of evil which either is, or has been, or may be done us, comes the desire of inflicting it, or malevolence; displeasure and the desire of displeasing; in other words hatred and revenge. The difference between *grief* and *pain*, is that the former is applied to those uneasy sensations which do not centre in the body; the latter to those which do. The loss of a friend, or of our reputation, causes grief: the loss of a limb, pain. Grief is a general term for all sensations of evil of the former class, when those sensations have not a specific name. When grief arises from the loss of esteem, it is called *shame*. When from the loss of power, or of friendship, or of fortune, it takes the general name of *grief*. When grief is accompanied with the idea of its being caused by a *voluntary* agent, resentment arises; and, though resentment may almost be said to arise *naturally* after grief caused by a voluntary agent; yet, if it be only considered how very compound is the feeling of resentment, and how much knowledge it supposes in order to connect cause and effect, it will be perfectly evident that resentment is no original principle of our nature, but the result of observation and experience. A

child must be able first to connect the pin that pricks him with the hand that holds it; then to know that the hand was directed by a voluntary agent, who had no need so to direct it; further to ascertain that this agent will feel pain if pricked; and again to argue that he has a *right* to inflict upon this agent the pain previously inflicted upon him:—and not till after these processes has he learned to prick in his turn. To say that a child is born with all this knowledge is absurd. By degrees he comes to acquire it, but only by degrees. He begins by wreaking his vengeance on the table against which he has knocked his head, or the chair over which he has tumbled; and it is only after some experience that he finds out that rods, and tables, and chairs are very harmless things in themselves; that they cannot feel and cannot inflict pain; and that it is quite useless directing his anger against such objects. Afterwards the idea of justice rises before him, which leads him to conclude that resentment is proper only when the injury was intentional, and this leads him to enquire and examine before he *resents*. A further step is, to learn that public laws are intended to prevent men from taking the laws into their own hands, and that society is kept together by preventing those outbreaks of resentment which have the injury of others for their object.

Contempt is that painful emotion which a human being excites in our minds by degrading conduct. It diminishes resentment in such injuries as depend, in any degree, on *the character* of the person who inflicts them; though, not in *all* injuries. A man may be so devoid of good principles, and have so bad a character, that his abuse may be completely powerless to do evil. We may despise him too much to notice him; but if his ill-will should proceed to action as well as abuse, if he should attempt to horsewhip or to cudgel us, our resentment would instantly arise. *Peevishness* is resentment caused by trifles. Envy is *resentment* caused by superiority which we consider to be rewarded beyond its own proper merits. Malice is either the abstract love of doing mischief, or the love of doing it for the most trivial causes of offence. Resentment, so soon as it escapes proper bounds, may degenerate into malice. Sulki-ness is anger half subdued by fear. Jealousy is another peculiar modification of anger, caused by the love we think to be due to ourselves being transferred to another, and is, as most people know, a very frequent cause of sudden and unbounded hatred. Cruelty is the development, by acts of torture, of settled, unrestrained, and often causeless anger. Those

most accustomed to the gratification of the will, are most apt to be cruel. Fear is the apprehension of future evil. The feeling of fear is diminished, if under similar circumstances no ill consequences have formerly ensued; but is increased, where those consequences have once and again resulted. A sailor has no sense of fear in a storm, because he has frequently been in danger as great; but a passenger, who has not had the same experience, fears; and his fear will be exceedingly increased, if he has once before, in the only journey he ever made at sea, been in imminent peril. In fear, hope abates the apprehension of the *certainly* of evil; but when hope has vanished, and nothing remains but despair, the passion assumes all sort of forms;—resignation, stupor, frantic rage, and so on. Suspicion is of the family of fear: it is fear of the motives of our fellow-creatures. Remorse is the sensation of *present* grief, on account of *past* faults now irremediable.

As to the affections that belong to the family of *pleasure*, they may be divided into the memory of past good; the enjoyment of present good; the anticipation of future good; and the desire to do others good. The recollection of past enjoyments is tinged with a certain melancholy, which circumstance makes this recurrence to the past doubly pleasant to some minds. Hope concerns itself altogether with the future: and thus a very great distinction in character is observable between those who fondly dwell on the past, and those who are anxiously looking forward to the future; between the contemplative and the active class:—

“So far as the contemplation of the past does not go to put us out of conceit with the future, it is wise: when it *does*, it is the idleness of genius and feeling; but it is idleness, and is a corruption, which comes from those imperfect moralists, the poets, who are ever disposed to chaunt mankind out of the vigorous cheerfulness of hope, and to infuse, in its stead, a feeling of past happiness; which, however calm and beautiful it may appear, is injurious when it softens and unstrings the mind, and renders it useless for the struggles of life.”—p. 328.

Benevolence, or the desire to do good to others is commonly caused by love, gratitude and compassion. Sydney Smith considers another source of benevolence to be “the disinterested and impartial admiration of power and wealth,” and that “a high degree of *benevolence* is excited towards the *rich*, the *great*, and the *fortunate*.” He cites a passage from Adam Smith to support his view. It may be correct, but—with the highest respect for both Sydney, and Adam, Smith—we cannot ourselves see how the mere circumstance

of a man's having a good deal of money, or a good deal of power, *irrespective of the use which he makes of them*, should excite in other poorer and less influential folks the feeling of benevolence. The question is, whether, knowing nothing whatever of a man, except that he is rich or powerful, we should have a kinder feeling towards *him*, or a stronger desire to do *him* good, then towards one who had not these attractions. We extremely doubt whether any one, who had not been reared in a perfect hot-bed of aristocracy, and who had not been taught to bow down before the shrine of mammon, would entertain these feelings of benevolence; and indeed whether even the greatest sycophant, *apart from his expectation of receiving something in return for his benevolence*, would be better disposed towards a rich man than an equal. All that have read Horace must remember one of his amusing pieces of advice:—

“Quando pauperiem, missis ambagibus, horres,
Accipe, qua ratione qucas ditescere. Turdus
Sive aliud privum dabitur tibi, devolet illuc
Res ubi magna nitet, domino sene; dulcia poma,
Et quoscunque feret cultus tibi fundus honores,
Ante Larem gustet *venrabilior Lare dives*.”

Sat.: ii. 5. 9-14.

We confess we have great suspicions of benevolence towards men of large pockets and considerable influence. “Cupboard love” is more often the proper word: and we believe the feeling of envy to be more often excited than benevolence at the sight of wealth and power in the hands of another, when it is *unknown* how he uses his gifts. Whilst, if it be known that they are badly used, in such a case feelings of direct ill-will and contempt would more generally be engendered.

Everything which excites pleasure is, in some degree, apt to excite benevolence. A handsome countenance, or a good figure, are in themselves capable of conciliating some degree of favour. But as considerable difference exists respecting the beauty of the human countenance:—

“Non omnes eadem mirantur amantque,”—

handsome ladies and gentlemen will do well not to count too much on this predisposition to entertain kindly feelings towards them. The messenger of good news is always an object for benevolence; so is any one capable of giving us amusement; and thus it comes to pass, that “those that have the dining and supping virtues often play a more con-

spicuous part in society than the greatest and most august of human beings." Then, the love of excellence is a species of benevolence; "an honest and zealous admiration of talent and virtue wherever they are found—an admiration which no disparity of situation, no spirit of party, none of the hateful and disuniting feelings can extinguish." Respect and esteem are low degrees of benevolence, excited by justice or integrity, prudence or caution. Affection is more permanent when mingled with respect, because the absence of respect implies disapprobation, which, in time, will efface all feelings of benevolence. Then the pleasures of the body are decidedly favorable to the benevolent emotion. A good dinner inclines every body to good nature, forgiveness, and generosity. The *mollia tempora fundi* is a great matter.

"He was not taken well: he had not din'd:
The veins unfill'd, our blood is cold, and then
We pout upon the morning, are unapt
To give or to forgive; but when we have stuff'd
These pipes, and these conveyances of our blood
With wine and feeding, we have suppler souls
Than in our priest-like fasts: therefore I'll watch him
Till he be dieted to my request,
And then I'll set upon him.

Coriolanus. v, 1.

We have been able to give only a very imperfect analysis of the Lectures on the Evil and Benevolent Affections, and pass to that which has "Surprise, Variety, and Novelty" for its subject. Strictly speaking, what is *new* and *singular* excites wonder; what is *unexpected*, surprise; what is *great* or *beautiful*, admiration. We wonder at the rare phenomena of nature. We are surprised with things, often seen before, but not expected at such a time or in such a place. We admire the vastness of a mountain, though there is nothing in it but what we expected to see. We admire Mont Blanc, though we have seen the Himalayahs; or though we have seen Mont Blanc itself repeatedly before. When an object of any kind which has been for some time expected presents itself, it does not cause the same emotion as though it was totally unexpected—the anticipation having prepared us for the reality. But when the thing is totally unexpected, and especially if it presents a strong contrast to what had existed before, the emotion may be tremendous. The sudden news of coming into a large fortune has thrown persons previously very poor into delirium, or complete madness. Dr. Gregory of Edinburgh, in his Lectures on the Practice of Medicine, mentions a most singular instance of the effects

of sudden and unexpected news of this sort. He was once sent to a family in the country, consisting of a mother and two daughters, who had recently succeeded to a very large and unexpected fortune. Upon his arrival at the house, he was met by the eldest daughter, who, with great appearance of agitation, cautioned him against her mother and sister, and informed him they were both mad. He very soon perceived that this lady was so herself; and, on visiting the other two, found they were not a jot better! Their astonishment and joy on being raised from poverty to extreme opulence had been such as completely to overthrow the little reason they had previously possessed. Bad news suddenly communicated has frequently much the same effect. Hysterical fits, or the wildness of despair, or the madness of melancholy, and sometimes instant death—these have all been occasioned by bad news; and hence with persons of susceptible temperament too great caution cannot be taken in imparting such news. No wise man will ever undertake to be the bearer of ill news, unless he considers it his imperative duty:—

“ Give to a gracious message
An host of tongues; but let ill-tidings tell
Themselves, when they be felt.”

Ant. and Cleop. ii. 5.

The greater the contrast, so also the greater the surprise, and the worse the consequences. Surprises of joy when the mind is sunk in grief; or surprises of grief when it is elated with joy, are therefore the most insupportable; and of these two—the former is even more insupportable than the latter. Of novelty, there are two kinds, novelty in particular objects, and novelty in their succession. Novelty has *degrees*; for though any thing we have not seen before is new to us, we may have been made so perfectly aware of its general appearance that, on seeing it, we can hardly realize the circumstance of our never having seen it before. Gentlemen in India, who have never seen the Crystal Palace, but who have taken in the *Illustrated News*, will doubtless walk into it next time they happen to go to Sydenham as unconcernedly as though they were entering their own mess room. The effects of change produced in the mind by variety, is plainly referable to the effects which objects have upon us for good or evil, in other words, for pleasure or pain. A child is excited by new objects from the hope of the pleasure, or fear of the pain, they may produce. The suddenness with which they are presented soon renders

it necessary for him to be able to discriminate between those that produce agreeable and those that produce disagreeable feelings, and the excitement of this keeping the attention awake to the possible consequences of new sights becomes in itself so pleasant, that without it the human mind stagnates. There is, in the same way, a pleasure in observing the differences and resemblances of objects, and, after the mind has once got the notion that new things are to be watched on account of their consequences, their novelty becomes attractive on account of *itself*. When novelty produces great effects, it is always combined with some other principles. The same is true of surprise. Alone, they produce very small effects. Mingled with *admiration* they may produce the greatest. We are surprised to find a child's shoe lying in the road, but there is nothing at all, in the shoe or the circumstance, to excite admiration. It is when a new object, in itself a subject of admiration, suddenly bursts upon our view, that the strongest sensations of surprise and novelty are produced which the mind is capable of feeling. The love of novelty is the foundation of the love of knowledge. Addison says—"The Supreme Author of our being has annexed a secret pleasure to the idea of any thing that is new or uncommon that He might encourage us in the pursuit after knowledge, and engage us to search into the wonders of His Creation; for every new idea brings such a pleasure along with it, as rewards any pains we have taken in its acquisition, and consequently serves as a motive to put us upon fresh discoveries." In the minds of the young, therefore, this love of novelty should not be discouraged, but kept within proper limits. It has been in all ages the parent of fiction. Not merely does this love still continue to call fairies, Pucks, and goblins, into existence; but it had the greatest share in inventing those more formidable errors which held such firm hold on the human mind—as astrology, witchcraft, demonology, and all the sciences which depended on the agency of invisible spirits. Long ago witches went out of fashion. The Philosopher's stone has given place to the fields of California and Australia: and modern alchemists depart on their search, armed not with crucibles and retorts, but with strong pick-axes and stout hammers. Stars have for some time been consulted exclusively of Cambridge Wranglers, and Oxford first-class-men: and by them, there is every reason to believe, rather with a view to snug fellowships, and college livings than with any intent to "read the Book of Fate,"

and make themselves and others excessively wretched. Still, in spite of modern realism, novelty has its charms; and a slight relish for the marvellous we hold to impart an increased enjoyment to the harmless amusements of youth.

The last Lectures in the volume are "On Habit," the force of which every body admits, though why it should be a law of our nature that past thoughts and actions should exercise so material an influence upon the present and the future, it is not easy to explain. We might have been so constituted that what we had done many times before should have had no further influence upon us; but the contrary is the case. When ideas are united together, by reason of their having been previously joined, we call it association. One idea may be associated with another idea. The singing of birds may bring before us green fields; and few lovers of Wordsworth will forget the account to which he turns this in "the Reverie of Poor Susan," which we make no apology for putting down here, for the benefit of any who are unfortunate enough not to possess a copy of Wordsworth's poetry:—

1.

"At the corner of Wood Street, when daylight appears,
Hangs a thrush that sings loud, it has sung for three years:
Poor Susan has pass'd by the spot, and has heard
In the silence of morning the song of the Bird.

2.

'Tis a note of enchantment; what ails her? She sees
A mountain ascending, a vision of trees;
Bright volumes of vapour through Lothbury glide,
And a river flows on through the vale of Cheapside.

3.

Green pastures she views in the midst of the dale,
Down which she so often has tripp'd with her pail;
And a single small cottage, a nest like a dove's,
The one only dwelling on earth that she loves.

4.

She looks, and her heart is in heav'n: but they fade,
The mist and the river, the hill and the shade:
The stream will not flow, and the hill will not rise,
And the colours have all pass'd away from her eyes!

An idea and a feeling may be associated together. Or joy or any other passion may suggest ideas;—and so on. When all these ideas and feelings are confined merely to the mind, they pass under the name of association: but when we begin to *act* in a customary manner, then it is *habit*.

Habits are *active*, as when we do things which we are prone to do because we have done them: or they are *passive*, as when we suffer things we are prone to suffer, because we have suffered them. It appears a general law that habit diminishes physical sensibility: whatever affects the body affects it less by repetition. Opium-eaters, drunkards, cigar or pipe-smokers and snuff-takers, are all perfectly aware of the different effects on them that their favorite drug or liquor has, after the habit has been formed, and long persisted in. Some few facts appear to militate against this conclusion. The Tea-Tasters of the Honourable East India Company used wonderfully to improve their power of discrimination in the various samples of the fragrant leaf. Wine-Tasters at the Docks, after a few years' experience, arrive at such perfection as to be able to taste twenty kinds of Port Wine, and say in a minute which is the best of the twenty. Some Aldermen get so nice about their turtle, that after the first spoonful they can predicate to a certainty what establishment furnished the banquet. Every one who has been to the Blind Asylum must have been astonished at the facility with which raised letters were read by the touch. Why are these things as they are, if habit decreases sensibility? The answer is—that it is not habit that increases the sensibility, but attention that increases the judgment and the delicacy of discrimination:—

“The man who has been rubbing cloths all his lifetime between his finger and thumb, has most probably not such an acute feeling as I have, who have made no such use of my finger and thumb; but he has a fixt and lively attention to what feeling he has, and he knows the quality of cloth of which that feeling is the indication. In all feeling, where attention is not concerned, he is just like every one else: heat affects him less if he has been exposed to it frequently; so does cold. In his own peculiar art he does not deviate from the general law of diminished sensibility, but *counteracts that law*, by his great increase of attention. This rule of the diminution of sensibility by habit includes, of course, pleasure, as well as pain: nothing which we eat or drink constantly can remain either pleasant or painful; repetition infallibly diminishes both the pleasure and the pain.”—p. 398.

If this then be the effect of habit on the pleasure or pain of the body, is the same the case where the body is *not* concerned—*i. e.*, are we less likely to feel a passion, because we have felt it before? The answer must be decidedly—no. A man who has habituated himself to fly into violent outbreaks of anger is by no means less likely to indulge in fits as violent again. Or take the passion of Avarice. A man who has accustomed himself to hoard is not more likely to desist from

indulging his favorite habit. Or the passion of Fear; a person who has had a good number of serious frights becomes much more nervous and timid, instead of less so. A child who has been frequently scratched—twice a week, say—by the cat, for a month, would not, as a general rule, be at all more disposed to boldness in venturing into the society of the feline tribe. The fear that the first scratch occasioned would, at each repetition, have gone on increasing in an arithmetical, if not geometrical, proportion. In instances where men encounter perils to which they are accustomed with greater resolution than at first, it is either because they have found out new resources by which the danger may be obviated, or because experience teaches them that the danger is less than they at first supposed. An officer who had been in three actions, and seriously wounded in each, would go into a fourth with very different notions of the danger to one who had been in three and escaped from each untouched. Envy is invariably increased by habit. Perhaps this is not the case in Compassion: for doctors come to amputate limbs without, apparently, the very smallest compassion for the poor creature on whom they are practising. This however is hardly a fair test. Let us hope the idea of performing a skilful operation, and thereby relieving the sufferer, is *their* mode of compassionating him at such a time. For all habitual actions very little attention of mind, or body, is required. An expert arithmetician would with difficulty recall the time when it took him half an hour's serious thought and labour to add up a single row of figures. That Made-moiselles Taglioni and Cerito should have ever had to submit to putting out their toes, and hopping from one foot on to the other, by way of learning how to balance themselves, is almost incredible. That accomplished piano-fortists should have ever had to worry themselves and their music-mistresses over crotchets and quavers, and go up and down the piano first with one hand then with the other, would surpass all belief unless one had sometimes heard young ladies "practising." What wonderful effects habit must have had over the muscles of the fingers and the power of reading the language of melody! What great resolution must be required to face the difficulties that are spread before a would-be musician!—

"Just so in learning to walk, or in grown up persons learning to skate; it requires a specific resolution to put one leg before another. A skater stands tottering and trembling in his slippery career; and when he has resolved which leg he will move the next, is obeyed by that leg

in a very awkward, reluctant, and mutinous manner,—the very leg which, when it has acquired a great number of associated strains and postures, is to gain its master deathless reputation as a flying Mercury, and render him the envy and glory of the Serpentine.”—p. 406.

A habit may be said to be *formed*, when a difficulty is felt at not doing the thing, or a pain, from its not being done. Englishmen and Englishwomen have very generally fallen into the habit of drinking tea out of cups, and not out of glass tumblers. So very strong has this habit become, that to oblige any elderly lady to drink her tea out of a tumbler would be to forbid her the use of that grateful beverage altogether. Or again, beer out of a tea-cup would be so extremely repugnant to military ideas, that were a General Order issued that every officer should use this description of drinking vessel, there can be no doubt—if the order received the attention that is commonly given to General Orders—that for many months the consumption of ale in India would be exceedingly decreased. Yet what is it but habit, which has made us so excessively dislike beer out of China cups, and tea out of glass tumblers?

The shorter the period between the repetition of a habit, the stronger, as a general rule, the habit becomes. A habit formed *against the grain* is more easy to break than one that goes along with it; and there is always a great probability of a recurrence to that vice, which most easily besets us. This Father Matthew found in Ireland; the habit of abstaining from whiskey required a good deal more resolution to form, and to keep when formed, than the previous habit of indulging in that favorite potation. One effect of habit, or custom, is that it regulates a good number of things which nothing else regulates,—such as dress, ceremony, and the conventional usages of society. Quakers and other foolish pedants have done all they can to deny this empire to custom. It is the habit of Englishmen to speak to one another in the plural number; and though, doubtless, it might be more correct to use the singular number, habit has decided in favour of the former. It is a habit common to Archbishops of Canterbury, and Dukes, and even Governor-Generals, to inform poor curates, or union doctors, or young ensigns, if they have occasion to correspond with them, that they are their obedient and humble servants; and it is a mark of good sense on the part of the latter to allow these dignified persons to follow their usual habit and custom, without exactly acting on the understanding that all these little pieces of politeness are true to the letter. All such

usages as are adopted, and used, and understood in a certain, well-defined, sense; and have nothing in them contrary to virtue and religion, it is mere affectation to oppose. Superiority is shewn, not in refusing to follow harmless customs, but in rising above the mass of mankind; in being more virtuous, or more learned, or more skilful, or more self-denying: in acquiring habits that shall benefit society—such as energy, and vigour, and the control of temper, and the subjugation of all evil passions. For habit has an enormous power over the whole man. Though it imparts no new principles, it determines the order and force of those which *do* exist in our nature. It neutralizes human passions, and deadens their power of injury. It makes pleasant things disagreeable, and turns irksome employments into direct enjoyment. It prepares men for grand struggles, and braces them for splendid exertions. By habit, the General is calm and collected, as he marshals his half-disheartened reserve for the last onset, which is to decide the fate of two powerful nations, and add another to the list of Defeats or Victories sustained by his Country's arms. By habit, the skilful Surgeon is inspired with the firmest self-possession, even at those awful moments when life and death wait on every movement of his knife. By habit, the Orator may learn the charm that subdues, or excites, human passions; and that leads crowds as children are led. By habit, all may ensure a victory over themselves, deny themselves, rule their own spirits. But let our author conclude this imperfect sketch of his valuable Lectures on Moral Philosophy, in his own beautiful language:—

“It is impossible not to perceive in this analysis of the nature of habit, that powerful effect which it must exercise upon human happiness, by connecting the future with the present, and exposing us to do again that which we have already done. If we wish to know who is the most degraded of human beings;—if it be any object of curiosity in moral science to gauge the dimensions of wretchedness, and to see how deep the miseries of man can reach; if this be any object of curiosity, look for the man who has practised a vice so long, that he curses it, and clings to it; that he pursues it, because he feels a great law of his nature driving him on towards it; but reaching it, knows that it will gnaw his heart, and tear his vitals, and make him roll himself in the dust with anguish. Say every thing for vice which you can say, magnify any pleasure as much as you please, but don't believe you can keep it; don't believe you have any secret for sending on quicker the sluggish blood, and for refreshing the faded nerve. Nero and Caligula, and all those who have had the vices and the riches of the world at their command, have never been able to do this. Yet you will not quit what you do not love; and you will linger on over the putrid fragments, and the nauseous carrion, after the blood, and the taste, and the sweet-

ness are vanished away. But the wise toil, and the true glory of life is, to turn all these provisions of nature, all these great laws of the mind, to good; and to seize hold of the power of habit for fixing and securing virtue: for if the difficulties with which we begin were always to continue, we might all cry out with Brutus,—‘I have followed thee, O Virtue! as a real thing, and thou art but a name!’ But the state which repays us is that habitual virtue, which makes it as natural to a man to act right, as to breathe; which so incorporates goodness with the system, that pure thoughts are conceived without study and just actions performed without effort: as it is the perfection of health, when every bodily organ acts without exciting attention: when the heart beats, and the lungs play, and the pulses flow, without reminding us that the mechanism of life is at work. So is it with the beauty of moral life! when man is just, and generous, and good, without knowing that he is practising any virtue or overcoming any difficulty: and the truly happy man is he, who, at the close of a long life, has so changed his original nature, that he feels it an effort to do wrong, and a mere compliance with habit to perform every great and sacred duty of life.” —p. 406.

TO A DEAR FRIEND,

Who had for many years, and up to his death, been utterly deprived
of hearing.

It hath been told me that thy well-poised mind
Bears thee unharmed above thy deep distress;
That though thine ear be dull, thine eye not less
Bespeaks the heart as glad as ever kind,—
“Light to the sun, and music to the wind,”—
Than when it pleased the Almighty God to bless
Thine ear with sounds it now can hardly guess;
Thy Faith doth hear the “still small voice” behind.
God hath not left thee comfortless, my Friend!
Children, and friends, and thy most constant mate,
With pious thoughts of thy pure bosom, blend
To whisper of the beatific state;
Voices of love now thrill into thine heart;
“We all shall meet where angels are, and never part.”

β.

VI.

THE REV. C. DAVIES'S VISITATION SERMON.*

The recent dearth of theological documents possessing any local interest—if we except an unhappy attack on the system of Bishop's College, in the *Church Missionary Report*, which our respected Bishop, it is understood, has denounced in the strongest terms of censure—induces us to notice the Visitation Sermon which was preached in St. Paul's Cathedral on the 1st of October last, and afterwards printed, although it seems not to have been in general circulation, and has only lately reached us.

This publication, which derives no importance either from its intrinsic merits as a sermon, or from the position of its author, comes before us with this strong claim on our attention, that it is “printed,” as the title-page informs us, “by command of the Lord Bishop.” Without holding his Lordship responsible for every thing which may be given to the public under his sanction, we esteem it our duty to reply even to the weakest assailant of our distinctive views of truth, if he comes forward with so respectable an introduction.

When a clergyman so young as Mr. Davies has been selected, in preference to his Fathers in the Ministry, and even,—as he appears to have understood it—for their instruction, to explain the duties of the priestly office, we should have expected to meet with something brilliant as a composition, logical in argument, and modest and unassuming in tone. But while the conclusion of the discourse, which might well become the parting exhortation of some grey-haired Prelate, exhibits any thing but self-distrust, we never remember to have met with any writing of a controversial character more loose and confused in its reasoning.

The first pages are a simple distortion of the analogy between the properties of a Vine, and those of the Visible Church, which Mr. Newman, in his sound mind, so ably handled in the third volume of his *Parochial Sermons*. And from this source all that is truthful and apposite in the discourse which we are examining appears to have been derived. For although Mr. Davies imputes to the Oxford Theologians doctrines, with respect to the virtue of sacraments,

* A SERMON preached at St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, on Wednesday, October 1st, 1851, on occasion of the Sixth Triennial Visitation of the Right Reverend Daniel, Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan in India, by C. DAVIES, B.A., Missionary of St. Paul's Cathedral. PRINTED BY COMMAND OF THE LORD BISHOP. CALCUTTA: 1851.

and the state of irreligious members of the Church, which are expressly contradicted in those pages, by a Tractarian writer of no mean celebrity, yet the plagiarism of ideas, and the principle "*fas est et ab hoste doceri*" has been carried out in the most fearless manner. We cannot resist the temptation to place side by side a few of the passages most remarkable for the concurrence of *doctrine* and sentiment, while we avail ourselves of the opportunity to quote *in extenso* a very beautiful description of the Visible Church of Christ.

MR. NEWMAN.

Mr. Newman states that there is no inherent grace in the Church as far as the wicked are concerned, although they are outwardly and truly members of it.

"Or consider the figure of a tree which is our Lord's own instance—A vine has many branches, and ¹ *they are all nourished by the sap* which circulates throughout. ² *There may be dead branches*, still they are upon one and the selfsame tree. Were they as numerous as the sound ones, were they a hundred times as many, they would not form a tree by themselves.—vol. iii, ser. xvi.

Again. "The case is the same as regards the Church;—*Its invisible privileges range throughout it*, but there may be, on the part of individuals, obstacles or impediments which suspend *their* enjoyment of them. It is one thing to be admitted into the body, and another thing to enjoy its privileges. ³ *While men are impenitent, the grace of the Christian election does not operate in their case*. And in proportion to their carelessness and profaneness do they quench the spirit. Hence it is that faith is necessary for our justification, as an indispensable condition, where it can be had. Simon Magus, we may securely grant, was profited nothing by his baptism; the font of regeneration was opened upon him, but his heart was closed. The blessing was put into his hand, but he had not that which alone could apprehend and apply it. It was sealed up for him, and only penitence and faith could unseal it."—*Ibid.*

MR. DAVIES.

Mr. Davies, in refuting errors which he seems to believe are the errors of Tractarians, echoes Mr. Newman's teaching.

¹ "The sacraments correspond to those inward tubicles, which convey the sap from the root of the Vine to the branches.

² *Like them they operate by a hidden influence of which the effects only are visible*. Like them they enable the believer to bring forth fruit, and like them, it must be added, *they convey no grace whatever to the unbeliever*. ³ *The dead branch remains in the Tree.*"—Ser. p. 7.

"There is no invisible Church yet formed, it is but a name as yet; a name given to those who are hidden, and known to God only, and as yet but half formed, *the unripe and gradually ripening fruit* which grows on the stem of the Church Visible—⁵ *As well might we attempt to foretell the blossom, which will at length turn to account, and ripen for the gathering,* and then counting up all these, and joining them together in our minds, call them by the name of a tree, as attempt now to associate in one the true elect of God. They are scattered about amid the leaves of that Mystical Vine which is seen,⁶ *and receive their nurture from its trunk and branches. They live on its Sacraments and Ministry: they gain light and salvation from its rites and ordinances; they communicate with each other through it; they obey its rulers; they walk together with its members; they do not dare to judge of this man or that man, on their right hand or their left, whether or not he is absolutely of the number of those who shall be saved.*⁷ They accept all as their brethren in Christ, as partakers of the same general promises, who have not openly cast off Christ—as really brethren, till death comes, as those who fulfil their calling most strictly.—ser. xvii.

⁵ In external appearance it often resembles the rest, *especially if it be not the time of fruit.*—*Ibid.*

⁶ And though the fruitful branches reached far. . . . they derived their spiritual strength from that root alone.—p. 5.

⁷ Neither on the other hand have we any reason to conclude that individuals are not made members of Christ, till their conduct proves that they do not fulfil the condition of membership.—p. 12.

The last parallelism which we have instanced is as near an approach to an orthodox statement as we could fairly have expected. We have "no reason to conclude that any individuals are not made members of Christ"; and if their conduct in after life is sinful, we have then evidence before us that the grace of God is not indefectible.

In the sentences which we have collated, the traces of indirect quotation are too obvious to permit us to doubt that Mr. Davies had studied attentively these sermons of Mr. Newman. But if this is the case, he must be well aware that all his orthodox positions had been forestalled, and that all the imputations and insinuated errors, which he associates with Tractarian opinions, had been positively disowned beforehand—nay, that the direct contradictory of those insinuations had been explicitly maintained—by the very Coryphæus of the Oxford School. Did Mr. Davies presume upon the evangel-

ical ignorance* of his audience when he had recourse to Mr. Newman's sermons, to refute a Newmanism of his own creation?

But to pursue our criticism, which is no easy task with one who, at every encounter, proves a metaphorical Proteus to the grasp of our imagination. The versatility of his similes reduces the matter-of-fact reviewer to the despair which Dr. Dryasdust experienced in his amusing dialogues with the Author of *Waverley*—"I am unable to dispute with you in metaphor, Sir." The Church is now the weak and limber Vine, and no tree but the Vine will express the image of the Church (pages 4 and 5); and now it is the sturdy olive tree (page 8)—a figure which St. Paul could use without embarrassment, because the ideas which would exhibit the Vine as *the exclusive symbol* of the Church are not to be found in the Scripture. Then the Sacraments at page 5 are some of the "*external*" props on which the branches lean," and anon they "correspond to those *inward* tubicles," (we have not in our possession a horticultural dictionary, but we cannot find this word in Johnson) "which convey the sap from the root of the Vine to the branches." And besides this, the writer, when it suits his purpose, appears to employ metaphor with the precision of syllogism, and syllogism with the elasticity of metaphor. If one Scripture describes the Church as a Vine,† this is a conclusive sign of her weakness and dependence. If another text speaks of her as a branch of the Vine, that is a proof that she does not possess the strength and vigour of the tree. Thus, in page 5, we are reminded that the Vine represents the Church, a statement which the language of the prophecies naturally forces upon our mind. But then in page 6 the prophetic image is discarded, and we are told that the Church is not the Vine but only a bough of the tree. To speak of her as "the Vine," or as "putting forth quickening power," is to "substitute the Church for Christ." "What inherent power," it is demanded, "has *the branch*?" Dissever it from the stem, and it droops and dies. The Church's power is all derived. It is in no sense independent." But surely the writer must have forgotten that the inspired Books

* From the recent aspersions of Bishop's College, it would appear that ignorance is one of the cardinal qualities of true Religion, and the dissemination of knowledge must be reckoned among the mortal sins of the Church system.

† This is much the same as if we should form the following syllogism from Homer's metaphors. *Æneas* is a Lion—Lions are quadrupeds—therefore *Æneas* is a quadruped.

have spoken of the Church, not as a Branch, but as a Tree, and therefore (for the whole argument hinges upon the figment that the Church is *not* the Vine) all the perilous consequences which he ascribes to this view are applicable, in the first instance, to the language of the Prophets. It is true that, although the Church is called the Vine in the prophetic writings, our Lord applies this designation to Himself in the Gospel; and the simple explanation is, that the mystical union between Christ and the Church is so close and indissoluble, that while Jeremiah and Hosea could speak of Israel as the Vine of God, our Lord could say, without any contradiction or confusion of ideas, "I am the Vine. Ye are the branches." If we have no warrant to apply the image of the whole Tree to the Church—if by so doing we "substitute the Church for Christ"—what must we say to the far bolder metaphor which St. Paul frequently employs, when he speaks of the Church as "the Body of Jesus Christ?" But the Gospel itself represents the Church, not only as the separate and diverging branches of one stem, but as a single mighty Tree, as in the case of the mustard seed, illustrating thereby its unity and universality. The fact is, that Mr. Davies appears to have followed the ideas of Mr. Newman as far as possible, adopting his premises, but endeavouring to avoid his conclusion, and "*infelix puer, atque impar congressus Achilli*"* he has met with such success as we should have expected. So long as the metaphor of the Vine expresses only the "feebleness and insignificance" of the Church, the parallel is allowed; but when it seems to incorporate us with Him who has taken the Church's name and graciously applied it to Himself, then Mr. Davies and the Scripture can no longer walk together. We can scarcely follow him through the mazes in which he now involves himself, but we think we can discover, in the genuine image of the Scripture, a luminous consistency between the Old Testament and the New, which our author altogether interrupts. The Church, inspired by Christ, and mystically identified with Him, is the Vine of Prophecy, and individual Christians are the branches in particular. So the Church collectively is "the Body of Christ," and its constituents individually are "members in particular." Any particular branch may be corrupted—any particular limb may mortify. Yet the Tree survives; the Body continues to exist. The corrupt branch is a

* In Mr. Newman's present relations with Dr. Achilli exceptions may be taken to this illustration.—ED.

part of the Tree, until it falls. The mortifying limb is a member of the Body, until it is amputated. But this ascribes no independence to the Church. We lay our destructive hands with some compunction upon Mr. Davies's theory, which assumes that the trunk of a tree is more independent than the boughs, but we believe that there is a reciprocity of sustentation between a tree and its branches—between the body and its members. We remember, in our school-days, that Menenius Agrippa took some pains to shew that the body was not independent of its members; and, in its natural state, even the leaves of the tree contribute in decomposition to the vigour of the parent stem. But, not to consider so narrowly as this, the Church may surely be likened to a prodigious Vine, spreading out its branches into all lands, without implying that it grows *of itself* and bears fruit *of itself*. Is it to be inferred when we speak of a tree that the plant is self-existent? Can a tree any more than a branch flourish, fructify, or even live without the external influences of light, heat and moisture? We are at a loss therefore to discover why the ideas of independence and self-existence should be involved in speaking of the Church, as the Prophets spoke, not merely as the branches but as the whole substance of the Vine. Nay, we are prepared to go a step further, and most positively deny that any of those writers, whom Mr. Davies comes forward to assail, have ever ascribed any such properties to the Church. The mock Tractarianism which was set up before the Clergy of the Diocese on the 1st October to be triumphantly knocked down by the Preacher, was very much like Oliver Proudfoot's wooden Soldan which he had the skill to cleave most valorously from the crown of the head to the chin, though he acknowledged it would put his hand out of fence to be opposed to a real antagonist of flesh and blood.

We proceed now to consider the doctrine of "the inherent grace of Sacraments," which Mr. Davies, with like inaccuracy, ascribes to his opponents. For here, too, we have reason to complain that our tenets should be described in terms which are calculated to convey a very unfair impression to the casual reader. The meaning which must naturally be put upon this phrase is this, that we describe Baptism as conferring spiritual benefits on all its recipients, infant or adult, without faith and without repentance, and that we gainsay St. Augustine's position, as quoted in our Article, with respect to an impenitent or unbelieving communicant. The unqualified assertion of the inherent grace of Sacra-

ments would mean nothing less than this—It would imply that the outward rite can communicate spiritual blessings, apart from the Divine Influence, and apart from the dispositions of the recipient. In such a sense we can confidently state that we are not acquainted with the writings of any Anglican Clergyman who holds the doctrine which Mr. Davies has impugned.

With respect to Infant Baptism, although its benefits are not conditional upon the *manifest* faith or repentance of the recipient, we still deny that we ascribe *any* inherent virtue to the outward form. If the word *inherent* grace is used in contradistinction to *imparted* grace, we most cordially agree with Mr. Davies in repudiating such a doctrine. Most fully and entirely do we subscribe to the statement that “the power” of *Baptism* “is all derived.” “It is in no sense independent.” We are persuaded that “the Sacraments, as well as all the ordinances and ministries of the Church, are mere channels of grace.” We only wonder that any one should think it worth his while to preach or to print a refutation of the contrary opinion. But if by accusing us of holding “the inherent grace of Baptism” it is merely meant that Infant Baptism confers grace, according to our system, without the pre-requisites of faith and repentance, which are required of adults, we must reluctantly follow our assailant into that great controversy, the battle-field of the day, into which Mr. Davies has needlessly, and, considering the character of his audience, we cannot but think somewhat presumptuously, intruded himself. We shall merely premise that whenever we speak of Baptism conferring grace, we believe that all spiritual grace is derived from the express gift of God, and that we receive it in the Sacrament of Baptism, because *that* is the Divinely appointed channel through which it pleases Him to convey His grace.

The first passage, at which we take exception, is the quotation from Hooker (page 6), which contains two instances of a very common but most reprehensible controversial dishonesty. This passage is introduced with immediate reference to the Sacraments in general, but is evidently intended to bear a particular application to the case of Infant Baptism. Now, in the first place, this was not the case which Hooker had in view in this part of his treatise; and, secondly, when he does refer to it, his language is of a very different description. These are circumstances which ought to have been fairly and candidly acknowledged, to protect those not conversant with religious questions from a very natural mis-

apprehension. The ordinary reader, a civilian for instance, too much occupied with his own professional work to refer to theological authorities, and trusting too implicitly to the reading and candour of a Teacher who comes before him with the credentials of the Bishop, will probably satisfy himself from this statement that one of the greatest—perhaps *the* greatest writer in our Church—is quite in accordance with Mr. Davies's views of Baptism. But, we imagine, he would feel a very honest indignation, if, on reference to the original works, he should discover that neither Hooker nor Cardinal Bonaventura (a strange ally for one who thinks (page 10) that the most essential difference between sound Protestantism and Popery consists in their respective estimation of this Sacrament) were speaking of Infant Baptism, which is really the subject of this Sermon, and that Hooker's doctrine on this question was diametrically opposite to that which the writer would lead us to suppose. To adduce one passage often quoted from this high authority in common with many others of like import—

“As we are not naturally men without birth, so neither are we Christian men, in the eye of the Church of God, but by new birth, nor according to the manifest ordinary course of divine dispensation new born, *but by that baptism* which both declareth *and maketh* us Christians. In which respect we justly hold it to be the door of our actual entrance into God's house, the first apparent beginning of life—a seal perhaps to the grace of election before received, but to our sanctification here a step that hath not any before it.”—*Book v* ; c. 60.

It should hardly be necessary for us to point out that language which may well describe the nature of the Sacraments with respect to adults, would be inappropriate if used with reference to Infant Baptism. Mr. Davies demurs to the necessity of drawing a distinction between the **properties** of Baptism as applied to adults or infants. But surely he himself, if he does not virtually give us three Sacraments, draws a far wider distinction between the two cases than we could venture to suggest. In the case of adults he refers the blessing to the Divine covenant and the disposition of the recipient. In the case of infants he would make the blessing contingent on the faith of Sponsors, which *is a human ordinance*, and on obligations incurred by proxy. Surely, if regeneration depends upon the human part of the institution, and the vicarious piety of others, “Infant Baptism *is* altogether a different ordinance from adult Baptism and the Lord's Supper;” so different, that if the inward and spiritual grace of Baptism is given or withheld, as Mr. Davies

we suppose would tell us, according to the character of the sponsors, who are not of Divine appointment, we cannot understand how those who maintain this opinion can class Infant Baptism with the "Sacraments ordained of Christ Himself." Though our distinction is not so broad as Mr. Davies's, yet we do distinguish between the passive babe and the responsible adult, and with this explanation it will be readily understood why our most eminent Divines, in speaking of the latter, would use terms very different from that which they employed when treating of the former subject.

With similar disingenuousness we are presented (pp. 9 and 10) with only one side of the Archbishop of Canterbury's opinion. And yet there is perhaps no doctrinal statement emanating from a living pastor of the Church, which has excited so much attention as the following :—

"Happily for our Church, the framers of its ritual took their doctrine from the general tenor and promises of Scripture ; and by a providential care extending over a Church so framed, the succeeding believers in Calvin were never allowed to introduce their subtleties into her intelligible and rational formularies. Therefore we are instructed to declare that those who are devoted to Christ as *Infants by Baptism, are regenerate* ; i. e. are accepted of God in the Beloved ; and dying without actual sin are undoubtedly saved. And therefore we hold that those who grow up may or may not fall from this state of grace—and that those who have fallen may or may not recover and be finally saved."—*Apostolical Preaching Considered* :—By JOHN BIRD SUMNER, M. A. Sixth Edition : p. 173.

The parallel which Mr. Davies, still mistaking metaphor for argument, pursues in page 8 between the Divine operations, and those of an unskilful husbandman, whose grafts fail through his awkwardness or ignorance, is too uninviting to detain us for an instant. We shall only observe that his explanation seems to render Divine grace subservient to the qualities of the minister, which is near akin to the Popish doctrine of grace contingent upon the intention of the Priest.

We pass on to the second position maintained in the Sermon—"the two-fold character of the Church," which we would wish to regard as nothing more than an inaccurate statement of an undoubted truth. If Mr. Davies merely means to say that all those who have received Baptismal Regeneration—that all the members of the Visible Church—will not continue unto the end, and be finally saved, he has only echoed an axiom of our creed, which, if more clearly expressed, would have spared him the trouble of composing the whole of the 2nd paragraph of his 13th page. For

this awful truth is quite sufficient to counteract "the dangerous consequence of a belief in the inherent virtue of Baptism," since none but a thorough-going Calvinist believes that every regenerate person is certain to be saved. All those who hold the Anglican doctrine, teach and believe that although we are "necessarily partakers of the Spirit of Christ" as being "baptized in Infancy," yet it is very possible to "receive the grace of God in vain," "to grieve," and even "to quench the Holy Spirit." The distinction constantly urged by our preachers, between the faithful and unfaithful, the saintly and unsaintly members of the Church, far from "lulling the consciences of the impenitent," has quickened, through a sense of responsibility, thousands to return to God. And the blessed "privileges of communion," wherever they have been frequently enforced and rightly understood, have been found most efficient admonitions to inspire "faith and repentance."

We are therefore fully prepared to concede that there are two large classes within the Visible Church, that the one walk worthy of their vocation, and will continue unto the end, while the other have only been "called" but not "chosen," have misused their regeneration, and parted with their birth-right. But to such unqualified expressions as the "twofold character of the Church," or "a Church within a Church," we decidedly object, as tending to the extravagancies of visible communions of the saints, and fostering exclusiveness, sectarianism, and spiritual pride. We believe that such a statement derives no authority from the standards of our Church.

"I conclude therefore," says Bishop Pearson* "as the ancient Catholicks did against the Donatists, that within the Church, in the public profession and external communion thereof, are contained persons truly good and sanctified and hereafter saved; and together with them, other persons void of all saving grace, and hereafter to be damned. * * * * * *Not,*" he continues, "*that there are two Churches of Christ; one in which good and bad are mingled together, another in which there are good alone.*"

And Bishop Beveridge, in no less plain language, discounts the notion of "a Church within a Church" in his remarks on the 19th Article:—

"In the Creed is the Church called the HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH; not as if every person in it was really holy, really saint, really believer in Christ. For we know that the visible Church here on earth is like to a floor on which is both wheat and chaff. (Matt. iii, 12.) It is like a field in which there is both tares and wheat. (Matt. xiii, 24.) It is like a net

that gathereth of every kind, fishes good and bad. (ver. 47.) It is like Noah's ark wherein were all sorts of beasts, both clean and unclean. In the Church indeed triumphant in heaven there are saints only and no sinners: but in the Church militant upon earth there are sinners also as well as saints, as the Fathers long ago taught."

Hooker always writes in a corresponding tone:—

"Now the privilege of the Visible Church of God (for of that we speak) is to be herein like the Ark of Noah, that for any thing we know to the contrary all without it are lost sheep: yet in this was the Ark of Noah privileged above the Church. That whereas none of them which were in the one could perish, numbers in the other are cast away; because to eternal life profession is not enough."—*Hooker*, Book v, c 68.

And the nature of this Visible Church is determined by still more venerable authority in the Homily for Whitsunday:—

"The true Church is an universal congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the head corner-stone (Ephes. II); and it hath always three notes or marks whereby it is known, pure and sound doctrine, the sacraments ministered according to Christ's holy institution, and the right use of ecclesiastical discipline."

We are aware that Taylor and Barrow and some others have acknowledged a Church of true Christians within the mixed society; but they have taken the precaution, which is omitted in this Sermon, to guard against separatism by explaining that such a Church is *invisible*; *only known to God*—but that the Church *in the sight of men* is "the company of men and women professing the saving doctrine of Jesus Christ," united "*propter temporalem commixtionem et communionem sacramentorum.*"—*Jeremy Taylor—Dissuasive from Popery*, vol. x, pp. 332 and 339.

Without some corrective or qualification of this kind, the doctrine of an exclusively holy Church within the Visible Church is calculated to overthrow all the external barriers of discipline and Catholic Unity, and to open the door to the most pernicious schisms and fanatical delusions.

We should now conclude a notice which has occupied a larger space in our columns than any publication of so ephemeral a nature can fairly claim, but we cannot dismiss this Sermon, without commenting upon the extraordinary statement which occurs in the 11th page.

"It only remains for me to add," says Mr. Davies, in concluding his remarks upon the baptismal sacrament, "that in arguing lately with

an intelligent Hindoo, against the supposed soul-cleansing efficacy of the water of the Ganges, he immediately replied that his doctrine was nothing more than that of remission of sin by the water of Baptism. Had I believed in the inherent grace of Baptism affecting unconditionally the recipients of it, it would have been difficult for me to reply to the objection."

In other words, Mr. Davies could see no difference between idolatrous baptism in the Ganges, and Christian Baptism at the font, in the Name of the Most Holy Trinity! "Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? May I not wash in them, and be clean?" is a parallel which, we should have imagined, would have instantly suggested itself to so close an observer of analogies; but indeed it is melancholy to see that a Priest of our Church should have been at any loss to point out the distinction between the divine institution of his Saviour deriving its virtue from the blood of Calvary, and the superstitious washing of the Hindoo.* We could not have believed that even in the aberrations of a Gorham, so disparaging a comparison could possibly have been endured. Either Mr. Davies is utterly incompetent as a Missionary to enter into discussion with an intelligent Hindoo, or he has thought it necessary to establish a character for humility by modestly under-rating his own controversial powers. We would willingly adopt the latter supposition, in spite of any symptoms of a contrary spirit which are evinced in his pages, and we shall therefore bid them adieu with this one word of friendly counsel, that until Mr. Davies feels conscious that he can acquit himself somewhat more successfully in encountering his heathen opponents, he should refrain from dogmatically condemning the ancient Catholic doctrines which the holiest and wisest of our Christian teachers have maintained in all ages of the Church.

* In the same way, we presume, Mr. D. would have been puzzled if his antagonist had contended that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity was nothing more than a phase of the Hindoo Triad.

VII.

THE MYNPOORY MEASURES FOR THE PREVENTION OF FEMALE
INFANTICIDE.*

Not the least of the advantages which the Public owes to the present enlightened administration of the Agra Presidency is the opportunity afforded of studying all that is most important in the official correspondence of the North Western Provinces. The very form in which these "Selections" are presented—so unlike the ponderous and uninviting Blue Books of England—deserves commendation: for the cheerful primrose and elegant distribution of type upon the exterior seem designed to invite us to glance within. And seldom are we disappointed. If any doubt could still exist of their title to the character for sound discretion which the Public Officers of the North-West have widely established, no confirmation can possibly be needed beyond what the papers under acknowledgment afford.

Of all these, the letters on which we are about to pass remark are, it is no disparagement to Mr. C. Raikes's Brother-Civilians to say, by far the most important and significant. They open to us a body of measures for the obliteration of the deepest stain upon the Rajpoot character, admirable in conception and successful in operation.

It should however be understood that the first cast of these *Measures* did not proceed from Mr. Raikes. In a valuable paper which that eminent Public Officer was good enough to furnish us with (see *Benares Magazine*, No. XXVIII. *Female Infanticide in the Doab*), he himself ascribes to Mr. Unwin the origination of plans which his own unwearying zeal and philanthropy, and his singular discrimination of native character, have worked to their late and happy issue. Mr. Unwin, he there tells us—(and with Mr. Unwin's measures we shall begin; for the labours of his predecessors in this field are already open to investigation through an elaborate, though somewhat over-rhetorical article in an early number of the *Calcutta Review*)—Mr. Unwin, in 1842, in the course of some enquiries in the Mynpoory district consequent upon the famine of 1838, "determined to take ten villages in each pergunnah, and selecting one house in each of these villages, to count in person every head in it. He then

* REPORT on Measures adopted in the District of Mynpoory, for the Prevention of Female Infanticide. Reprinted from the Selections from Public Correspondence. AGRA: 1852.

found that not a single female, young or old, of the Chowhan Thakoor race, was to be found in any of the houses of the district. "At once, and on his own responsibility," continues Mr. Raikes, "he established a system of watchful inspection." "The watchmen in the Chowhan villages"—(so reports the same Public Officer, as Officiating Magistrate of Mynpoory in 1848, in reply to a call for information from the Court of Directors)—"were ordered to give information of the birth of a female child forthwith at the Police station." Then a burkundauze would see the child, and the Thanadar report its birth to the Magistrate, and that officer pass an order for a report upon the health of the babe after a month. If the child should sicken previously, the watchmen were bound to give information of it, when "a superior police officer (either thanadar, jemadar or mohurrir)" would "at once go to the village, see the child, and send a report to the Magistrate." And in suspicious cases the body of the child would be sent for, and submitted to the Civil Surgeon. The result of these measures was, that between 1844 and 1847, (and we believe during Mr. Unwin's incumbency of the Magistracy of Mynpoory) seven hundred and fifty-four births of female infants were reported in the four years; and that in 1845, a grand-daughter was born and preserved in the ancient stronghold of the Rajahs of Mynpoory, which "fact was duly notified to the Government, and a letter of congratulation and a dress of honour at once dispatched from Head-Quarters to the Rajah."

What further, then, has since been conceived—(and especially the meeting of the Chowhan Thakoors at Sumaon, on the 12th of November, 1851, as set forth in the attached extract*)—was by no means from despair at the small amount of good done under Mr. Unwin's system; but on the contrary, was induced by the success of those measures beyond all expectation (as noted in the second paragraph of Mr. Raikes's letter of Nov. 17th, 1851) which encouraged that gentleman to a renewed effort. It is simply because much had been effected that more was subsequently attempted.

* *Extract from a Letter from C. RAIKES, ESQ., Magistrate of Zillah Mynpoory, dated 17th November, 1851, addressed to W. H. TYLER, ESQ., Commissioner, Agra Division :—*

"7. On the 12th November, the Rajah of Mynpoory, and many of the chief Chohan Thakoors of the district, assembled in my camp at Sumaon, and were invited by me to discuss the matter noted below in paragraph 10.

"8. I told the assembly that I came amongst them with no desire to exercise any authority over their consultations, and that whilst I would tell them

Nor must we allow the fine spirit of Mr. Tyler in encouraging and prosecuting this noble effort to pass without our humble commendation. The achievement—whatever it prove to be—of the Magistrate of Mynpoory derives largely from the countenance and support of his Commissioner. Mr. Tyler projected a visit to Mynpoory to meet the Rajpoots there, with those of the neighbouring districts of Etawah, Furruckabad and Budaon, and propose the Mynpoory Resolutions for wider observance. The signally successful issue of those arrangements will be found in full detail in the “Letter to the Rajpoots of India” already adverted to.

We must be permitted to observe that the Public Press, in its review of these proceedings, has too exclusively noted the *merely philanthropic spirit* of the Mynpoory measures; which has on more than one occasion been unjustly contrasted with the supposed indifference of Missionaries. This is by no means the light in which these measures should be regarded. The *disposition* to put down unnatural cruelty is not at all a rare endowment—we do not presume that there is an official man, or a missionary, in all India, who has it not in just as high a degree as Mr. Tyler, or Mr. Raikes. And moreover, in contrasting the operations of Missionaries and of Civil Officers, it should never be forgotten

my own opinion, I would also give them every assistance in carrying out their views.

“9. The meeting resulted in the drawing up of the following set of Resolutions which were signed by the Rajah and every member of the assembly.

“10. RESOLUTIONS OF CHOHAN THAKOORS CONCERNING MARRIAGE EXPENSES.

[These will be found in *extenso* in the “Letter to the Rajpoots of India” printed further on]

“11. I believe that this attack at the cause which leads to infanticide will succeed better than any more direct attempt.

“12. Knowing the Thakoor as I do, I fully expected that they would receive with attention any suggestion I might make, but I was by no means prepared for the enthusiasm with which these Resolutions were carried. I am not generally sanguine as to the effects of engagements taken from the people by authority; but if you had witnessed the zeal with which these Rajpoots entered into the work of self-legislation, I believe that you would not think me over sanguine when I express a belief that much good may come of their present Resolutions. The reserve which generally attends any reference to family subjects was quite forgotten in the indignation with which they recurred to the absurd price (under the pretence of dower) put upon sons by the tribes who take their daughters in marriage.

“14. It is obvious, in a matter of this sort, that a *combined* effort must be made to secure success; and from the spirit of the people, I am very sanguine that success is at last almost within our grasp.

I have, &c.,
C. RAIKES.”

that the latter class can do much, from the advantage of their position, which Missionaries could not attempt. The secret of Mr. Raikes's success, in our opinion, is not the philanthropic spirit which he has in common with his neighbours, but that in which all his neighbours, Civil and Ecclesiastic, may fitly be enjoined to imitate him—his active maintenance of the *power* committed to him—power—in his own eloquent language, which though “a shade, a pretence, a slavery in England,—is a reality here:—the power of doing good, not to one or two persons or parishes, but to thousands:—the power of mitigating the ills of life, by smoothing its inequalities, by lessening injustice, by putting down tyranny, and by encouraging honest exertion.” The enchanter's wand which he wields is *The Knowledge of the People*, acquired in the encampment beneath the mango-grove, in the cutcherry under canvass, in the bold adventure among, and warm and hearty greetings with, the otherwise inaccessible village communities. Here he has learned the language not only of their lips but of their feelings, and caught the spirit which can either accord with their institutions, in cases where that may be; or where it may not, which can pass them hopefully through the crucible of a true and discreet conservatism, which has the wisdom to reform without the disposition to destroy. And need this be a much rarer endowment than the *desire of doing good* with which we accredit *all* our fellow-sojourners? We trow not. The most moderate gifts of intellect,—*only the mens sana in corpore sano*,—seems to us sufficient for the blessed enterprise. In a service which enlists so many scions of the best of England's gentle and commercial families, it can hardly be expected that there should be any one eminently brilliant above the leading men of his order. We ascribe it only to Mr. Raikes's active devotedness to the duties of his calling, and to his hearty consecration of all his energies to seek judgment and relieve the oppressed, that he has contemplated that course of righteous persuasion which must place him, should his sanguine expectations be realized, in a line with the chiefest benefactors of this land and people.

The causes to which we must ascribe the Infanticide which has prevailed for so many ages among the Chowhans and Phatucks of Mynpoory, in common with the Rajpoot races generally, are said in the Report before us to be,—First, the large sums of money which it has been considered necessary to expend on the marriage of a daughter;—Secondly, ignorant pride, which makes a *Chowhan Thakoor* rebel against the no-

tion of being father-in-law to any one;—Thirdly, the superstition that the preservation of female issue is ominous of the decline of family importance. The first named, however, is unquestionably by far the most powerful instigation: the second being of only limited influence; for although the law prohibiting intermarriages between families of the same class, however remotely connected, certainly renders it *difficult* to accomplish alliances for the Chowhancee, yet the gradations of Rajpoot aristocracy are not so distinctly defined as to render even that *impossible*; and Mr. Raikes himself has told us in another place that “the higher Chowhan usually seeks alliances for his daughters (if they are preserved alive) with the Kuchwae, Budhoree, Bhughela, or Rathore clans”; and though, therefore, he may object to be *called* “sala” and “sooser” (brother-in-law and father-in-law), he does *incur* that connexion as often as the choice lies between it and the celibacy of his daughters. And the superstition which marks the preservation of daughters as unlucky must be traced to the disgrace which taints their house on the one hand, if they either remain unmarried, or marry *below* their sphere; and on the other hand, the impoverishment which is entailed upon it by marrying them *up* to their sphere, from the excessive demands of the bridegroom’s party; the dower to be brought to a husband of the Chowhan race having been frequently fixed at from a lac to a lac and a half of rupees, in addition to the extortions which such unscrupulous vagrants as the Bhats and Charans have been in the custom of practising. We very much doubt if such cases as the Calcutta Reviewer has contemplated can practically occur—cases which “no mere sumptuary measures can possibly reach, and in which it is “not the exorbitant expense of marriages, but the difficulty or impossibility of contracting alliances at all suitable to the extravagant views entertained of family birth,” which instigates the infanticide of the female offspring;—for if the daughters of the Chowhan tribe—the “*crème de la crème*” of Rajpoot aristocracy,” may contract marriages in houses which can boast no direct descent from “the great Prithee Raj and the regal stem of Neem-rana,” it seems to follow that no amount of purity can render an alliance for a daughter absolutely unaccomplishable. The great, in fact the only *real*, instigation to destroy their female infants is therefore, we consider, the heavy expense attendant upon marriages—and is obvia-
~~regulation~~ble only by a rigid sumptuary regulation;—or at least thus much appears to be incontro-

vertible, that were marriages made more easy to the bulk of the Rajpoot community, what small impediment to the settlement of daughters in the chief clans may be referable to family pride would gradually wear away, either by recognition of the equality of the chief clans, or by a resolution among the families themselves, which strikes us that we have somewhere seen mentioned as in contemplation, not to receive as wives the offspring of any house which will not also take their sons in wedlock.

Sumptuary measures, then, we fully believe, notwithstanding all that has been alleged against them, will be found, under certain conditions, adequate to the emergency; and these conditions will be seen expressed in the twelfth paragraph of Mr. C. Raikes's letter already quoted. The regulations limiting the expenses of marriages must be framed, and *generally* concurred in, by the people themselves. It is very true, as Colonel Tod has illustrated in his "Annals of Rajpootana," that though a sovereign impose decrees thus limitary, the rash vanity of an opulent and ambitious vassal, claiming the right to do with his own as he pleases, may counteract them by stimulating the passion for ostentation. And what is true of the constitutions of a sovereign prince holds also in respect to sumptuary arrangements entered into in compliance with the suggestions of a supervising authority, by any number, even the whole, of the protected body:—the acquiescence, however *apparently* sincere, may in the event prove to have been rendered involuntarily, and to have been yielded, therefore, without even the intention of its observance. But the case is different when so large a number of chiefs, with their relatives and headmen, as met at Sumaon on the twelfth of November last, in the absence of all constraint from without, and in obedience to an impulse formed upon the conviction of how ruinous to all real greatness had been the practice of their race for ages, combine to enact reforms and to discommon all recusants to them. We quite agree with Mr. Tyler, (See Report &c. No. II. 2.) that the crime of Infanticide can be effectually suppressed only through the agency of the people themselves. But perhaps no one who is aware that at the Mynpoory assembly of the Rajpoots of that and the neighbouring districts, all present, in number three hundred and sixty, agreed in resolutions formed by their own chiefs with a view to the abandonment of universally acknowledged "bad customs," will deem Mr. Raikes "over-sanguine" for his belief that much good may come of them. Especially, if he also glance at the result of

Mr. Unwin's measures, which remain in force, with the advantage of a concurrence in their objects so important as that of the Rajpoots themselves; and if he consider that the present Rajah of Mynpoory's marriage was accomplished for the sum of 4,500 rupees, instead of a lac or a lac and a half;—that two daughters—the only ones known for centuries—are at the present moment living in that Rajah's fortress;—and that in the month of December, 1851, there were living among the Mynpoory Chowhans 1,488 daughters between the ages of one and seven, a number denoting the preservation of at least half of the female issue.

But perhaps the best proofs we have that something in extension of all past advantages is at work in the Mynpoory District, and approving itself beyond, are, first, the fact that a Rajpoot Talookdar in a remote part of the country has petitioned for the extension of the Mynpoory regulations to his own district;—secondly—(as we observe is noted in the "Letter to the Rajpoots of India") that Captain Erskine, Superintendent of Jaloun, an officer whose distinguished energy of character renders us most sanguine as to the result of his efforts, has been induced, by observation of the temper of his people, to engage himself in extending similar measures to the territory under his supervision; thirdly, that Gujadhur Sing, Talookdar, an important Chief in a wild and remote part of the Mynpoory District, having lately, on his own instance, come up to the Civil Station to return thanks to the Magistrate for his having saved him from being mobbed by Bhats on occasion of his niece's wedding, and being invited by Mr. Raikes to put on paper the sentiments which he had expressed to him verbally, wrote, substantially, as follows:—

"Cherisher of the Poor, Mail!"

"The book containing an account of the lineage of the Rajpoots has been despatched to your Honor. Your Honor will kindly peruse it.

"I was present at the meeting of the Rajpoots, and informed your Honor of the intended marriage of my niece. Your Honor replied that after the completion of the marriage ceremonies, I was to give you the details of the transaction. This account I now render at your request.

"In conformity to the condition of the engagement, no previous conversation (as has hitherto been customary) took place between the father of the bridegroom and myself upon the dowry; although, the bridegroom's father being resident

in Gwalior, I did not conceive it possible that he would have allowed the marriage to take place without my settling a dowry on my niece.

"When I informed him of the details of the engagement and the arrangements of Government relative to Rajpoot marriages, he, with much satisfaction and many assurances that he considered the conditions of the engagement beneficial to the Rajpoots in general, acceded to the marriage without reference to the dowry. I, according to my means, willingly gave the bridegroom's father on the day of the espousal (*Lug-gun*), and on the day when the nuptial gifts (*Teeka*) were presented, four hundred rupees in cash, with three horses and a camel.—I also gave two hundred rupees in cash, and two horses on my threshold (*Durwaza*); and one hundred rupees in cash at the moment of giving away my niece (*Kunjadan*).

"By your favor and kindness the marriage expenses amounted to only seven hundred rupees, and the bridegroom's father was pleased. Another ceremony (*Rasin palang*), which generally costs 500 rupees, I dispensed with; not considering it necessary to expend money on it.

"The above arrangements have been effected by the kind intervention of Government [*i. e.* the Magistrate—*Editor*]; and the marriage has taken place with little expense.

"In former days I spent 17,000 Rupees, besides the gift of horses, on the marriage of my sister, the heavy expenses of which still distress me.

"At the marriage of my sister, the Bhats and Fuqcers made a great disturbance and annoyed me much. On this late occasion the Thanadar, at my request, gave his assistance; and by his authority many Bhats were excluded. I presented to a few *old* Bhats ten or twelve rupees, and sent them away happy. The father of the bridegroom, too, was not subjected to annoyance by the Bhats: formerly the whole dowry that he received was spent upon them; but this time he did not give any thing, and the dowry was so much gain.

"There is one circumstance for which I am more indebted to you than for any other kindness; viz., the discountenancing and preventing the custom formerly in practice among the Bhats, of carrying and dancing about dolls fixed on long poles; and the filthy terms of abuse often applied by them to the parents of the young couple.

"What was requisite I have intimated to you—May the sun of your prosperity and good fortune continue to shine.

"The petition of your humble servant Koonwar Gujadhur Sing; dated 20th June 1852; Mouzah Ourasur, Mustufabad."

We are now in a position to introduce with a few remarks the document which we have more than once referred to, Mr. Raikes's Letter to the Rajpoots of India, with a translation of which we have been favoured. The original, in Hindee prose and poetry, is in fact a Hindooized *résumé* of the Letter of 9th December, 1851, published in the "Infanticide Report." It must be judged of not by European, but by Oriental rules of composition; and as addressed to men who though soldiers by profession are mere children in intellectual development. Its whole construction strikes us as admirably adapted to the end in view; not the less so from the prudent reserve which is maintained on the point of female infanticide, about which, evidently with the design of avoiding all repulsive topics, not a single word is said except incidentally, near the end of the Letter. And we have good reason to be aware that the same judgment has been passed upon it by critics far more competent than ourselves. We have been told that Mr. H. S. Reid, the zealous Visitor General of Village Schools in the North-Western Provinces is anxious to distribute at his own expense a thousand copies of the Hindu Document through the establishments under his supervision; and is of opinion that eight or ten thousand copies might find a sale in the Doab. In Mynpoory alone there has been a demand for about five hundred, and were it printed under authority of Government, we doubt not that a considerable sale might be expected in Oude, the Rajpootana states, and the Punjab. We are glad, therefore, to have some ground for believing that it is in contemplation by the Lieutenant-Governor to extend his *Imprimatur* to this version of the Report of the Samaon and Mynpoory Assemblies in the language of the people principally interested therein.

To the Rajpoots of India.

This letter is written by me, Charles Raikes, Magistrate of Mynpooree, to the Maharajas and Rajahs and men of rank and landed property of the Rajpoot race. I ask you to read, examine, and understand my letter, and act upon my advice.

Objects of the Letter.

In the ancient records of the Hindoo race, such as the Mahabharuth, Pirtee Raj Raisa, Alkund, Bikram Bilas, and other annals, the power, valor and generosity of the Rajpoot races are frequently celebrated.

At the present time, too, their royal possessions, renown, and courage are well known.

In short the fame of your race has spread far and wide.

I have known you long and liked you well, and am acquainted with your customs; no wonder then if I wish you happiness and prosperity. But without questioning your good qualities I must remind you of one great fault in your habits.

You spend vast sums of money in marriage expenses, and the consequence is many chiefs have been ruined, and from rich men have become beggars.

It has given me much pain to see ancient families thus destroyed by foolish extravagance, and thrown into perpetual poverty.

I proceed to remind you of the evils of profuse expenditure.

The Evils of Profusion.

It is a sad act of folly to throw away upon a temporary gratification money which has been obtained not without labor and industry—money which might add so much to your own comfort, and to the assistance in difficult times of your relatives and friends.

To make a bonfire of your goods in order to increase your dignity, or to give your wealth to minstrels and beggars, is like the act of the drunken man who, in order to keep his clothes in greater security, takes them out of his house, and puts them in the oven.

Think of this :

Prodigality causes Ruin.

Again, the man who borrows money to squander it on flatterers and parasites will soon lose both his honor and his property.

Consider the debtor's case. Penniless and poverty-stricken, every man looks upon him with contempt. Nobody trusts or honors him, and when his wealth is gone, he spends his days in remorse. He is like a bee robbed of his honey, who rubs one leg against the other regretting lost sweets.

The worst of all is that after the prodigal is ruined, his former flatterers who eat his substance point at him, and say—"Look and see what comes of dissolute living—Such is the way of parasites—

"Whilst plenty remains, they eat and grin,
But run from the house when hunger comes in."

Let not wise men then, for the sake of the passing applause of interested sycophants, throw away the hardly-earned acquisitions of laborious years.

To be provident is the part of a sensible person ; to be improvident is the mark of a fool.

“ The good man acts, but thinks before ;
The fool reflects when action's o'er ;
Wisdom to beauty lends a grace ;
But folly wears a sullen face.”

Loss of Land.

Perhaps some of my Rajpoot readers may say—money is but dross ; I have spent it and will earn more.—Not so fast, my friend. Mind, if you lose your money, your land does not go after it. When you have spent your money and dissipated your other property, the chances are you will come down upon your land. It is an old saying ;—

“ When the bed breaks we fall on the ground.”

When once a taste for profuse expenditure has come over you, then away you go to some banker, and pledge or sell your land to him. Alas ! your land ! that land—

“ On which your grandsires shed their blood,
And cherished long through frost or flood :
The land which lent you titled fame,
And marked you with the Rajpoot's name :
Where stands your father's castle home
Where lakes, with lotus half o'er grown,
With trembling smile give back the trees
That glisten in the morning breeze :
Where shaded well and sacred dome
Alike remind you, ‘ This is Home.’
The land which to its fruitful breast
Ten thousand living lips has prest,
And fed with countless sugared stores
The ant that creeps, the bird that soars ;
Whence nobler man or humbler beast
Still crop their never failing feast.
Nay, yield your purse, your goods, your breath ;
But, Thakoor, keep your land till death.”

A Thakoor without land is a Chakur ; and remember, when once your land is sold to another, the purchaser will say to himself—This Thakoor belongs to the land, and will stick to it if possible. We must put him out of the way ; and such efforts will be made to get rid of the former owner, that the Thakoor, if he can't get into an ant's hole for refuge, will be obliged to fly the country. Then the

former chief will have to sound his own praises. If by good luck any body believe him to be a Thakoor, he may get two rupees a month, turn orderly, and do all sorts of dirty work. I have seen scores of such Thakoors who eat the bread of penitence. But it is too late. They might as well water withered crops, or run away after the robber has carried off all their property.

Some Account of the Evils caused by Mobs of Beggars at Weddings.

Owing to the sums squandered on marriage occasions, hundreds of Bhats, Jagas, and other vagabonds assemble and worry the wedding folk (*i. e.*, the parents of the bride and bridegroom) for money. Rich men manage somehow to satisfy these harpies, but as for poor men they are driven to their wit's end.

If the beggars are not satisfied, they get abusive, make up effigies,* and think nothing of calling the marriage-master a knave or a rogue or worse names still.

I will now tell you how these beggars killed a man the other day.

More about Beggars.

Last year in my District a respectable man was about to give his daughter in marriage. He had paid all the customary fees to the best of his power, and had not forgotten the beggars. But when will such wretches be satisfied? They began to press the unfortunate master of the feast, who declared he had nothing left to give them. These stony hearted mendicants would take no denial, and at last they murdered the poor man because he could see them no longer.

In that house instead of a wedding there was a funeral.

And these vile beggars had a rope tied round their waists instead of a purse full of money. They were dragged away to the magistrate, and are in jail to this day.

* "These harpies, when a wedding is to take place, assemble from all sides; some coming ten or fifteen coss. They take up their post outside of a village the night before the procession sets off from a bride's house; when that comes by, every man amongst them, every follower of theirs, and every horse foal, and even every dog must be fed to the amount of a rupee. If the bridegroom's father demur, he is hustled, laid hold of, has dust thrown upon him, until at last he compounds by a considerable payment. If he fail to satisfy the bhâts, then a bundle of rags is made up into an effigy, named after the master of the wedding party, stuck on a spear, and with blackened face exposed to every insult."—See *Report*; p. 10.

But think of all the misery here caused by the abominable custom of squandering money at weddings.

From bitter trees you may expect bitter fruit.

Now, if you, the heads of Rajpoot families, would unite to put down these bad customs, it would be easy for you to do so. A wise man will not bear a grievance which can be remedied. A worthy man discriminates between good and evil; he rejects the evil and chooses the good.

I will now tell you what the men of my district have done to remedy the practices above mentioned.

The Meeting of Thakoors at Sumaon.

After consulting with the Commissioner of the Division, and with some of the local Chiefs, on the 12th of November last we had a meeting of Rajpoots at Sumaon. The Rajah of Mynpooree and other men of note were present, and the question of wedding expenses and beggars at marriage feasts was discussed. A list of dowers to be paid by each class of Rajpoots was made out, and the agreement which I will presently relate was drawn up and signed by all at the meeting.

I heard one Zemindar present say, with the tears in his eyes, that he had a marriageable daughter, but that such heavy sums were asked by the fathers of young men as dower, that he could find no husband for her. He was ready to give what he had, but if that would not satisfy other people what could he do.

The Chiefs assembled, shook their heads and said, "the practices of our tribes are indeed bad. The dignity of our families and religion has passed away, and the eyelids of our honor have been stitched up. Brethren, let us put a stop to this misfortune in one way or another." This is the agreement.

Copy of the Agreement.

Since in our tribe, owing to the expenses incurred in marriages, many evils have grown up, we the undersigned enter into the following engagements, and attest the same before the Magistrate of our District, so that we may act there upon, and to the best of our power induce all of our tribe to do so likewise.

RESOLUTION I. We will in future regulate our marriage expenses by the four following grades.

1ST GRADE. For Rajas or Thakoors. The dower to be demanded on behalf of a son, or guardians of a marriageable

daughter, shall not exceed Rs. 500. One-third of this sum to be paid at the period of Luggun; one-third at the door of the girl's father, when the marriage procession arrives; and the remainder in the shape of pin money (Kunyadan), &c.

2ND GRADE. For Zemindars. Rupees 250. One-third, &c., *as above*.

3RD GRADE. For others in easy circumstance's Rupees 100. One-third, &c., *as above*.

4TH. GRADE. For all other decent people. one Rupee.

RESOLUTION II. If the father of any marriageable damsel chooses of his own will to give more than is specified in Resolution I, well and good; but if the father of any youth demands more than has been specified in Resolution I, we will remonstrate with him. If he persist, we will put him out of our brotherhood, because he has from his own avarice brought dishonor to the father of the damsel.

RESOLUTION III. Since the insolence of Brahmans, Bhats, Barbers, and others, who abuse decent people for not spending large sums at marriage ceremonies, is a cause of needless profusion, we resolve and promise, when such abuse is offered to us or our neighbours, to complain at once to the Magistrate for redress.

RESOLUTION IV. To prevent needless expenditure in crowded processions, we undertake to invite to our family weddings a moderate number of persons only, according to the grade we belong to.

How the Agreement was Ratified.

As I considered the resolutions of the Rajpoots meeting at Sumaon to be wise and good, I proposed their public ratification to the Commissioner. That gentleman very gladly acceded to my proposal, and invited all the Thakoors of this District and the neighbouring Districts, whether Rajahs, Talookdars or Zemindars, to meet him at Mynpooree, where he would preside over a general assemblage of the clan.

Invitations accordingly were sent round for the 5th December, 1851, to the Chiefs of the Agra, Etawah, Furrukabad, Puttealee and Mynpooree Districts

Account of the Mynpooree Assembly.

A day or two before the Meeting, the Chiefs came in and encamped around Mynpooree in groves and convenient

places. In a pleasant spot on the banks of the Essawa a long row of tents and shemianahs, sufficient to contain a large assembly, was pitched, soft carpets were spread, and all the principal native Revenue and Police Officers of the districts were in attendance to receive the guests with due distinction. From an early hour in the morning the Rajpoot Chiefs, with their retinues, were to be seen arriving at the appointed spot. The cries of the Chobdars, the roll of kettle-drums, the neighing of horses, the ringing of bells on elephants and oxen, the rattle of carriages and the voices of palanquin bearers were to be heard, on every side. It was a gay and pleasant sight. All the Sirdars and other members of the assembly were soon seated with such ceremony as satisfied all, and gave offence to none. Including the Rajahs of Mynpooree, Pertaubneir, Rampoor, and other places, and the several Chiefs, upwards of 500 Rajpoots of note belonging to the Agra Division were thus seated; but if you take into account their followers, and the crowds collected to witness the spectacle, you must count by thousands not by hundreds. All being thus in due form assembled, I had the pleasure of introducing to the meeting Mr. Tyler, the Commissioner, accompanied by the Judge of the Zillah, the Joint Magistrate of Puttealce, and several other gentlemen. Otter and Pan were distributed, and amidst much friendly conversation and explanation, the Resolutions of the Sumaon Meeting, which have been already detailed, were proposed to the assembly for their acceptance. All present agreed that the proposed resolutions ought to be carried, and signified their acceptance of the same by signing their names to the agreement. Many said "It is well to get rid of the bad customs of profuse marriage expenditure." Several Chiefs from a distance came forward and asked for copies of the agreement, in order that they might take and circulate the same in their own neighbourhoods. Three hours were thus spent; the English gentlemen standing, conversing with the Chiefs, or attesting their signatures; whilst all the assembly of Thakoors, to avoid confusion, kept their seats. When the assembly broke up, expressions of satisfaction were to be heard on every side; indeed, in whatever part of Hindoostan inhabited by the Rajpoot tribes the news of this assembly has reached, it has, so far as I can learn, been received with approbation. The men of Jaloun have expressed to Capt. Erskine, the Superintendent of that State, their desire to co-operate in the objects of the assembly; and Capt. Erskine has written to me to ask for a copy of

the Mynpooree agreement, which has been sent to him. There is little doubt but that the same resolutions will be carried there also.

So much for the Mynpooree Meeting. Now listen to a short extract from the history of some of your own countrymen.

Ancient Records.

We read in history that Maharajah Jyc Singh, of Jyepoor, considering the evils of profuse marriage expenditure in his kingdom, tried to put a stop to it.

He issued an order to all the Chiefs in his jurisdiction not to spend more than one year's income on the occasion of a marriage; but the Chandwat of Sahumbra, over-persuaded by Bhats and Beggars, spent vast sums at his daughter's wedding, in defiance of the wise Rajah's decree; thus Jyc Singh's plans were frustrated. It is a pity that a set of beggarly flatterers were able to interfere with the purposes of so great a king.

A Word or two about Marwarra.

Colonel Hall, Superintendent of Marwarra, many years ago called together an assembly to consult about this very matter. Rules were then drawn out to suit the case of all classes of men, which are still in force. The evils which formerly prevailed have been remedied: nor were these evils of a trifling nature. The Rajpoots in that part of the country had become so impoverished by marriage expenses, and so harassed by beggars and other impostors, that they actually used to preserve themselves from these miseries by *destroying their own daughters*. But since the excellent arrangements of Colonel Hall's assembly have been in force, there is no more of this cruelty. Sons and daughters are equally prized, and grow up like flowers round every man's home. All this good, you see, has come from cutting down profusion at weddings.

Ending of the Letter.

And now I must conclude this letter. But first I must tell you that the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor was pleased to express his approbation of the Resolutions drawn

up at the Mynpooree Meetings; and letters were addressed to express his Honor's satisfaction to,—

The Rajah of Purnabneir.
The Rajah of Mynpooree.
The Rajah of Rampoor.
Rao Bhowance Singh.

A Circular Order has since been issued in this District of Mynpooree by the Magistrate, that all Bhats who crowd and press upon the wedding processions more than is agreeable to the parties concerned, shall be removed by the police, and the Bhats have been registered and exhorted to give up begging, and take to honest labor.

A Parting Word of Advice.

It remains now for you to whom this letter is sent to address yourselves to the work of reform. I hope that you will carefully read over the resolutions to which so many of your brethren have agreed, and decide to take similar engagements upon yourselves if opportunity offers. Thus your honor and good name will be maintained.

If not, Thakoors will become beggars, and beggars will become Thakoors. Be wise then, unite together, and with one effort dispel the evils which beset your race. It may seem hard at first to break through long-established custom, but when once you fling off your fetters, the countless blessings of liberty will appear, you will be esteemed the liberators of your race; and of one thing you may rest assured, that wherever the British power extends, your efforts will be encouraged, and your motives will be appreciated.

We cannot bring this notice to a close, without some animadversion on the expressions in a volume, which, considering the vast amount of information condensed within it, has already been censured perhaps beyond what is due. However, if there be only the shadow of a pretext for the incredulity on the matter of infanticide which Mr. Campbell reiterates, time after time, in the compass of those few and meagre lines which he devotes to the subject, the acts on which we have been commenting would be clearly supererogatory; and therefore it behoves us, as far as we can, to establish the existence of the crime, and the expediency of the remedy we believe so opportunely suggested. Mr. Campbell writes as follows in his recent work on "Modern India," p. 500 :—

"Child-murder, as it involves concealment of the fact, would not be shown by the reports; and the murder of female infants, *at one time common among certain tribes in certain parts of the country*, is sometimes represented to be very general in our provinces. But I must say that *I doubt the fact*. I do not think that it is likely to occur, in present prosperous circumstances, among large clans, in which there is *plenty of room for intermarriages, without infringing the rule which prohibits the marriage of blood relations*. In fact, except among isolated families claiming peculiar rank, girls are very valuable. And if child-murder did take place to a large extent, many instances must come to light. If ten such cases be ascertained by the magistrate, we may well believe that ninety are concealed; but if none are found out, I should believe in neither ninety nor nine. I have had to do with a considerable Rajpoot population, and have seen nothing of the kind. I am therefore *slow to believe speculative people, who go into a village pencil in hand, and because they fancy they see more boys than girls, calculate and propound that exactly one-half of the female infants of the ordinary agricultural Rajpoots are annually murdered.*"

We wish to lay no undue stress upon the form of expression adopted in this extract—though surely Mr. Campbell was oblivious, for the moment, of the matter-of-fact style which pervaded his volume; or he would not have designated Shore and Duncan, Willoughby and Wilkinson, Burnes and Pottinger, or, to pass to the present time, Robert Montgomery and Charles Raikes, "speculative people who go into a village with pencil in hand." But the above extract exposes an amount of ignorance which should not be chargeable, even on a single point, on one ambitious to enlighten the Ministers and Parliament of England on Indian affairs, prior to the Charter discussions in 1854. It is impossible, supposing Mr. Campbell to be (and he is more) a man of ordinary observation and sagacity, that his conclusions could have been formed after even an hour's attention to those confirmatory documents, which the office he has undertaken made it his duty to consult. The several memoirs published in the three volumes of Parliamentary Papers, and the numerous details and remedies which have been submitted to the Government since the year 1843, by officers of the very highest discretion and integrity—to not one of these can he ever have devoted the least consideration, or the idle doubts which he endeavours to authorize, it would be strictly impossible that he should entertain. He cannot have an idea of the exact statistical scrutiny which has been instituted since Mr. Unwin's discovery in 1842, or he would have blushed for the impertinence which he has launched at men as good as he, and of whose experience of Rajpoot relations he cannot have a tithe. The complicated incentives to the crime, in the form of the numerical

extent of the several tribes, the exorbitant dowers demanded for the settlement of the better born girls in their degree, the restrictions against intermarriages even in the most remote connexions, the exactions of insulting vagrants, the facility for perpetrating, and the singular difficulty of establishing the guilt, even when suspicions have been strongest, and magisterial measures most prompt—not one of these things can have ever crossed Mr. Campbell's thoughts, or he had never been guilty of such incoherent trifling as to call in question the witness of many of the ablest administrators of our Provinces and Districts from 1794 till now, on the frail ground of "prosperous circumstances;" the visionary projection of unaccomplishable alliances; the presumed "value of girls" in a constitution where their settlement involves either ruin or dishonour—and often both; the paucity of convictions of an offence which obviously evades detection; and his own want of ocular evidence of deeds transacted behind the curtain in the Rajpoot *Khass-mahàl*.

STANZAS.

To E. G

"Tis only when they spring to heaven that angels
Reveal themselves to you."

PARACELSEN.

THE blast came by: and she hath bowed her head
As gently as the earliest vernal flower,
Swept by the storm, upon its lowly bed
Falls unresisting. Meekness, as a dower,
Was by her heavenly Father to her given:
And when she felt it was her dying hour,
Her angel-meekness wafted her to heaven,
Where blasts are not, where tempests do not lour.

The summer flowers grow on her early grave,
And as her life all innocently bloom;
The freshening dews of morn and evening lave
The opening daisy on her grassy tomb:
She wished her friends to see her silent home
Arrayed in Nature's simplest loveliest dress,
That, Death disrobed of melancholy gloom,
Though they should weep, yet weeping they might bless.

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THE BENARES MAGAZINE.

VOL. VIII.—PART I.

I.

MARCHING CHAPLAINS AND THE "FRIEND OF INDIA."*

On the 19th of August we read an article in the *Friend of India* on the "Encrease of the Ecclesiastical Establishment in this Presidency," which caused us more unmixed satisfaction than we generally derive from the comments of that respectable Journal, which professes views in politics and Church matters generally dissonant from our own. *The article we have referred to involved three topics of congratulation. First, there was an indirect but positive admission that Lord Derby and his colleagues are likely to remain in power for at least two years to come. Secondly, there was the important fact that the reported addition to the number of the Chaplains is not only uncontradicted, but is distinctly attributed to an increased attention on the part of the Government, if not of the East India Directors, to the wants of the Church in this land. And, thirdly, there was the very significant circumstance that our accomplished contemporary, whose well-known ability in discussion, and skill in making the worse appear the better reason, have often been employed in opposition to the interests of the Church, had not a word of ordinary plausibility to allege against this increase of the clerical body.

The stability of the present Administration must have seemed tolerably certain to the *Friend of India*, when that paper informed its readers that the influence of the Protectionist Cabinet over the Parliamentary discussions on the Charter (which will not take place until 1854,) is the *quid pro quo* for the compliance of the Directors. Great also is our thankfulness to learn from such unexceptionable and

* "Encrease of the Ecclesiastical Staff at this Presidency."—*Friend of India*, No. 920, vol. xviii., p. 532.

impartial testimony, that the boon has been granted because "the Church party happens at the present moment to be in the ascendant in the Ministry." And against the desirableness of the measure, we are justified in assuming that no valid objection can be urged, when the ablest of our Indian organs, albeit sore displeased at such a concession to the Baal of Prelacy, can find no other cause of complaint, than the gratuitous conjecture, that the Court of Directors can only have recognized this undoubted duty, in the hope of propitiating the orthodox statesmen who now hold the reins of Government. At the same time it is pretty evident that our weekly brother would chide, if he could, from the pertinacity with which he rings the changes upon this supposed and probably unreal compact between the Directors and the Cabinet,—an allegation three, if not four, times repeated in the same column, as if he felt it his duty, even at the hazard of his reputation for argument, to concoct a certain quantity of protest upon the occasion.

It occurs to us that if the alleged reasons of policy and interest have had their weight in the councils of Leadenhall Street, it is not very likely that they would be suffered to transpire; but admitting the supposition to be correct, we have no direct concern with the motives which may have influenced the determination of the Directors. This has nothing to do with the expediency or non-expediency, the necessity or impropriety, of the measure itself. If all stories be true, Dissenters themselves have not always been nicely critical in scrutinizing the designs of the givers, when tempting gifts have been put into their hands. When James II. published his Declaration of Indulgence, and patronized Dissent to promote Popery, "fulsome addresses from all denominations expressed their admiration of the generous and enlightened king." And William Penn, the Quaker, testified his gratitude for that act of toleration, by attending the Royal Progress in company with Father Petre, the Jesuit. As we trust there is no latent Popery either in Dr. Daniel Wilson, or in the "*dona ferentes*" on this occasion, we hope we need not be more scrupulous than the Nonconformists shewed themselves in 1687. To seek for interested motives in the minds of those who have granted an unquestionable and unobjectionable benefit to the country, is really much the same as if we should think it necessary to analyse the compost of an English hot-house, before we could enjoy the pine-apple on our plate.

The grant of additional Chaplains, which would be a great boon at any time, is certainly not unseasonable at a moment

when a scheme is said to be in agitation for connecting the clergy more closely with the principal portion of their flocks, by permanently attaching a Chaplain to each European Corps. Of this proposal, the *Friend of India*—for we are glad to avail ourselves of such assistance on all possible occasions—expressed its opinion on the 22nd July (No. 916, page 466):—

"There can be no doubt that *the revival of** this practice will be beneficial to the interests of the European Regiments, and that no small advantage may be expected to result from giving each corps a Minister of Religion, whose business it shall be to watch over the moral and religious training of the men, and the instruction of their children. *It can scarcely fail to diminish crime, and to improve the character of the soldiery.*"

But this most desirable result, our contemporary objected, was not attainable without "a very serious encrease of the Ecclesiastical Department of the State." This obstacle, if the rumoured augmentation be indeed an accomplished fact, we are beginning to overcome. So wonderfully opportune to obviate the anticipated difficulty, is the grant of additional Chaplains, that we should have expected the most handsome congratulations on the subject. There was but one objection in the writer's eyes to a measure which could "*scarcely fail to diminish crime, and to improve the character of the soldiery,*"—and the ink of that paragraph was hardly dry at Serampore before the Southampton Packet was conveying a notice to Calcutta that the impediment was about to be removed.

We are therefore amazed that any ground for dissatisfaction can exist. We should have thought that the announcement of any act auxiliary to a measure which on the 22nd of July was calculated *to diminish crime and improve the character of the soldiery*, would have been hailed with exultation on the 19th of August. But to our extreme surprise we now learn that the prevention of crime, and the moral improvement of the European soldiers which the increase of Chaplains can scarcely fail to promote, are matters of very inferior moment to the Anna Postage and the Electric Telegraph. This is a new doctrine. We have yet to ask, for the propounder of this bold theory is mysteriously silent on the point, what grounds there may be for stating that postal communication is so much more valuable than good manners? It is beyond our skill in guessing, to conjecture why the more ready circulation of Calcutta gossip, or even of the *Exchange Gazette*

* We never heard that the Chaplains were at any time attached to Regiments, and we know not on what authority this statement has been made. We believe that when Bishop Heber arrived in India, he found Chaplains attached to Brigades.

should necessarily be preferred to the diffusion of Christian knowledge. Nay, we even venture to doubt, at the risk of being esteemed visionaries and enthusiasts, whether the Electric Telegraph itself is more really conducive to the best interests of the commonwealth, than the sober and efficient Church instruction which might always acquire for the soldiers that praise which the Governor-General, in his recent order, so gracefully bestowed upon the troops in Burmah,—and for the nation, that permanence of Empire wherever we plant our flag, which is only really secured when "irresistible bravery in the field" is united with "order, obedience, and discipline in the camp."* If the influence of the Ministers of Religion—and who can doubt it?—contributes to this result, we challenge the *Friend of India* to shew cause for the priority which he assigns to the inventions of science, and the facilities of correspondence, in preference to the immediate advancement of religious instruction. Our ancestors of the epoch of the Reformation had reason to be thankful that they lived at a time when no utilitarian Newspaper had influence in the Councils of the State, for assuredly, if such principles could have warped the mind of Elizabeth, the publication of the Bible would never have been allowed, until Drake had effected the circumnavigation of the globe.

In the darkness of our prejudices we are not ashamed to believe that the interests of Religion are second to no other consideration, not even to the palpable advantages of Post Office Reform. The Anna Postage would doubtless be very acceptable to all classes of the community; it would certainly, if extended to Newspapers, give a wider range to the circulation of journals, and enhance the receipts of Editors, a consummation devoutly to be wished for even in the Ledger of the *Benares Magazine*; while it would increase the consumption of writing materials, and gratify the personal and patriotic desires of Paper Manufacturers; but we cannot admit that even these Utopian results would prove a more "invaluable boon," than an adequate provision for the temporal and spiritual necessities of the poor European Soldier. To give him a friend in his state of friendlessness and temptation, who should advise him in his perplexities, guard him from the evil influence of bad associates or abominable writings, wean him from habits destructive to his health and comfort, teach him to be useful to his country, baptize and train his children, attend him in his sicknesses and privations, and minister to him

* See Lord Dalhousie's General Order on the eve of his departure from Rangoon.

on his last battle-field—this would be a benefaction, which we may venture to say would be cheaply purchased even by the postponement of the Anna Postage.

It seems highly probable, whether the Ecclesiastical Establishment is at once increased, or not, that the plan of attaching a Chaplain to each European corps will be carried through. There are indeed objections to this arrangement of which we do not wish to make light; but, on the whole, we consider them far more than counterbalanced by its very obvious advantages. By rendering the tie between the Pastor and his congregation more permanent, his influence over the soldiers will be greatly increased, and the march and change of station will no longer be an injurious interruption to moral and religious training. We can safely affirm that there are few instances in which a Clergyman has been associated for a period of years with any portion of our army without acquiring the respect and affection of the corps, or at least of the better class. The British soldier is peculiarly accessible to the assiduous and disinterested kindness of his Minister. His habits of discipline and obedience induce him to listen with deference to his first counsels, and when he sees him active in the performance of his duties, and at the same time ever ready, though the equal of his officers in birth and education, to waive the distinctions of rank, and to hold intercourse with him as a friend, he soon learns to confide in his goodwill, and to recur to him for advice. But all this is a work of time. Soldiers partake largely of the national characteristic, the quality of reserve, and they do not hastily give their confidence even to their pastors, until they know their characters, and are assured of the sincerity of their interest in their people. A few may be caught by straight-laced carriage, or the charms of popular eloquence, but, in general, it is after months of earnest labour, that the voluntary duties, the efficiency in hospital, the frequent visits to the school, the affable interview in the Padre's study, the sympathy with those who suffer, or with those who fall, enlist the esteem and attachment of the men. Nothing can be more depressing to a zealous Clergyman, or more destructive to his usefulness, than to be separated from a congregation where he has thus begun to win his way, and to recommend himself to the affections of his charge. The separation takes place—an interval perhaps ensues before his successor arrives—and when he comes, he is a stranger, perhaps he is less earnest, or his system is not the same. At any rate the first difficulties which we have described are in the way.

Such changes should be discouraged as much as possible—for the evil which they occasion is incalculable.

To this mischief the plan which we are examining will in some degree provide an antidote. But, on the other hand, long and frequent marches will, in many cases, prove a serious detriment to the Clergyman. His habits of study and retirement will be fatally broken in upon. His routine of religious duties, if he wishes to discharge his daily public ministrations, must be constantly interrupted, for no one could carry out the order and system of the Church in the irregularities and confusion of a march. Then the constant and unavoidable association with the officers of the Regiment must in some instances, though we willingly testify that such cases are exceptions, tend to deteriorate the standard of Ministerial character. It would be a most trying and injurious position even for a Clergyman of the highest qualifications, to be bound in perpetual companionship with a profligate and unrestrained Colonel, and with officers who are not taught by the example of their superior to respect the decencies of Religion and its Ministers. And, in addition to this, when a Regiment leaves a station, the pastoral connection must be dissolved with the rest of the congregation. That part of the society which is not identified with the Queen's Troops, and which perhaps is the circle with which a clergyman would find most sympathy, and contract the closest intimacy, must be deprived of their Minister, and the separation would probably be disadvantageous to both. Still, the benefits to be expected from the proposed arrangement undoubtedly preponderate. The European soldiers form the great majority of the community at every station which is garrisoned by a Royal Regiment, and attention to their spiritual wants is the positive and unalienable duty of the Church.

We have not alluded to the inconvenience and increased hardships which the measures may entail upon the Chaplains, because none of the Clergy, who have their hearts in their work, would permit us to use such a plea on their behalf. But we have no hesitation in saying that Assistant Chaplains with wives and families, and cumbrous libraries, could not encounter the expense of moving with the Regiments, without some considerable increase of their allowances.

We are not afraid of the rebukes of those who think our Church already overpaid. We shall not cease to call boldly for more labourers, and for their hire, until our ministerial strength is more commensurate with the increasing wants of the community. We regard the suggested number of twelve

new Chaplains only as an instalment of a far more liberal supply; and though we may never live to see the day when Governments, awakened to a just sense of the importance of Religion, and solicitous for the moral as for the bodily health of their dependants, shall provide for their soldiers and servants the same amount of pastoral as of medical supervision; yet we do trust that the time will come when our Bishoprics will be of manageable extent, our smaller stations provided with resident Pastors, and the whole machinery of the Church augmented and improved. We cannot but confess with shame that the Romanists far surpass us at the present moment in the apparatus of Religion, and in spite of those foolish sneers (in which we can find neither wit nor argument) at the recent expressions of our truly wise Diocesan, we heartily concur with him, that an increase of Bishops and Chaplains is the Crying Want of India, and that our ecclesiastical organization is as yet on a very imperfect footing. We want Bishops who can really superintend their Dioceses, and Chaplains who have only one congregation for their field of labour. Four Bishops in each of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and eight in the rest of India, with double the number of the present Chaplains is the least allowance which could satisfy a thoughtful mind as a proper complement for the Archbishopric of Calcutta. It does not follow that our additional Bishops should be in the receipt of large emoluments. We would willingly reduce them to a more impoverished and primitive style; although, if ecclesiastical incomes could always be dispensed with the singular munificence of our Chief Pastor, we would gladly make every Bishop the Almoner of public wealth to a very considerable extent. And again, that we may do what we can to soothe the frugal objections of the advocates of Economy, it does not seem necessary that the Government should defray *all* the charges of an increased establishment. Why should not the members of the services, and the whole of the Christian community contribute to the due maintenance of Religion? Why should not the whole income of the Indian Services bear a tax of one per cent., the tithe of a tithe, for this purpose?

Let the Wants of the Church be supplied at least in part by the contributions of her members. While we do so much for the Evangelization of India, let us not grudge our substance to expel heathenism, unbelief, wretchedness of unclean living, from the tents of our Soldiers, from the unvisited homes of pensioners, from the foul neighbourhoods of vice and impurity, lying uncared for within hearing of the Band which plays in the marble halls of the City of Palaces.

It may possibly be objected by those who are contented with the now necessarily neglected state of the populous parishes of Lancashire and London, that the Establishment which we have instanced would apportion the Ministers of Religion to the People in a larger ratio than the most favoured portion of the British Empire can command. But is this fair reasoning? Are the speculations which build squares and streets without churches, or with churches for the rich—for these pay well—but none for the poor—models for our imitation? Are the teeming districts with many thousands of inhabitants to which modern piety gives one Clergyman with a scanty stipend, spectacles which we should wish to reproduce? The following stern truths by a justly approved writer of the day, while they cry shame upon us for our deficiencies at home, and forbid us to appeal to the present abnormal state of the Anglican Church as the proper standard of Apostolical Discipline, are not without their value as a corrective to mercenary and utilitarian views, which have a natural tendency to conciliate the sympathies of our Indian officials, who support, and are supported by, the great Commercial Institution of the East:—

"The English Church has never recovered from the spoliation [of the Tudors]; and never did we feel her inadequacy more strongly than we do at present. Every year that passes does but serve to increase her insufficiency to administer the offices of Religion to the community over which God has set her, and it is no small reproach of a Protestant people, that in devotion of their means, to God's honour, and in liberality in His Service, they thus fall far short of the Church which they reformed. Worldliness, private selfishness, covetousness, carelessness for God's honour, are the lamentable results of those evil principles and evil deeds by which the reformation was "disgraced."

In this category we fear we must comprise the attempt to exclude propositions for Church extension from that abundant and cheerful munificence which, on almost every other motion of consideration for the poor, is the noble characteristic of our countrymen in India.

Though positively so transparent as to be unworthy of serious refutation, we shall do right to expose one fallacy which the *Friend of India* has endeavoured to palm upon us as good reasoning, in its article of the 22nd of July:—

"If the Bishop," it is argued, "considers the encrease of Chaplains for the Civil and Military stations beyond the present number, one of the crying wants of India, he is not likely to remain silent when deprived of one-third of the ecclesiastical staff which he now possesses."

Without objecting, as we well might, to the obvious incorrectness of assuming that all the royal Regiments and the Chaplains attached to them will move at the same time;—

for no other hypothesis can justify the inference that *one-third* of the clergy will be exclusively employed upon this service—without filling our columns with the self-evident demonstration that during *two-thirds* even of those years in which the Regiments march, they will be located, as they are at present, at stations in which the European corps constitutes *only one element* of the society, how, we ask, can the Bishop, or, as we should phrase it, the Church, since *a Bishop and his clergy*, and *a General and his staff* are not convertible terms, be said to be *deprived* of the services of those Chaplains who move with the Marching Regiments? They will be engaged in the most active duties. They will be ministering among the larger portion of the Church. Their services will be employed in the most arduous, and most necessary, and most profitable occupations. If they were compelled to expend, as under the present system, three or four months, in being transferred from Peshawur to Singapore—or if they were under the necessity of remaining at some large cantonment, denuded of its garrison, with only some score of persons for their congregation—either of these predicaments could with propriety be described as a temporary suspension of the full usefulness of those Chaplains who might happen to be so circumstanced. But to represent the continuous connection of the Chaplains with the Marching Regiments as *depriving the Bishop* of their services, if meant for serious argument, is not even respectable sophistry. It would be as rational to affirm that Greece was deprived of the assistance of Leonidas and his band while they were doing yeoman service at Thermopylæ.

The following form, though not quite syllogistic, expresses the *Friend of India's* argument:—

"The present complement of Chaplains is not enough for the Bishop;—

The Regimental system will employ one-third of the present complement;—

Therefore the deficiency in the Bishop's eyes will be one-third greater than before."*

* Although it is generally difficult to define the exact process of false reasoning, perhaps it would be more methodical to reduce the *Friend's* reasoning into two unsound syllogisms. *e. g.* :—

I.—The Regimental system will *employ* one-third of the present Chaplains;—

This employment of one-third of the Chaplains will increase the existing deficiency in the ratio of 3 to 2;—

Therefore the Regimental system will increase the existing deficiency in the ratio of 3 to 2.

Here there is an undue assumption of the major premiss $\frac{1}{3}$ rd for $\frac{1}{10}$ th, and an ambiguous middle—*usefully* employ in the major premiss being converted

The minor premiss will be eminently untrue, since not a tenth part of the Chaplains, in ordinary times, would move with the regiments in one year, and even these would only be withdrawn from their general ministrations during the marching season ; but supposing the premises to be correct, it would be far more reasonable to supply this directly contrary conclusion :—

"The Bishop considers the increase of Chaplains for the Civil and Military stations beyond the present number, one of "the Crying Wants" of India, but he is likely to be *less* urgent in his demands, if he finds that he can provide, by the more efficient employment of the existing establishment, for the most extensive part of the evil, the wants of the European Regiments, throughout the whole period of the year."

The fact is that our opponent has fallen into the error of supposing that the Barracks and Bungalows are the sphere of a Chaplain's duty, instead of the souls and bodies of the people ; or that the Church is some Military Engineer's unshapely eye-sore of brick and chunam, instead of the assembly of Christians who resort to it : or, if he does not consider that the Pastor's presence is essential to empty walls, and his sermons edifying to vacant benches, he clearly infers that a greater and more lamentable void will be occasioned by the temporary absence of the Chaplain from the diminished congregation, than by any intermission of sacred offices for the soldiers. The station, it is true, in the existing paucity of Clergymen, will be deprived of a Chaplain when the minister of religion leaves it with the regiment. But there will be no greater amount of spiritual privation then than now—If there be only *one* Chaplain, either those who leave or those who stay *must* be precluded from the offices of devotion ; and to which of these two parties ought we to give the privilege of monopolizing the services of the Priest ? To the majority or the minority ? To the ignorant and unregulated soldiers, or to the educated and right-minded Civilian ? This is the real pith of the question, and the Christian answer is pronounced beforehand. The deficiency may be more apparent when the station is left desitute, but it is not so real nor so extensive as when the soldiers leave the Chaplain at the station. The shepherd is as well employed when he drives the flock to pasture, and leaves the stalled sheep at home, as when he gathers them into the same enclosure for the night, and gives his watchful care to all.

into *uselessly* employ in the minor—Then the second syllogism naturally follows with a false minor premiss.

II.—The present insufficiency of Chaplains is the Bishop's grievance. ;—

The present insufficiency will be increased by the Regimental system in the ratio of 3 to 2 ;—

Therefore the Bishop's grievance will be increased by the Regimental system in the ratio of 3 to 2.

We have said that we are no believers in the reality of the conjecture which imputes the grant of additional Chaplains to an express or implied understanding between the Hon'ble Court and the Queen's Government. Strong are our sympathies with Lord Derby's Cabinet, and sanguine our anticipations of their future, but unlike the *Friend of India*, our estimate of their present power is not so strong and sanguine as to persuade us that the Ministry are in a position to dictate terms of alliance to so influential a body as the East India Directors. On the eve of a precarious election, the Cabinet must have been more tempted to buy than to sell support. On the other hand, we are not aware of any solid reasons for concluding that the Court of Directors require any contraband allurements to induce them to lend a ready ear to the pressing exigencies of the Church. Undoubtedly we need not hesitate to admit that they have not done all which we, speaking merely as churchmen and not as politicians, would desire to attempt for the advancement of religious truth; but we cordially allow that the Directors have never shown themselves indifferent to the highest interests of their servants. Considering that no Governor-General, and perhaps no Member of Council has ever advocated our cause in a spirit of devoted and uncompromising attachment to the Church, we can only wonder that we have received so many proofs of cheerful sympathy and support from our Honourable Masters, and we should be ungrateful if we withheld, in the name of the Church and of the country, our respectful and sincere acknowledgments. We need only bestow a cursory glance on the modern ecclesiastical history of British India to convince ourselves how constantly the inadequacy of our clerical strength has met with the favorable consideration of the Court, and how little room exists for the insinuation, that the crying wants of the Church are only listened to when a pressure from without compels attention. There was a time, which most of us recollect, when one Bishop was considered capable of superintending Bengal and the North-West Provinces, Bombay, Madras, Ceylon, Australia, Borneo, and Singapore. With two exceptions, the whole of this list is now a catalogue of independent Dioceses; Sydney being itself a Metropolitan see, with five suffragans. Before the arrival of Bishop Heber, one Chaplain for each Division was deemed a sufficient provision for the military; and even in later times the important Station of Benares was dependent for a considerable period on the services of a Missionary, while Chinsurah, Chunar, Fort William, and Lucknow, continued for several years to be supplied in

like manner by the voluntary labours of Clergymen unconnected with the Government. Now we have sixty-two Bengal Chaplains maintained by the East India Company. In the same way, although the Mofussil Churches are in general miserably and offensively deficient in beauty of architecture and decoration, yet even in this respect there is a striking contrast between the old practice of worshipping—if at all—in mess-rooms or cutcherries, and the present trophies of Daniel Wilson's diligent Episcopate, during which, as he mentions in his last Charge, 55 Churches, including St. Paul's Cathedral,—with all its shortcomings, among the costliest monuments which Protestant piety has ever consecrated to the honour of God,—have been built or improved in the last seventeen years. To all these undertakings for the efficient expansion of our Church, the Court of Directors have not been backward in affording encouragement and support. And as we freely acquit them of lukewarmness in the promotion of Religion, so we are happy to add that they seem to be under no constraint, if we read the signs of the times aright, to barter just concessions in order to purchase the renewal of the Charter. The whole current of evidence before the Indian Committee, both from friend and foe, tends only to *this* conclusion, that the Government of the country could not be in better hands. Whatever modifications on some points Parliament may introduce, public opinion has pronounced that the vices of the present system are few, its virtues many and great, and that any attempt to remodel the Indian Constitution will be as unwise and dangerous a proceeding, as ever hatched the egg of Revolution. We entertain no doubt, that even if a Cabinet as hostile to the Company as was Burke to Warren Hastings, presides over the destinies of the Empire in 1854, if Lord John Russell returns to Downing-street, and Lord Panmure to Cannon Row, the wisdom, justice, and integrity which has ruled the Councils of the Directors, the prudent reluctance with which they have deprecated aggrandizing wars, the interest which they have shewn for the amelioration of the people of the soil, the enlightened liberality with which they have fostered the germ of Indian education—and last, but not least, the indulgent attention with which they have redressed the grievances of the Church, and multiplied her resources from time to time,—will ensure for the Court of Directors not only the substantial renewal of the Charter, but the esteem of Statesmen and the commendations of History.

II.

A TALE OF THE SUNDERBUNDS.

FOUNDED ON FACT.

ABOUT two years ago, the good ship * * * * * had completed her loading at Calcutta, taken on board her passengers, and was dropping down the river on her homeward voyage. All hearts on board beat high in joyful anticipation of setting foot again on the shores of old England, and of tasting once more the sweet pleasures of their dear English homes. Of the many who thus cherished the hope of a speedy return to their native land was a youth of sixteen, of mild and gentlemanly manners, and whose appearance displayed somewhat more of softness and refinement, than is usually associated with a life at sea. He was the only son of affluent parents, whose grief had known no bounds when they found that their boy—their beloved and only boy—had fully decided on venturing on the dangers of a sailor's life. In vain did an affectionate mother lavish her tears and entreaties to dissuade him from his purpose,—he was inflexible. On no former occasion had he ever manifested any opposition to the wishes of his parents, whom he fondly loved; but in this instance, a spirit of obstinacy seemed to have taken so firm a hold of him, that no attempt to loosen it was of any avail. The fact was, he had been stricken with the mania so common to English youth, of “going to sea.” His parents, after consulting with friends, agreed to let him have his own way, in the hope that the experience which one voyage would furnish of the discomforts of a seafaring life might cure him of his rashly formed determination. A vessel was accordingly selected, the commander of which was an intimate friend of the parents of the infatuated youth; and after entering him as a midshipman on board this ship, many stipulations were made with her captain, that the youth should be taken great care of, and not overworked, and that every indulgence consistent with ship discipline should be allowed him; while in his outfit, nothing was omitted that could possibly contribute to his comfort during the voyage.

With a spanking breeze and a cloudless sky, the vessel sailed from England for India, and our midshipman found himself at the summit of his wishes, that is to say, he was a sailor, though only a day or two old as such, and with experience in seamanship which had not extended much beyond

a few awkward efforts to get up the ship's side with no other aid than that afforded by the man-ropes at the gangway; in puzzling himself as to which was "port," and which "star-board;" and in wondering whether the "crojjik" (cross-jack) yard, of which he had heard, was a fabulous piece of timber, or a veritable spar; *n'importe*, he was now a sailor, and on the broad bosom of the glorious ocean. Nothing of any moment occurred during the voyage, in the course of which our young friend made considerable progress in nautical matters; and by his obliging disposition, and readiness to take as jokes what were meant as such by the rougher portion of his shipmates, he obtained the respect and esteem of the whole crew.

We revert now to the commencement of this story, where we left the ship dropping down from Calcutta on her homeward voyage. It was late in the evening when the vessel reached the Sandheads, the wind blowing up the bay a perfect hurricane, a heavy sea on, with every prognostication of a *bad night*. Under these circumstances it was deemed advisable to anchor; the only misgiving being, whether in the event of the sea rising still higher, there would be a sufficient depth of water *under* the vessel. The order to anchor was given, and out rattled the best and small bowers, sails were clewed up and furled, and the ship was made snug for the night. The strain on these two anchors, however, owing to the tremendous pitching of the ship, was more than they could bear, and the sheet-anchor was let go; this held her to her ground, and proved her ruin. In the heaviest sea, the pitching of a ship under sail may be much relieved by sending down yards and masts, and trimming the vessel with storm stay-sails, &c.; it is not so with a vessel *at anchor* in a heavy sea; her pitching can in no way be mitigated, for she is raised at one moment on the breast of a huge wave, bringing her nearly over her anchors, and at the next, she is snatched backwards into the hollow of the trough with the most fearful violence. In ground such as that at the mouth of the Hooghly, it is equally unsafe to stand out or in, in bad weather, especially at night; and, in anchoring, the danger is that you may bump the ground. The ship of which we write was anchored under these circumstances, and as the sea rose, her pitching increased to a fearful degree; she seemed as if maddened with fury at the power the anchors held over her. Midnight came on dark and stormy, and the gale still increasing; the passengers and others who had no business on deck, were in their berths

below, when the ill-fated vessel, rising on the breast of an enormous sea, pitched again downwards with tremendous violence, and struck the bottom. *She never rose again*; and thus in one moment nearly every soul on board perished! A few of those who were on deck at the time, were floated upwards and tossed about with great violence among spars and timbers, and though at the risk of being dashed to pieces on them, they clung to them with desperate energy. Mutual assistance was quite impossible, nor could any shriek from a sinking companion have been heard in the wild din of that awful night. The wind and tide were setting strongly in to shore, and drove the survivors of the wreck towards it; and those whose strength had not utterly failed them were cast up in the morning on the inhospitable beach of the Sunderbunds. But they were not yet out of the reach of the surf; a receding wave might take them back again, and they were forced in their exhausted condition to exert themselves to crawl up a little higher, and this done, they fell to the ground, utterly incapable of a single further effort. Sleep came to their relief, and they slept soundly until the heat and glare of the noon-day sun awoke them. Now for the first time were they able to cast their eyes around, to see who were their companions in distress, and how many they were; they mustered in all fifteen souls, of whom one was the youth who had left his home and all to embrace a sailor's life. The first thing that naturally occurred to them, was to wander up and down to see if any others had been cast ashore, but they found none, nor did they find a single eatable of any kind, nor a keg of fresh water, of which they were sadly in need. To remain on that dreadful spot another hour, would have been wilfully throwing away an hour's strength; they therefore agreed to march upwards in a body, and trust to Providence to reach some native village before their remaining energies failed them. But their difficulties were but commencing; the Sunderbund jungle extends from the sea shore on the south, to within a few miles of Calcutta, and like all Indian jungle, the underwood consists of thorny and almost impenetrable thickets. Through this their passage was slow and painful, and so dense was the jungle, that they had great difficulty in keeping together. They had made but little progress by the evening, when they were obliged to lie down to rest themselves, endeavouring to satisfy the cravings of hunger with tender leaves and twigs; water was no where procur-

able. Another peril now stared them in the face; the jungles were known to be infested with tigers, and it was only as the shades of evening drew round them, that they became painfully alive to the danger of their situation; they could do nothing however to render themselves less insecure, and having crept under the dark thick bushes, they resigned themselves to their fate, and fell asleep. The next morning they resumed their march, but after toiling through these dreadful jungles with weary limbs and tattered garments without any water having been found, they were obliged to halt for the night, which, like the preceding one, was passed without accident. The third morning found them with wan and haggard looks moving on again with increasing difficulty; but after marching a few hours, they found a pool of filthy brackish water; eagerly did they drink of it, for though nauseous in the extreme, it was *water*. While resting at this pool, their councils unfortunately became divided; some proposed going one way, and some another, while a few considered their present straight course, as more likely than any other to bring them soonest within reach of human aid. After wasting much precious time in combating each other's opinions, the party broke up into twos and threes, and separated. Our poor youth now found himself left with only two seamen; but these men had borne a good character on board their lost vessel, and he was not sorry to have them for his companions. They agreed to remain together and assist one another as long as they could, and set forward again in as straight a course as they could pursue. The next day was passed without any water having been found, while their food consisted of leaves and twigs, and a few repulsive berries. On the morning of the fifth day, they were unable to move on; the deadly jungle fever had fixed its dreadful fangs upon them, and was preying upon their life's blood. It would be impossible to describe the misery of these unfortunate sufferers; to remain where they were would be certain death, but even this sometimes seemed preferable to dragging their weary and wasted limbs through that terrible jungle. They pushed onwards as well as they could, and halted as usual under thickets. The next morning they were again prostrated with fever: the youth was delirious for sometime, and raved about his home and his fond mother, while the two seamen sat by in silent pity for what they considered the inevitable fate of the poor sufferer. Self-preservation seemed to them their first duty, but the idea of leaving the young

man to die in that horrid place, was too new and too monstrous to be acted upon at once. They waited therefore till the youth opened his eyes, no longer wild with delirium. The first glance he cast at his companions seemed to shew him what had been passing in their minds, and he besought them with tears that they would not desert him. "Oh! save me, Oh! help me, for mercy's sake," cried he, "do not, Oh! do not leave me to die in this *dreadful* place. Oh! save me, I know you will, men, promise that you will." It did not require much persuasion to touch the good feelings of these rough sons of ocean, and after a little silence, one man spoke to his messmate as follows.

"Now Jim, I'll tell you what I've bin a thinkin on; it ar'n't o'no use for you nor me to go for to lug this here poor lad about; we havn't neither on us the strength for to do it; yet I must say it goes agin my grain to leave him to die like a swab in this here infarnal place;" and the poor man drew his wasted fingers across his eyes. After a momentary struggle with his feelings, he continued, "Atween us two we may do summat, and if you agrees to stick by the poor lad, it sharn't be said as I couldn't do a good turn by him. What do you say, is it 'done,' or not?"

"Done," said the other in a feeble but willing voice; and the simple covenant was most faithfully observed.

Nobly and generously did they sustain the sinking youth; helping him over difficulties, and placing him on a bed of grass while they halted to pluck their wretched food; binding his aching forehead with damp grass and leaves, and assisting him on again with the most generous disregard of the detriment to their own progress. It will scarcely be believed that these miserable wanderers passed nearly ten whole days of unheard-of sufferings and privations in those pestilential jungles. On the afternoon of the tenth day, however, they were electrified with the echoes of a wood-cutter's axe; they remained rooted to the spot; then the noise ceased for a few moments, and threw them into a state of most indescribable alarm. But the sounds were repeated again distinctly, they called upon each other for a last rallying effort, and set out in the direction from whence the sounds proceeded, resolved, in the event of being disappointed in finding assistance, to lie down together and die, for nature was utterly worn out, and they could go no further. They reached the place where a man was cutting wood, and their sudden apparition almost scared him away; but their tottering gait, and woeful plight convinced him that he had nothing

to fear from them. "Water! water!" was the only cry they could utter, while they put their hands to their parched lips; the man soon understood their distress, and set off towards his village for a supply of water. The village, the outskirts of which these poor men had so opportunely reached, was the native Christian settlement of Khari, about fifty miles south of Calcutta; it is a quiet, orderly little community, with a resident Native Reader, whose work is superintended by the Rev. H. J. Harrison, Missionary at Barripore. Most opportune indeed was the arrival of these three sufferers at this place, for they could not have held out another day in those fearful jungles, and must have perished.

The man soon returned with a good supply of water, and with him came several other villagers; they found the poor fellows stretched on the ground, and being so weak as to be unable to rise and drink, they were assisted by the villagers. With emotions how strange and indescribable did these famishing people receive and drink that precious water! It was to them a new dawn of life and hope. After resting a couple of hours, they were supported to the village, and conducted to the house of the native preacher; and to the honour of these humble Christians let it be recorded that they received these destitute and famished Europeans with the most tender solicitude, for they felt that they owed a debt of gratitude to the race of those who had brought to them the glad tidings of the Gospel, and taught them the saving truths of religion. Food was quickly supplied to them, but they could scarcely touch it, for long abstinence had completely deadened the sense of hunger; but they drank freely of water well sweetened with sugar, and felt relieved. Their bleeding and swollen limbs were now washed and bound up, and their tattered garments exchanged for such simple clothing as these poor people could provide. Rest, however, was what they needed, and mattresses of straw and blankets were prepared for them; on these, to them luxurious beds, the poor fellows stretched their weary frames, and with a sigh of gratitude for the mercies extended to them, they fell asleep. That evening when the native household assembled, according to custom, to offer up their thanksgiving to Almighty God for his abundant mercies to them, they put up a prayer to their Heavenly Father on behalf of their unfortunate guests, and humbly besought Him, that if it seemed good in His sight, he would raise them up to health and strength. Long and heavy were their slumbers, but there were watchers by their side to minister

to their slightest want, in case they should wake. At last they awoke, and tears of thankfulness rolled down their hollow cheeks when they found that it was not to another day of horror in those dreadful jungles, but that they were in the hands of sympathizing fellow-creatures. As these humble villagers had no skill in medicine, and the state of their suffering guests was very precarious, it became a question with them whether to keep them longer, or to take measures at once to place them under proper medical treatment in Calcutta. The latter course was very properly decided upon, and a saltce, or boat made by hollowing out a long tree, was procured and fitted up with as much comfort as the case would admit of. In this the men were placed, with a supply of food and water, and having been recommended by their kind host to the care of Providence, were conveyed to Calcutta, and safely lodged in the General Hospital.

A very lively interest was excited in Calcutta when the story of these cast-aways became known, for it had been supposed that all hands on board the unfortunate ship had perished; and as soon as it was ascertained from these three survivors that they had left twelve others alive in the jungles, boats were dispatched to search the creeks and nooks of the Sunderbunds, and to spare no effort to rescue the poor men; but with what success the writer has not been informed.

A day or two after the loss of the ship, a gentleman arrived from England in Calcutta by one of the P. and O. Company's Steamers. He was a man of fortune, of great piety, and of enlarged and liberal views. He had come to Calcutta partly on business, and partly out of curiosity; and when he heard of the catastrophe at the Sandheads, he was overwhelmed with grief, for he knew that that was the vessel in which his nephew, the only son of his beloved sister, had sailed for India. Mourning for the poor youth as dead, he wrote home to his sister by the mail then leaving, to inform her of the inscrutable decree of Providence which had deprived her of her only son, and though he conveyed the sad tidings to her with all the caution that deep affection could suggest, he was painfully sensible of the possible consequences of this sudden blow to the afflicted parents. The dreadful event which he was deploring effected such a change in his feelings, that he resolved to leave his business to be settled by others, while he made preparations for an immediate return to England. Many people in Calcutta went out of humanity

to visit the three sufferers—and to offer assistance;—among them was the gentleman alluded to above. With heart and purse always open to assist the needy and succour the distressed, he repaired to the hospital to tender such aid as might be necessary, and to learn a few particulars regarding the loss of the ship which would always possess a mournful interest for those in England. He was shewn to the ward of the shipwrecked men, and stood by the bedside of the youngest, absorbed in pity at the sad evidence of suffering before him. He had been thus silent for a minute or two, when the youth, gazing at him earnestly, and slightly raising himself, exclaimed in utter astonishment, "*My uncle!*" And indeed it *was* his uncle who stood beside him, but who, in the wasted skeleton before him, had been totally unable to recognize his once handsome and intelligent nephew. The scene that followed this recognition was deeply affecting and we will not attempt to describe it. When their feelings were a little subdued, this good man knelt down amidst the three invalids, and offered up a fervent thanksgiving to Almighty God for the signal deliverance he had vouchsafed to these poor sufferers. Before leaving the hospital he gave instructions that nothing that money could provide should be wanting for the comfort of his nephew and the two seamen. He then hurried home to his lodgings to write a second letter to his sister informing her of the wonderful discovery that had that day gladdened his heart; to assure her that her son still lived, and that he might, by God's good will, be restored to her before long. His anxiety, however, was extremely painful when he reflected on the possible effects his first letter might produce; for setting aside the worst that might be anticipated, there would be at least a fortnight of unmitigated affliction to bear, before the second letter could arrive to cheer their hearts and chase away their sorrow;—however, it was impossible to alter what had been done, and his trust was in a merciful Providence.

As soon as it was practicable to move the young invalid, he was carefully conveyed to the private lodgings of his uncle, where he was necessarily more comfortable than he could have been in a public hospital; and under the skill and unremitting attention of the best medical advisers, his progress towards convalescence, though slow, was no longer doubtful. It was evident, however, that it would require much time and attention to restore him thoroughly, for the shock to his constitution had been most severe, and it was ~~wonderful~~ that nature had ever been able to survive it.

Time passed, and returning strength began slowly to shed its invigorating influence over the young man; and as the uncle sat by him and watched his improving countenance, he could trace, though in features still pale and sunken, the lines of his beloved sister's face, and his heart swelled with gratitude to that God who had so signally preserved the youth from a premature and horrible death. To the seamen who had so nobly assisted his kinsman when they themselves were in sore need of assistance, he felt that he was under no common obligation; he frequently visited them in the Hospital, and left instructions with his agents that as soon as they should be in a condition to return to England, they should be provided with a liberal kit, and a considerable sum in cash; to the Christian institution at Khari, also, he left a substantial token of his gratitude. It now became an object to get to England as quickly as possible, and the medical advisers of the youth having given their opinion that the trip might be undertaken without hazard, the uncle and nephew took their passage by steam, and bade a lasting adieu to the shores of India.

Safely landed in England, they repaired without a moment's delay to the home of the youth; at the door they found the affectionate parents waiting with outstretched arms to receive them, and the son was soon locked in their embraces. The holy joy of that moment may not be profaned by any attempt to describe it. When their emotion had somewhat subsided, and they could give utterance to their feelings, the father, raising his hands and eyes towards heaven, exclaimed with great fervour, "Blessed and praised be Thy Holy Name, O most merciful Father, for this our son *'was dead and is alive again, was lost, and is found.'*"

KEATS AND HIS FRIENDS.

CHAPTER I.

It is difficult for any reader of ordinary sensibility to glance over a memoir of Keats without emotion. The career of the young poet was a continual struggle. He strove for immortality amidst poverty, sickness and obloquy, and death overtook him just as he was about to seize the prize. When he died, his name had not assumed that place in his country's literature which it now occupies; and though, with the inward presentiment of genius, he sometimes hazarded a thought that he might not be quite neglected by future generations, his aspirations, at their highest, were far lower than his deserts, and his brightest hopes but too often clouded with doubts corroborated by a regular system of harsh, and cruel, and ungenerous criticism. Verily a poet, like a prophet, can have no honor in his own country and among his own people.

The life of Keats by Mr. Milnes, of which some note has been already made in the *Benares Magazine*, the most careless observer may perceive to have been a work of love. It is not without its faults. It is slovenly in parts. There are awkward constructions; there are inelegant expressions; and there are inaccurate statements. We meet with some letters which ought to have been suppressed; and we miss some which ought to have been published. But these are faults which might be remedied with a little care; and which do not materially disfigure or injure the book. Nothing can be easier, for instance, than to reconstruct such a sentence as the following:—

“But now Mr. Brown, knowing what his pecuniary circumstances were, and painfully conscious that the spirit in the creation of those works, which were destined to be the delight and solace of thousands of his fellow-creatures, must be unprofitable to him in procuring the necessities of life, and above all, estimating at its due value that spirit of independence which shrinks from materializing the obligations of friendship into daily bread, gave every encouragement to these designs, and *only* remonstrated against the project of the following note, *both* on account of the pain he would himself suffer from the privation of Keats's society, *but* from the belief that the scheme of life would not be successful.”—vol. ii, page 31.

Or to supply figures in the margin, where it is stated that “the *Eve of St. Agnes* was begun on a visit in Hampshire at the commencement of this (?) year, and finished on his return to Hampstead,” vol i, page 287. Or to put a few stars in the place of certain words in page 77, vol ii, in which Keats gives vent to his full heart in expressions of unparal-

leled agony. Or to alter the expression—"Still after many years of honest, useful and laborious life, he who *remained* also *past away*," vol. ii, page 46. Or to change such a phrase as—"It is left to passages from the letters of Mr. Severn to express in their energetic simplicity the final accidents of the hard catastrophe *of so much*, that only asked for healthy life, to be fruitful, useful, powerful, and happy." vol. ii, page 85. If the book should ever pass through a new edition, as from its merits it well may, we should be glad to find that it had undergone a careful revision, as there is nothing in it essentially wrong, or what may be termed wrong at the root. Its defects are purely superficial, and we allude to them thus prominently, not because they are numerous or glaring, but because they are susceptible of easy remedy. We admire Mr. Milnes too much to be able to put up with any thing that would lower him in the public estimation.

Keats was born on the 29th of October, 1795. His father was employed in the establishment of Mr. Jennings, the proprietor of large Livery Stables in Moorfields. He was the second of four children.

In many of the biographies of Keats, the year of his birth has been erroneously noted. Capt. D. L. Richardson, in his *Lives of the Poets*,—Messrs W. and R. Chambers in their very popular schoolbook, the *Cyclopædia of Literature*,—and Mr. Leigh Hunt in his work on Lord Byron and his Contemporaries, state that Keats was born in 1796. A disciple of Pythagoras would, undoubtedly, in the absence of overwhelming authorities, prefer such evidence to that of Mr. Milnes alone, as Burns died in July 1796; but there is very little reason to suppose that the soul of the Scotch Peasant transmigrated to the body of the infant son of Mr. Jennings's subordinate and son-in-law, as the proceedings in Chancery, on the administration of Keats's effects, shew that he attained his majority in October, 1816.

The father of Keats died in 1804, by a fall from his horse, and his orphans were thus left entirely under the control of their mother, on whom they appear to have accumulated the debt of affection due to both parents. Mr. Milnes relates an anecdote strongly characteristic of the ardent temper of Keats, even in his infancy. His mother was unwell, and the doctor had directed that she might not be disturbed. With an old sword picked up no man knew how or where, the future author of *Endymion*, then scarce three feet high, stood sentinel at the door of her room, and would suffer no one to enter until she recovered.

It was at first proposed to send Keats to Harrow, but that was considered beyond their means, and he was therefore placed in Mr. Clarke's school at Enfield. His appearance at this time is described as singularly prepossessing. A stranger would have stopped to gaze admiringly on his figure and his face. There was hardly any blemish in either. His legs did not then appear disproportionately small; nor his lower lip unduly prominent; and if he had no Herculean breadth of chest, there was nothing to indicate it the seat of disease. On the other hand, an ample span of forehead, set off by the most luxuriant dark brown ringlets,—a rosy cheek on which health had imprinted her seal,—and an eye ever sparkling with the fire of genius, added their fascinations to a countenance of rare vivacity, and “drew all hearts unto him.”

In the early stages of his school career, though he did not display much devotion to books, he learnt his lessons with remarkable facility. He was always the foremost in feats of pugilism. The boys that fought most pertinaciously were his favorites, and it may be mentioned that his younger brother, Thomas, added this recommendation to the ties of blood. They were both exceedingly pugnacious, though they seldom tyrannized over their young cconpeers. On one occasion Keats attacked the usher of the school who had boxed his brother's ears. A fellow-student has recorded his extraordinary animation and energy on that occasion, adding that every one thought he would distinguish himself in the world, but rather in the “military or some such active sphere of life, than in the peaceful arena of Literature.”

In the later part of his pupilage, his love of reading amounted to a passion. In the charming novel of Defoe, which has enchanted the youth of so many generations, the spell which is in books was first revealed to him. Marmontel's *Incas of Peru* then became a favourite; and Tooke's *Pantheon*, Spence's *Polymetis*, Lempriere's *Dictionary*, all of them books which Leigh Hunt devoured in his youth, possessed peculiar fascinations for one whose ignorance of Greek and imperfect knowledge of Latin, had hitherto rendered the ancient world of Mythology to him a sealed story. He read *Macbeth*, too, and characteristically remarked to a friend that he thought no one would venture through that stirring tragedy alone in a house at two o'clock in the morning. Seriously, we think it doubtful whether one of Keats's lively imaginative faculties could perform the feat even when no longer a child. So intense was his application that he would not join in the sports of his school-fellows on half-holidays, preferring to

remain at home in society with the mighty dead, until forced from his seclusion to recruit his energies in the open air. Mr. Milnes states that "the quantity of translations on paper he made during the last two years of his stay at Enfield was surprising, and that the twelve books of the *Æneid* were a portion of it." It might naturally be inferred that such diligence could not be without reward. Keats had his; for he carried off the first prizes in literature for some successive years.

His mother died in 1810. He was inconsolable, and hid himself for days together in a nook under his master's table. Such grief, though unusual, was natural to his idiosyncrasy. A temperament keenly set for enjoyment is almost always as sensitive of pain, and the propensity to laugh convulsively often indicates a susceptibility to agonies of distress.

When Keats left school he was apprenticed for the usual period of five years to a surgeon at Edmonton of the name of Hammond. That choice of a profession was unfortunate. It had no attractions for him. Apollo, is, it is true, the god of poetry and of physic; but there is in reality very little in common between the doctor and the poet. Acknowledging as we do the several excellencies of Moir and Goldsmith, Darwin and Akenside, we may yet venture to say, that no one who has "glutted over the debasing horrors of a dissecting room," and seen limb severed from limb, can gaze upon a landscape with the eye of Thomson, or criticize the female face with that enthusiasm which must have been preliminary to the creation of Juliet Capulet. But what had been unwise in any man of "seething brains and shaping phantasies" was doubly so in Keats. The least discerning eye might at once have perceived there to be other causes than its antagonism to the poetic sentiment why the profession of a surgeon should be so strongly antithetical to Keats's delicate susceptibilities, that he never could, by any possibility maintain his composure in it, much less rise to eminence. He could not perform the simplest operation without a shudder. Whenever he took the lancet in his hand, his mind became oppressed with over-wrought apprehension that he might do harm instead of good. "My dexterity," he said, when he abandoned the study from conviction of unfitness, "used to seem to me a miracle, and I resolved never to take up a surgical instrument again."

The new life into which Keats thus entered did not dissolve his connection with the Clarkes. He visited them frequently, and a similarity of tastes led to an ardent friendship between the future poet and the son of his preceptor, which ended only

with life. The younger Clarke was an excellent reader, and a man of genuine taste. He perceived intuitively the genius of his friend, and fostered it with the sunshine of his praise. Keats walked over from Edmonton to Enfield at least once a week, and frequently borrowed books from Mr. Clarke's collection. At the beginning of 1812 he asked for one which was readily lent to him; and the matter was forgotten. That book formed the man. It was Spenser's *Faery Queen*.

Words cannot adequately describe the rapture with which he thrived the intricate allegory. "He ramped through its scenes," writes Mr. Clarke, "like a young horse turned into a spring meadow." It was a fountain of perpetual delight to him. He would talk of nothing else but Spenser. He read out passages from it frequently, and when he came to any striking description, his face would light up with an expression of ecstasy which his friend observed with wonder. The force and felicity of an epithet, such as "the *sea-shouldering* whale" would act upon him sometimes like the wave of an enchanter's wand. He was indeed under the spell of the mightiest of enchanters, and he could not entirely break the fascination as long as breath remained in him.

The earliest known composition of Keats was in imitation of Spenser. It was the piece which commences with the line

"Now morning from her orient chambers came ;"

and which any curious reader may find by turning to page 286 of the late edition by the poet-publisher, Moxon. The search will not disappoint him. Crude as the effort may appear, he will find in it the germ of what was then to be.

"The little lake which round its marge reflected woven bowers,
And in its middle space a sky that never lowers"—

is a lake of genuine Fairyland.

"There saw the swan his neck of arched snow,
And oar'd himself along with majesty ;
Sparkled his jetty eyes ; his feet did show
Beneath the waves like Afric's ebony,
And on his back a fay reclined voluptuously."

We may perhaps have occasion to point out hereafter what influence Spenser had over his subsequent efforts; in the meantime it may not be amiss to name the poets he read with the greatest avidity when he first began to feel he had wings. These were Chatterton, Chaucer, and the name then great in the literary world, Byron. For Chatterton, whom Wordsworth calls the "marvellous boy," and Shelley,

in his *Adonais*, "the inheritor of unfulfilled renown," Keats always entertained a sort of "prescient sympathy." He dedicated the *Endymion*, in subsequent life, to the memory of that unfortunate poet, and was perfectly indignant at the manner in which he was treated by Hazlitt in his Lectures. There is a sonnet in Mr. Milnes's book addressed to Chatterton, in which Keats calls him

"A half-blown flow'ret with cold blasts amate ;"

and laments that in early prime

"The film of death obscured that eye
Whence genius mildly flashed."——

And in his first published Epistle, which was addressed to Mr. Matthew, there is a pathetic reference to him ;—

"Where we may soft humanity put on,
And sit, and rhyme, and think on Chatterton ;
And that warm-hearted Shakspeare sent to meet him
Four laurelled spirits heavenward to entreat him."

There are also several passages in his letters which shew the feeling of reverence with which Chatterton was regarded. As an instance, we may quote the following from a letter to his publisher, Taylor—"I always somehow associate Chatterton with autumn. He is the purest writer in the English language. He has no French idiom or particles, like Chaucer ; 'tis genuine English idiom in English words."

Chaucer, of whom he thus complained in 1819, evidently gave him, at the time of which we are writing, more pleasure than any other poet except Spenser. One day his friend Clarke, tired with a long walk, had fallen asleep with a copy of Chaucer open in his hands. When he awoke he found a sonnet in it, on the blank page after the story of the *Flower and the Leaf*. It was that exquisite gem which commences with the words—

● "This pleasant tale is like a little copse,
The honied lines so freshly interlace ;"——

a gem destined to convey to the most distant generations the mighty power that "white simplicity" had over him. We can never read over this sonnet without admiring the felicity with which every word appears chosen and the singularly beautiful manner in which the main idea is developed. If there is any thing objectionable, it is the word "tender-legged" in the eighth line. But for that one word and a somewhat imperfect rhyme, the piece would be faultless.

As it stands, it is one of the best sonnets he has left us, and therefore one of the best in the language.

It is not determinable whether Keats, in his mature judgment, admired the poetry of Byron much; but there cannot be any doubt that in early life he was loud in his praise. There is a sonnet on Byron which Mr. Milnes has preserved with the sonnets on Chatterton and Chaucer. Byron had never seen this effusion,—or he would assuredly have been less harsh towards its author. There is nothing in it to admire, but the soul of Lucifer himself would have melted to hear such “imperfect utterances of boyish adulation:”—

“How sweetly sad thy melody!
Attuning still the soul to tenderness,
As if soft pity with unusual stress
Had touched her plaintive lute, and thou being by
Had’st caught the tones nor suffered them to die.”

Shakspeare and Milton, whom he afterwards so much admired, were at this time great names to him,—and but little more than great names. He had read parts of both, but not with the keen appreciation which amounts almost to painfulness. The *Comus*, the *L’Allegro*, the *Il Penseroso* and the *Lycidas*,—all the poems of the latter author in which he indulges himself in what Keats so happily calls “poetical luxury,” were his favorites; but he had not yet read those severer productions in which Milton abandoned the sense of luxury, and devoted himself rather “to the ardours than the pleasures of song.” The book in which “Heaven moves on like music throughout” was to Keats at this time a sealed book. He had not yet seen the fallen angel whose face

“Deep scars of thunder had entrenched;”

nor the first of men

“Whose fair large front and eye sublime declared
Absolute Rule.”—

The *Macbeth*, the *Venus and Adonis*, the *Sonnets*,—these were what he had read and appreciated in Shakspeare; but he had not felt the finer humanities of *Lear* and *Othello*; his heart had not knocked against his ribs as it afterwards did, to see the doting old man hang upon his daughter’s corpse, and hear him cry “I pray you undo this button.” His inmost soul had not yet been racked with agonies of despair at hearing the great Moorish Captain bid adieu—

“To the plumed troops and the big wars that make
Ambition virtue.”——

He had not yet confessed, “I read Shakspeare,—indeed I think I shall never read any other book much;” nor agreed with Hazlitt that a certain book of plays written by a man who lived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth is good reading for a man’s whole life. The earlier effusions of his pen, on this account, are more remarkable for their elaborate and beautiful descriptions of external nature, than for sublimity or pathos. The spirits of Spenser and of Chaucer, of Fletcher and of Chatterton, are more clearly discernible in them, than the emotions learned from reverential contemplation of the mysterious depths of Shakspeare and of Milton.

At the termination of his apprenticeship, Keats came to London to walk the hospitals. He lodged in the Poultry. His friend Clarke introduced him to a number of men, with some of whom he soon became very intimate. They were not men like those whom one meets with every day in streets and theatres. They were heirs of a long renown—painters and critics and poets whose names the world will not willingly consign to oblivion.

There was one among them who had been ridiculed and libelled in Magazines and Newspapers for his political opinions, but whose excellent temper, warm heart, and genuine taste endeared him to every circle in which he moved. He had written poetry long before Keats, and though that poetry was not of the highest order, it was genuine poetry still. With the eye of a prophet he perceived the genius of the bashful youth whom Mr. Clark brought to him, and he was not long in proclaiming the discovery to the world. A friendship was thus cemented, which persecutions by men in power made firmer, and when Mr. Leigh Hunt was thrown into prison, few felt the calamity so keenly as young Keats.

There was another of about the same age as Keats, perhaps a little older, with a tall and slight figure, yet to which exercise and discipline had imparted great strength; and a face so beautiful, that, according to a contemporary writer, he might have sat before Raffaele for a portrait of John the Baptist, or the angel whom Milton describes as holding a reed tipped with fire. He had a delicate complexion; brown hair, among which thought’s sober gray was prematurely sprinkled; large animated eyes; and a mouth, chin, and lips moulded for love at first sight.

“None but a poet ever had
Such lips as those!”

He had been withdrawn from Eton, and expelled from Oxford for speculating upon subjects of the gravest importance with unwarrantable freedom. But the expulsion was to him not a disgrace, alas, but a glory. He thought the grave professors had punished him because they were unable to meet his arguments, and his proud spirit soared higher than ever. If those professors imagined that their severity would humble or reform the culprit, they knew but little of his nature. The result proved their error. The mistaken notions which they had endeavoured to eradicate took deeper root in his mind, and either he or they must be held responsible for the still more grievous mistake that he was a martyr in the cause of truth. Milder measures might probably have effected the desired conversion. Had they been conciliatory towards him; had they argued and expostulated; had they pointed out the fallacies in his logic;—then they might have reformed him; for with all his faults, he was truly a noble youth. No nature could ever have been more independent, brave, or charitable. When his own income was at an ebb, he gave £1,400 to a friend in debt, and lamented he had not more to give. When a stranger asked him to help a woman in fits, whom her neighbours had abandoned to the inclemencies of winter in the belief that she was possessed, he carried her in his own arms to his house, and procured her relief. When there was a scuffle in the streets of Pisa between Englishmen and Italians, he behaved with such consummate courage, and “with so much thought for every body but himself, that Lord Byron wondered upon what principle a man could be induced to prefer any other person’s life in that manner before his own.” He studied the science of medicine, and walked the hospitals, that he might afford relief to the indigent sick. He was visited with remorse for purchasing a pleasure boat with money which he could otherwise have given in charity. He kept a regular list of the industrious poor, and gave monthly stipends amongst them. Surely, whatever his opinions, this man’s heart was in the right place; and if persecutors he had, then, whatever their motives, their stuff was sterner than his own. He discerned in Keats a rival in poetry before the latter had established any claim to such high honor, and his heart leapt towards him with fraternal affection. Little dreamt Shelley then that the young man whose verses, he averred, gave sure promise of future excellence, would sink so soon into an untimely grave, on which it would be his sad office to pour out an Elegy, second indeed to *Lycidas*, but which nevertheless

has been declared to be the most successful imitation of the Grecian Elegy produced in modern times.

Another to whom Keats was introduced was very "noticeable" in his look. He lived at Highgate. He was rather advanced in years, and in person inclined to corpulence. His hair grew in "silvery slips,"* and his dress was black and ecclesiastical. He had a voice so rich and melodious, and words at his command so clear and eloquent to irradiate the mystic depths of his thoughts, that it was extasy to hear him talk. At times, if pressed, he would recite his own verses—

"A damsel with a dulcimer
In a vision once I saw;"—

and then his tones would grow so ethereal, that his auditors seemed transported to the "sphery chime." It was he who had charmed his age with the wondrous tales of the "Ancient Mariner," of the Lady who swooned in the arms of an enchantress, of the Knight who fled to the woods in despair for his mistress's disdain. Glorious, however, as were his visions, he had a look of despondency. He "worked without hope."† A baneful habit which he had contracted in sickness, and which he often, though unsuccessfully, endeavoured to shake off, threw a sombre shade over his whole life. "Indulgence in the fearful luxury of that talismanic drug which opens glittering scenes of fantastic beauty on the waking soul to leave it in arid desolation"‡—was his ruin. Yet his was a mind too powerful to succumb entirely under such an influence. "The great central light of his intellect remained unquenched, and cast its gleams through every department of human knowledge."

Keats was in apparent health when he was first introduced to Coleridge, but with the timidity and awkwardness of youth he lingered at a little distance, while the great man talked to the common friend who had brought them together. Coleridge noticed him, and would not permit it. He came

* "I see these locks in silvery slips,
This drooping gut, this altered size."
Youth and Age.

† With lips unbrightened, wreathless brow, I stroll :
And would you learn the spells that drowse my soul ?
Work without hope draws nectar in a sieve,
And hope without an object cannot live.
Sonnets.

‡ Talfourd's *Memoirs of Lamb.*

forward, and grasped the young poet's fingers in welcome ;— then turned round, and almost involuntarily whispered in his friend's ear— *There is death in that hand.*

A schoolfellow of Coleridge who had published a volume of verses, conjointly with him, in early life, also became intimate with Keats. He had a figure so slight, that it seemed “a breath of wind could overthrow it,”—but there was an ineffable expression of sweetness in his countenance, which was “strongly yet delicately” cut, that made ample amends for his figure. His eyes were large and beautiful, and when he uttered any thing whimsical or witty, they sparkled with an archness which none could resist. His black hair curled crisply round an expanded forehead pale as marble, on which thought, or time, had traced a few wrinkles. He stammered when he spoke, but still it was a pleasure to hear him. He was a strange character,—and uttered odd things in a very odd way. He touched the most commonplace topics with a colour which was peculiar to him. There was nothing stale in his conversation. No one who had the pleasure to listen to him, could doubt for a moment that, whatever might be its imperfections, the mechanism of his mind was strange and wonderful. He had read much, but he loved no books so well as the plays written by the contemporaries of Shakspeare. Heywood and Webster and Middleton and Ford and Old Decker, “who had poetry enough for any thing”—Oh, how keen and intense was his appreciation of their visions ! He could pore over their various scenes of suffering and delight till his head swam and his eyes refused their office. Calantha and Dorothea and the Duchess of Malfy lived and breathed anew in his mind, and he felt for them as if they were individuals whom he knew in actual life. He could not read over

———“ Bid the girl
Say her prayers ere she sleep ; and get the boy
Some syrup for his cold ;”—

the simple directions of the lady led out to execution ; or

“ Cover her face—mine eyes dazzle,—
She hath died young”—

the sudden remorse of the murderer ;—without being struck to the heart as with a dagger. He loved no modern poets except Wordsworth and Coleridge and Southey—but these he read with a profound sympathy. Byron in the zenith of his glory had for him no attractions. “The *Laras*, the

Giaours, the *Childe Harolds*, were in his estimation but unreal mockeries—the phantasms of a feverish dream ;” and though he liked the novels of Scott, he liked them less than the novels of Fielding and Richardson and Smollett. Tom Jones, and Pamela, and Roderick Random had very little indelicacy in his sight, and he preferred their well known pictures to the more recent creations, just in the same manner that he preferred the comedies of Congreve and Vanburgh and Farquhar to the comedies of his own day. He abhorred all grave histories; and reckoned Gibbon, Hume, Robertson, and that “learned Jew” Josephus amongst the encumbrances of a library. He would as soon have attempted to read the backgammon board bound in vellum and placed on the shelf, as to read them. With a taste so peculiar, he united a disposition which made all who knew him love him. He never in the whole course of his life quarrelled with any one except Southey, and that quarrel was like a quarrel between lovers—an April cloud, that fled away in a moment and left the sunshine of their friendship brighter than before. “I was very much surprised and grieved,” wrote Southey, after he had read the indignant letter of Elia,—“because I knew how much he would condemn himself. And yet no resentful letter was ever written less offensively; his gentle nature may be seen in it throughout.” Southey was right. Within a month after that letter the penitent Elia wrote to him from the East India House. “I wish both Magazine and Review at the bottom of the sea. I shall be ashamed to see you, and my sister (though innocent) will be still more so; for the folly was done without her knowledge and has made her uneasy ever since. My guardian angel was absent at that time. Come however, and heap embers.”

The guardian angel, to whom reference is here made, was alas! the slaughteress of his mother and her own—Mary the wise, the affectionate and the gentle, who in a fit of insanity committed an act which it is impossible for the most unconcerned reader to recall to memory without horror. The noblest proofs of Lamb’s nature are to be found in the fortitude with which he endured the calamity, and the self-denial to which he afterwards submitted through the whole of his life for the sake of his sister. Who that saw him in the evening circle seated amidst his friends, “the youngest of whom were probably busy at the side-tables with the cold roast lamb, or the boiled beef, or the heaps of smoking roasted potatoes”—while the elder listened in devout silence to the music of the voice of Coleridge, or haply smiled at Lamb’s own inexhausti-

ble artillery of puns and bonmots,—who could dream for a moment how heavily his mind was labouring with anxiety for the apparently quiet, sensible and kind woman at his side,—who conjecture that the “Mary does your head ache?—do you feel unwell?” conveyed any thing beyond enquiries, the natural and ordinary suggestions of a brother’s solicitude?

It was at one of these evening parties that Lamb poured an almost unconscious tribute to the genius of Keats which has been affectionately recorded by Hunt in his *Autobiography*. Keats’s third, and last, and best volume had just been given to the world. It had met with a cold, or rather an indifferent reception from the critics, and had but very little sale. Lamb had received a presentation copy which he had read with admiration such as only natures so fashioned can know and express. The images of Mercury, (who had been called the “Star of Lethe” —rising as it were, and glimmering over the pale regions of death); of the two brothers and their “murdered man” riding past Florence; and much besides, appeared to him in the highest style of poetry; and he stammered out the passages again and again with an extasy that baffles all description.

Among the many eminent individuals who were the guests of Lamb at his evening entertainments, (which were generally given on Wednesday) three require to be noticed in this place;—one as the intimate friend and worshipper of Keats, and two as the patrons under whose fostering care his genius expanded its earliest blossoms. These were a novelist and metaphysician; a painter; and one who, having failed in “the silent Art,” became a critic, politician, and historian. They were all deep thinkers, and have carved their names in characters too distinct to be easily effaced.

The novelist and metaphysician was a man of low stature, with a head as large as a giant’s, but the gravity and grace of whose manner diverted each one’s thought from his unshapely exterior. There was nothing brilliant about him, nor any vivacity in his countenance, which on the contrary was uncommonly dull and heavy. When he talked, it would be on ordinary topics and as an ordinary man; his conversation was rather common-place than otherwise; and when his dinner was over, he would take his nap in his chair utterly regardless of the company around, though in that company were frequently heard the voices of Talfourd and of Hunt, of Hooke and of Coleridge, and occasionally those of Southey and of Wordsworth. Hooke frequently used him as a butt

for his coarse wit; and he had no power to retaliate. Yet it was he who had sent forth from his garret pamphlets which signalized him as the terror of bishops and of cardinals throughout Europe, and volumes which made the hearts of the humble milliner and the proud peeress throb alike with pity and with wonder. The causes why a writer so gifted and powerful was a companion so indifferent have been well explained by Talfourd in his "Memoirs of Lamb," and may be repeated in a few words. He was a *reasoner*. "He had no imagination, no fancy, no wit, no humour; or if he had any, they were obscured by *pure reason*." "Caleb Williams," which is read as much, at this day, abroad, if not at home, as the latest novel of Thackeray or Dickens, was as much 'the production of reason, as "Political Justice," which exercised a great influence on, or rather may be said to have formed, the mind of his future son-in-law Shelley. So ascendant was this faculty over every other in his mind, that it gave a peculiarity to his style itself. His sentences follow each other in orderly sequence, like the sentences of Euclid. They converge to a demonstration. There never is any ornament by way of illustration in them, nor is there ever any needed, for they are always perspicuous. They are clear and colourless as glass, and Cobbett himself might have imitated them with advantage *

Talfourd relates an amusing anecdote illustrative of the simplicity of Godwin's character—a simplicity which often brought him to contempt and ridicule in the eyes of men who did not thoroughly understand him. The very next day after they had met and been introduced to each other at Lamb's, Godwin called at Talfourd's chambers, and asked, after some desultory conversation on literature, if he could make it convenient to lend him £150, "as he had a little bill for that amount falling due on the morrow which he had forgotten till that moment." "At first in eager hope," continues the good-natured lawyer, "of being able thus to oblige one whom I regarded with admiration akin to awe, I began to consider whether it was possible for me to raise such a sum; but, alas! a moment's reflection sufficed to convince me that the hope was vain, and I was obliged, with much confusion, to assure my distinguished visitor how

* For an admirable critical estimate of both "Caleb Williams" and "Political Justice," the reader is referred to Sir James Mackintosh's Review of Mr. Godwin's Lives of Edward and John Philips. *Miscellaneous Works*, p. 505.

glad I should have been to serve him, but that I was only just starting as a special pleader, was obliged to write for Magazines to help me on, and had not such a sum in the world. 'Oh dear,' said the philosopher, 'I thought you were a young gentleman of fortune—don't mention it—don't mention it; I shall do very well elsewhere.'—And then in the most gracious manner reverted to our former topics; and sat in my small room for half an hour as if to convince me that my want of fortune made no difference in his esteem."

Another anecdote equally characteristic is told of the equanimity and patience with which Godwin bore the treatment which his "Antonio" met with when brought on the stage. The first act passed off without any applause; and Godwin expatiated on the good taste of the auditors. The time for praise had not yet arrived. Acts the second and third were received with equal indifference; and his friends became restless and uneasy,—but he sat in the front row as calm and collected as ever. It was not till the storm of disapprobation was up, and half-eaten apples flew like locusts over the stage, that he was convinced his dramatic hopes were "extinct"—and then he quietly resigned himself to his destiny.

The painter was the son of a respectable tradesman at Plymouth. He became intimate with Keats in a very short time. While the world was insensible to their genius, they discerned it in each other, and a friendship sprung up such as can be reciprocated only by ardent and enthusiastic minds. Though a poet, Keats had a passionate love for the sister art, and had devoted some time and attention to it. In one of his letters he playfully says—"The other day Brown was sketching Shaucklin Church, and as I saw how the business was going on, I challenged him to a trial of skill; he lent me pencil and paper. We keep the sketches to contend for the prize at the Gallery. I will not say whose I think best, but really I do not think Brown's done to the top of the art." On the other hand, though a painter by profession, Haydon was at heart a poet. Many a time and oft the friends wandered together through meadows and green lanes, discoursing on the Beautiful with rare discernment and felicity. It was in one of these strolls that Keats first repeated, or rather chanted to his friend the odes to the Nightingale and the Grecian Urn. The sun had set, and the rich colours of evening had already begun to lose their distinctness. There was a profound silence over the landscape, broken only by the deep grave voice of Keats, which

seemed deeper and more impassioned than usual, probably because the verses had been only recently composed :—

Fade far away—dissolve—and quite forget
What thou amongst thy flowers hast never known.

Poor Haydon never forgot that scene and that music !

When Keats and Haydon were thus intimate, the prospects of the latter were rich and cloudless. He was confident of triumph and success. It does not once appear from the correspondence between them that Haydon ever gave way to despondency, and Keats tried to cheer him ; though it does, on the other hand, appear that Keats was often re-inspired by Haydon. Keats always applied to Haydon when he was in any difficulty, and Haydon always gave him sound, manly, and disinterested counsel. Here is one instance out of many. Keats writes to his friend Reynolds, the author of "*Fancy*" and the "*Garden of Florence*" in March, —(Mr. Milnes neglects to tell us of what year—but we presume 1817.)—

" My brothers are anxious that I should go by myself into the country ; they have always been extremely fond of me, and now that Haydon has pointed out how necessary it is that I should be alone to improve myself, they give up a temporary pleasure of being with me continually, for a great good which I hope will follow. So I shall soon be out of town."

Again, to quote one more instance, Keats writes to Haydon in May, 1817—

" You tell me never to despair. I wish it was easy for me to observe this saying : truth is, I have a horrid morbidity of temperament which has shewn itself at intervals ; it is, I have no doubt, the greatest stumbling block I have to fear. * * * I am very sure that you do love me as your very brother. I have seen it in your continual anxiety for me, and I assure you that your welfare and fame is, and will be, a chief pleasure to me all my life. I know no one but you who can be fully aware of the turmoil and anxiety I feel."

Haydon's house, like Lamb's, was a favorite resort of authors. Basil Montague and Godwin and Hunt and Hazlitt, and sometimes Wordsworth, would grace his painting room with their presence, and while the artist busily plied his brush, would set before his picture, and discuss the literature and politics of the day. Keats frequently took part in these debates, to which he always looked forward with pleasure. The fine sonnet,

" Great spirits now on earth are sojourning,"

in which he pays exquisite compliments to his friend, to Hunt and to Wordsworth, was written on his return from

one of these evening assemblies, and sent to Haydon on the following morning. It was afterwards unmercifully ridiculed in *Blackwood's Magazine*. The lines alluding to Hunt were marked for especial contempt;—

“He of the rose, the violet, the spring,
The social smile, the chain for freedom's sake.”

But the Public never ultimately pinned its critical faith on the sleeves of Reviewers known to be politically hostile to the writers they dissected, and the sonnet has therefore stemmed the storm of opposition. Haydon in his reply “suggested the omission of part of it”—the part, we presume, which alludes to himself; and mentioned that he would send it to Wordsworth. The idea of its being seen by Wordsworth put the young poet out of breath with pleasure. He knew of what metal *he* was, even when the Edinburgh Reviewer had convinced Wordsworth's own friends that he had no turn for poetry. Whatever others might think or say, that was to him a name never to be mentioned without veneration and homage.

Wordsworth entertained a strong regard for Haydon, and celebrated both the master and his works in sonnets which rank among his finest. One we will quote entire, as a touching memorial of the fine enthusiasm which armed both poet and painter against the withering scorn of an age unworthy of them.

“High is our calling, Friend!—Creative Art,
(Whether the instrument of words she use,
Or pencil pregnant with ethereal hues,)
Demands the service of a mind and heart,
Though sensitive, yet, in their weakest part,
Heroically fashioned—to infuse
Faith in the whispers of the lonely Muse,
While the whole world seems adverse to desert.
And oh! when Nature sinks, as oft she may,
Through long-lived pressure of obscure distress,
Still to be strenuous for the bright reward,
And in the soul admit of no decay,
Brook no continuance of weak-mindedness—
Great is thy glory, for the strife is hard!”

And another, as exemplifying Wordsworth's rare appreciation of the Poetry of Art. It is, we need hardly say, on Haydon's famous picture of Napoleon at St. Helena—

“HAYDON! let worthier judges praise the skill
Here by thy pencil shown, in truth of lines
And charm of colours; I applaud those signs
Of thought, that give the true poetic thrill;

That unencumbered whole of blank and still,
 Sky without cloud—ocean without a wave;
 And the one Man that laboured to enslave
 The World, sole-standing high on the bare hill—
 Back turned, arms folded, the unapparent face
 Tinged, we may fancy, in this dreary place
 With light reflected from the invisible sun
 Set, like his fortunes; but not set for aye
 Like them. The unguilty Power pursues his way,
 And before *him* doth dawn perpetual run."

The following eulogy, too, on one of Haydon's most remarkable pictures, "Wellington on the field of Waterloo, ten years after the Battle," is replete with graceful appreciation of both hero and artist.

"By Art's bold privilege Warrior and War-horse stand
 On ground yet strewn with their last battle's wreck;
 Let the Steed glory while his Master's hand
 Lies fixed for ages on his conscious neck;
 But by the Chieftain's look, though at his side
 Hangs that day's treasured sword, how firm a check
 Is given to triumph and all human pride!
 Yon trophied Mound shrinks to a shadowy speck
 In his calm presence! Him the mighty deed
 Elates not, brought far nearer the grave's rest,
 As shows that time-worn face, for he such seed
 Hath sown, as yields, we trust, the fruit of fame
 In Heaven; hence no one blushes for thy name,
 Conqueror, 'mid some sad thoughts, divinely blest!"

What Haydon could have done may be conjectured from these pictures, from the "Curtius leaping into the Gulf," the "Lazarus," the "Entry into Jerusalem," (which Mrs. Siddons, "in her deep low thrilling voice pronounced to be perfect," when he was at open war with the Academy, and would-be men of taste stood doubtfully around, fearing to praise, yet unwilling to condemn,) and even from the neglected "Aristides and Nero." Alas! for the weaknesses of humanity!—Alas and woe for the envy and the scorn without,—and—the word will out—the imprudence within, which blighted such early promise!

The ardent temperament of Haydon, and his abilities as a controversialist, were the sources from which all his misfortunes arose,—misfortunes which ended in poverty, distraction, and suicide. He entered too quickly into discussions on his art, and when fairly launched into controversy, wrote with an asperity and vehemence, which not only gave every advantage to his opponents, but so agitated his own mind as to disqualify him for resuming the labour of the *atelier* with ordinary coolness. A painter who aspires

to eminence must not permit his mind to be ruffled by tumultuous agitations ; but secluding himself from the world, must yield his whole soul to the study of nature, and the masters who preceded him. Haydon omitted this. He rushed, alas ! too frequently, into contests with periodical writers, with the Royal Academy, and with—every one that cared to pelt at him or his school,—regardless of consequences. Hence the “imperfect development of his most majestic conceptions ;” hence his grievous disappointments ; and hence his sinful death ! If Keats had lived to witness the struggles of Haydon in his age, he doubtless would have repaid the debt of consolation contracted during his own early disappointments, and the name of PEEL would probably have been not the only one mentioned with love and gratitude in the blood-stained Diary.

The painter who had failed in his profession, and become a Lecturer, Politician, and Critic, was perhaps the most remarkable man of the three. As close and subtle in his logic as Godwin, but gifted with a rhetoric more fascinating and attractive ; as ardent, fierce, and uncompromising as Haydon,—but of astuter judgment and discrimination ; deeper read, and conversant with a wider range of topics of mutual interest, he naturally became an object of intense admiration to the young poet. His appearance was by no means promising. A writer who knew him well,—says that though his countenance was handsome, it was “marked by a painful expression.” He drest in a most slovenly fashion. He was awkward in his gait. He was bashful in his manners. He hesitated in his speech. It required an intimacy with him to be able to feel and appreciate his merits. To those who knew him well, and in whose presence he felt himself perfectly at ease, and to none others, was he the master spirit, that had been trained from youth to seek truth with singleness of purpose, and to enunciate his opinions like a man. Keats was of that number, and he always looked up to Hazlitt with veneration mingled with love. “How is Hazlitt ?” he enquires of Reynolds, in a letter from Oxford, “we were reading his ‘Round Table’ last night. I know he thinks himself not estimated by ten people in the world. I wish he knew he is.”—“I hear Hazlitt’s lectures regularly,”—he says in another letter written in February 1818 to his brothers,—“his last was on Gray, Collins, Young, &c., and he gave a very fine piece of discriminating criticism on Swift, Voltaire and Rabelais.” “I shall apply to Hazlitt”—he writes to his dearest friend Brown

in September of the following year, in a letter in which he complains of poverty, and announces his intention to write for the periodicals—"I shall apply to Hazlitt, who knows the market as well as any one, for something to bring me in a few pounds as soon as possible. I shall not suffer my pride to hinder me. The whisper may go round; I shall not hear it. If I can get an article in the *Edinburgh* I will." Hazlitt was a contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*, the Editor of which generously remitted a large sum to him on his deathbed,—and it was through him no doubt that Keats meant to have submitted his article.

The character of Hazlitt has been so well portrayed by himself, undesignedly, in his works, that it is quite unnecessary for others to attempt to sketch it. He was a breathing paradox. No man knew better what genuine poetry is, or could express his opinions about it with greater clearness, force and precision; yet no man,—not even Christopher North,—ever permitted his political prejudices to blind his judgment so completely. No man ever entertained a deadlier hatred of tyranny and oppression and wrong, yet no man ever defended tyranny and usurpation and unscrupulous ambition with a zeal more fervent or a boldness more absolute. Who could appreciate Shakspeare so well as he? The greatest commentators that preceded him—men in some respects vastly his superiors—Johnson and Pope and Warburton could not. They criticised and admired, but not with one half of his acuteness and discrimination, and not with one tenth of his feeling:—yet he thought all the modern poets, except perhaps Wordsworth and Coleridge, contemptible. He had no sympathy for Chatterton, whom Keats, we have seen, calls the purest writer in the English language. He had no great opinion of Sir Walter Scott's novels. He called Southey's picturesque and sublime Thalaba, a failure; and his luxuriant and often magnificent Kehama, a "sprawling caricature," or words to that effect. Scott somewhere observes that Southey's description of the entrance into Padalon or Hell in the *Curse of Kehama*, which commences with

"Far other light than that of day there shone,"

is one of the finest things in modern poetry; and few readers will be disposed to differ from us, when we say, that there are passages in *Thalaba* of even greater power; for instance, the description of the Domdaniel Cavern with the magicians sitting round to perform unhallowed rites,—the

Teraph, or new-born infant's head, transfixed to the wall,—
and the ten mystic fires burning on the floor, eight of which
go out of a sudden, leaving only two lights at which the
children of evil look with horror.

“ ‘ A mightier power than we’—Lobaba cried,
‘ Protects our destined foe ;
Look—Look—one fire burns dim,
It quivers,—it goes out.’ ”

“ It quivered, it was quenched,
One flame, alone was left,
A pale blue flame that trembled on the floor,
A hovering light upon whose shrinking edge
The darkness seemed to press

“ Stronger it grew, and spread
Its lucid swell around ;
Extending now where all the ten had stood,
With lustre more than all.”

Or the description of the locusts in the Desert ;—

“ Onwards they came a dark continuous cloud
Of congregated myriads numberless.”

Or of the cave at whose entrance the wretched Zohak kept
guard, and the manner in which admittance to it was gained
by Thalaba, while

“ The twinhorn serpents kept the narrow pass.”

—passages which Milton himself would not have been ashamed to own. Yet Hazlitt never could see any beauty in them. The fact was, Southey differed from him in politics, and contributed to the *Quarterly Review* ! Again, who could write with such vehemence and effect as Hazlitt has written in his political essays against kings and oppression ? Yet he set up a king and an usurper for his idol ; drudged to defend his most infamous actions, even the murder of the Duke D’Enghien and the invasion of Spain ; and was in perfect raptures when any one named him. In his *Life of Lamb*, Talfourd characteristically remarks that when he first met Hazlitt “ he was staggering under the blow of Waterloo ; ” and adds, “ he as bitterly resented the captivity of the Emperor in St. Helena, which followed it, as if he had sustained a personal wrong.”

In his early life, Hazlitt had found great difficulty in giving expression to his thoughts. He could not speak well, and, what was worse, he could not write to his own satisfaction. He sometimes cried with vexation because the words did not flow easily from his pen. He attained remarkable facility as a writer in his later life, but his diffidence as a

speaker always stuck to him. It was only, as we have said, in circles where his merits were known, and where he was encouraged with looks of approbation, that he ventured to speak, and it was only in such circles that he spoke well. The lectures he delivered were prepared beforehand, and read out to the audience from his manuscript.

If there was any trait in the nature of Hazlitt more prominent than others, it was an indomitable force of will. What he resolved, he performed in spite of all the difficulties that obstructed his course. By force of will he for successive years devoted himself to an art for which nature had not qualified him, and attained a remarkable mastery over it. By force of will he vanquished all his natural impediments—and they were many—and became one of the most eloquent writers in the language. By force of will he reconciled his own mind to conclusions which were revolting to his principles, and looked on a Tyrant with the reverence and love that a Hero alone should command. The simplest acts of his life exhibit what victories he obtained over himself by that peculiarity in his nature. He was fond of wine, but he found it injurious to his health. By force of will he abjured it altogether, and, like Dr. Johnson, drank tea in huge quantities. An ordinary man in such circumstances would shun the society of convivial friends, and avoid “the sight of that which he might no longer taste without danger.” By force of will he not only taught himself to sit among his friends while at their wine long after “the chimes of midnight” had been heard—proof against all temptation—but, what is more, “to participate the sociality of the time, and renew his own past enjoyment in that of his companions, without regret and without envy.”* In his temper, he was naturally wayward and cruel. There was a period in his life, when his very servants and friends feared to approach him. By force of will, he reformed his temper, and though it left indelible traces of its dominion in the furrows on his forehead and cheek—became the best of masters and the kindest of friends.

In the midst of such companions, and of Basil Montague, the “unwearied friend of humanity,” and his illustrious family; of Ollier, a young and enterprising publisher, one of whose relations,—his son we believe,—is now one of the most rising of the young poets of England; of Reynolds—dear Reynolds, the poet and comedian,—of Woodhouse—

* Talfourd.

short-sighted Woodhouse, who "when looking up at book windows twisted his muscles in so queer a style, that people stood by in doubt whether it was he or some one else;" of Bailey whom he regarded as a "brother in affection and in thought," and who followed him to a premature grave; and of Taylor and Hessey and Haslam, the genius of Keats put forth its earliest and tenderest flowers. Mr. Ollier, out of sheer admiration, volunteered to publish an edition of his poems,—and out came a volume accordingly—small in size indeed—but with the unmistakeable stamp of poetic genius. It contained the Epistles to his brother George, then a clerk in Mr. Abbey's house; to Mr. Felton Mathew, a gentleman of great literary abilities now employed in the administration of the Poor Law; and to Mr. Charles Cowden Clarke; several sonnets; *Sleep and Poetry*, "occasioned by his sleeping in Mr. Leigh Hunt's pretty cottage in the Vale of Health;" a poem of almost equal length suggested by a delightful summer's day "as he stood beside the gate that leads from the Battery on Hampstead Heath into a field by Caen Wood," and some minor poems. The book was gracefully and affectionately dedicated to Mr. Hunt, in a sonnet of great beauty, which Mr. Milnes informs us was written off-hand whilst his friends were noisily conversing around.

We have seen a copy of this volume,—and though we feel no surprise that it fell still-born from the press, when we consider the indifference of the public generally to verses by a "prentice hand", we cannot but regret its hard fate. With all its faults it assuredly deserved better treatment. There was matter in it of the right sort,—of the sort which deserves encouragement,—of the sort which seems to say,—“yes I *am* rough—I *have* no polish,—I *have* no loveliness,—but try me by the furnace and the balance, and you shall find that I am no counterfeit, but pure gold.” Who can read over the “*Sleep and Poetry*” in which its author first attempted a sustained flight, without accrediting him with an intense perception of the beautiful—a wide range of fancy—a marvellous command of language—and an ambition which, it was clear, would never rest content midway on the height of fame? We have not looked at this poem for many months—we had almost said years,—but some of the lines still haunt us like glorious strains of music.

“What is more tranquil than a musk rose blowing
In a green island, far from all men's knowing?
More healthful than the leafiness of dales?
More secret than a nest of nightingales?”

More serene than Cordelia's countenance?
 More full of visions than a high romance?
 What, but thee, Sleep! Soft closer of our eyes!
 Low murmurer of tender lullabies!
 Light hoverer around our happy pillows!
 Wreather of poppy buds and weeping willows!
 Silent entangler of a beauty's tresses!
 Most happy listener! when the morning blesses
 Thee for enlivening all the cheerful eyes
 That glance so brightly at the new sunrise."

We know but little in this land, it is true, of the healthfulness of leafy dales; but the correctness of Keats's imagery must not be tested by a reference to situations where the earth, saturated with heat and moisture, teems with a rank and pestilential vegetation.

Some lines on human life from the same poem are eminently picturesque:—

"Stop and consider! life is but a day,
 A fragile dewdrop on its perilous way
 From a tree's summit; a poor Indian's sleep
 While his boat hastens to the monstrous steep
 Of Montmorenci."

The key is afterwards changed, but the note is more melodious than ever. Rogers never wrote any thing sweeter.

"Why so sad a man?
 Life is the rose's hope while yet unblown;
 The reading of an ever-changing tale;
 The light uplifting of a maiden's veil;
 A pigeon tumbling in clear summer air;
 A laughing school-boy, without grief or care,
 Riding the springy branches of an elm."

Glorious aspirations succeed—Ah! wherefore were they *only* aspirations?

"Oh for ten years that I may overwhelm
 Myself in poesy! so I may do the deed
 That my own soul has to itself decreed."

One more extract, and we must close the book which we have just opened to help our memory.

"Then I will pass the countries that I see
 In long perspective, and continually
 Taste their pure fountains. First the realm I'll pass
 Of Flora and old Pan: sleep in the grass,
 Feed upon apples red, and strawberries,
 And chose each pleasure that my fancy sees,
 Catch the white-handed nymphs in shady places,
 To woo sweet kisses from averted faces."

And one will teach a tame dove how it best
 May fan the cool air gently o'er my rest :
 Another, bending o'er her nimble tread,
 Will set a green robe floating round her head,
 And still will dance with ever-varied ease,
 Smiling upon the flowers and the trees :
 Another will entice me on, and on,
 Through almond blossoms and rich cinnamon ;
 Till in the bosom of a leafy world
 We rest in silence, like two gems upcurled
 In the recesses of a pearly shell."

That Keats when he wrote such verses must have been deeply imbued with the spirit of Spenser is evident. Spenser lives in every image. The beautiful picture—

"Will set a green robe floating round her head."

is evidently modelled from the description of May in the *Faery Queen* ;—

"Lord! How all creatures laughed when her they spied,
 And leaped and danced as they had ravished been,
 And Cupid's self about her fluttered all in green."

The Epistle to Mr Mathew, who had introduced Keats "to agreeable society both of books and men," exhibits the influence of Spenser over him still more distinctly. The quaint expressions, the curious rhymes, the quotation of that exquisite line from the description of Una—

"And made a sunshine in a shady place,"

all point, as Mr. Milnes remarks, to Spenser, and show how much Keats admired him. Though lavishly sprinkled with commonplace conceits, this Epistle bears the marks of care. Had all the lines in the *Endymion* been as highly wrought, that in many respects great poem might have been less severely handled by the critics. At least it must have attained a far more extensive popularity.

The Epistle to Mr. Clarke, whose amiability equalled his good taste, is not less a monument of the youthful poet's, than a graceful eulogy of his friend's, acquirements.

"By this, friend Charles, you may full plainly see
 Why I have never penned a line to thee :
 Because my thoughts were never free and clear,
 And little fit to please a classic ear ;
 Because my wine was of too poor a savour
 For one whose palate gladdens in the flavour
 Of sparkling Helicon :—small good it were
 To take him to a desert rude and bare,



Who had on Baiæ's shore reclined at ease,
 While Tasso's page was floating in a breeze
 That gave soft music from Armida's bowers,
 Mingled with fragrance from her rarest flowers :
 Small good to one who had by Mulla's streams
 Fondled the maidens with the breasts of creams ;
 Who had beheld Belphebe in a brook,
 And lovely Una in a leafy nook,
 And Archimago leaning o'er his book :
 Nor should I now, but that I've known you long ;
 That you first taught me all the sweets of song :
 The grand, the sweet, the terse, the free, the fine :
 What swelled with pathos, and what right divine."

He then talks of

" Spenserian vowels that clope with ease
 And float along like birds o'er summer seas,
 Miltonian storms, and more, Miltonian tenderness :
 Michael in arms, and more, neck Eve's fair slenderness."

And asks (the language of the first distich is fully applicable to some of his own sonnets) ;—

" Who read for me the sonnet swelling loudly
 Up to its climax, and then dying proudly ?
 Who found for me the grandeur of the ode,
 Growing, like Atlas, stronger from its load ?
 Shewed me that epic was of all the king,
 Round, vast, and spanning all, like Saturn's ring ?"

The sonnet upon reading Chapman's Homer, which Hazlitt, never a lenient judge, and Basil Montague, and Godwin, to all whom it was shewn by Mr. Hunt on the same evening, pronounced to be extraordinary, and which is certainly what Mr. Hunt himself calls it, "a remarkable instance of a vein prematurely masculine," graces this collection.

" Much have I travelled in the realms of gold,
 And many goodly states and kingdoms seen ;
 Round many western islands have I been
 Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold.
 Oft of one wide expanse have I been told
 That deep-browed Homer ruled as his demesne :
 Yet did I never breathe its pure serene
 Till I heard Chapman speak out loud and bold :
 Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
 When a new planet swims into his ken ;
 Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes
 He stared at the Pacific — and all his men
 Looked at each other with a wild surmise—
 Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

The evening which preceded the day in which this sonnet was composed, had been spent by Keats and Mr. Clarke in the study of Homer and his great interpreter. Keats was unable to read the original, but was greatly struck with his friend's exposition of the faithfulness of Chapman. Their interchange of question and comment proceeded through the night. Mr. Milnes says that Keats half shouted out the passages of especial energy. The anecdote is characteristic of the man.

The Sonnet to Solitude is also in the volume we have been referring to.

"Let me thy vigils keep
'Mongst boughs pavilioned, where the deer's swift leap
Startles the wild bee from the foxglove bell."

And that affectionate one to Leigh Hunt on the day he left prison, and in offence at which the Tory critics disgorged their venom.

"What though, for showing truth to flattered State,
Kind Hunt was shut in prison, yet has he
In his immortal spirit, been as free,
As the sky—searching lark, and as elate."

Among the minor poems, the verses to Hope, though not of a high order, are certainly sweet and musical.

"Sweet Hope! ethereal balm upon me shed,
And wave thy silver pinions o'er my head.
Whene'er I wander, at the fall of night,
Where woven boughs shut out the moon's bright ray,
Should sad Despondency my musings fright,
And frown, to drive fair Cheerfulness away,
Peep with the moonbeams through the leafy roof,
And keep that fiend Despondence far aloof."

then, speaking of Despair;—

"Chase him away, sweet Hope, with visage bright,
And fright him, as the morning frightens night!"

The last line may either have suggested, or been suggested by another equally effective one in Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming*;—

Led by his dusky guide, like morning brought by night.

"*Fancy*" is written in the style of L'Allègre, and though far more diffuse than that poem, is decidedly one of the best in the collection. Mr. Jeffrey, in his criticism on the works of Keats in the *Edinburgh Review*, extracted almost the whole

of it. We confess to a partiality for such lines, (and they abound in the Ode) as—

“Thou shalt hear
Distant harvest-carols clear;
Rustle of the reaped corn;
Sweet bird antheming the morn.”

The Lines to ————— are delicious ;—

“Hadst thou lived in days of old,
O what wonders had been told
Of thy lively countenance,
Of thy humid eyes, that dance
In the midst of their own brightness,
In the very fane of lightness;
Over which thine eyebrows, leaning,
Picture out each lovely meaning:
In a dainty bend they lie,
Like the streaks across the sky,
Or the feathers of a crow,
Fallen on a bed of snow.”

Some of the verses that follow are redolent of Spenser. Compare, for instance, the following passage :—

“With those beauties scarce discerned,
Kept with such sweet privacy,
That they seldom meet the eye
Of the little Loves that fly
Round about with eager pry.”

And Spenser's

“That even the angels which continually
About the sacred altar do remain,
Forget their service, and about her fly,
Oft peeping in her face, that seems more fair
The more they on it stare.”

It will be perceived that though never a servile copyist, Keats sometimes drew his light from that source to which all modern poets are more or less under obligation, and thought, like Southey, no honor was more to be coveted than to be able to bind round his young forehead

The laurels which his Master, Spenser, wore.

The cold reception of the book by the public mortified Keats, and somewhat damped his ardour. While his friends were enthusiastic in his praise for what he had done, he found the mob perfectly apathetic towards him, and apparently even unconscious that he had laboured to please it. Not a word would it deign in praise or censure. What could be the reason of such freezing indifference? The publisher

was the only scapegoat. He had not been sufficiently active in his advertisements and notices ! The result was accordingly an open rupture with Mr. Ollier.

We consider the rupture of Keats with Ollier a stain upon the poet's generally unblemished character, and an indication of one of the grievous faults of his disposition. We have not what Macaulay humourously calls the *Lues Boswelliana* with which biographers are generally afflicted, and shall not in our admiration of Keats shrink for a moment from stating that he sometimes, though, (we are glad to add) rarely, attributed unworthy motives to his friends, and laid his own sins or the sins of the public too hastily at their door. We have only to allude to his letter to his brothers, dated the 23rd January, 1818, and published in Mr. Milnes's page 95, to prove that we do not speak without book. In that unfortunate letter he attributes conduct to Shelley and Hunt, two of his best and dearest friends, of which they were utterly incapable ; and if we had not felt from its general tone and spirit that he wrote it without deliberation, and in haste, we should have felt it our duty to be much harsher with him than we are inclined to be. It appears that he had shown his largest poem, the *Endymion*, to his friends, with a view to obtain their opinion about it ; and they had not only declined to concede to it "much merit as a whole"—but had even gone so far as to condemn parts of it as "unnatural." On this Keats wrote, "The fact is, Hunt and Shelley are hurt, and perhaps justly, at my not having shewed them the affair officiously ; and from several hints I have had they appear much disposed to dissect and anatomise any trip or slip I may have made. But who's afraid ? Ay, Tom—demonstrate if I am." What little ground he had for such an uncharitable suspicion all the world knows. Adonais speaks for Shelley ; the Autobiography for Hunt. There can be no doubt that the genius of Keats would have vindicated itself and asserted its own rights in the course of years ; but at the same time there can be none, that the consummation might possibly have been much delayed, unless Shelley had strung his silver lyre in his praise, and unless Hunt had dissected, and expatiated upon his beauties, word by word and line by line, in magazines and in newspapers, and in critical essays upon poetry in general,—and showed to the "dog of a public" what sort of stuff it was neglecting and silently consigning to darkness and death. We may have occasion to advert to this painful subject once more before we conclude, when we offer our own opinion of *Endymion*.

IV.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. NO. I.*

The present aspect of religion at home is one which demands that each faithful member of the Church of England be able "to give an answer to every man that asketh him a reason of the hope that is in him." The course of events is forcing us to consider questions which the generation past had left alone as long settled. We have on the one side even Church dignitaries denying the existence of a Church in any shape other than as a State Establishment for promulgating the popular religious views of the day,—and asserting that the Church of England was made by the people, for the people, and therefore may be destroyed by the people. And on the other side we have the Church of Rome advancing her pretensions with more haughtiness than ever, and equally denying any spiritual existence to the Church of England, declaring that since, and through, our Reformation, she has ceased to be a portion of the true fold of Christ. And in proportion as Rome has attempted to invalidate our position, she has pushed forward her own claims to the spiritual obedience of the English nation with increased audacity. Hopes are entertained and expressed, masses have been said, and litanies chanted, for the "return of England to the Unity of the Faith." The number of converts is continually increasing. Moreover, a Brief or Bull has been issued by the Pope, by which he treats England as heathen and infidel. By him England has been portioned out into Dioceses, and Bishops appointed to them, as might have been done with some newly discovered heathen land. Great indignation was indeed temporarily excited by these proceedings. Meetings were held throughout the length and breadth of the country. Bills were passed in Parliament by unprecedented majorities, forbidding these intruding Bishops to assume any territorial titles in England. But what is the result? Why, that these Bishops are being one by one enthroned in their newly defined sees, and that they have *in effect gained the step*. No real check has been given to Popery as regards its operations, whatever contradictions may have been given to

* (1.) BROGDEN'S *Anglo-Catholic Safeguards*, 3 vols. Murray.
 (2.) PALMER'S *Treatise on the Church*, 2 vols. .. Rivingtons.
 (3.) WORDSWORTH'S *Christian Institutes*, 4 vols. .. Ditto.
 (4.) Ditto *Theophilus Anglicanus* .. Ditto.
 (5.) Ditto *Occasional Sermons*—2nd Series,.. Ditto.

its hopes of speedy possession of the land. Rome is at this time as extensively engaged in the work of proselytism as ever. And no legal enactments will check its spread ;—nor would they be necessary, were Rome met in the proper way ; that is, by the exposure of the falsehood of her assertions, and by the support of that body, the Church of England, whose existence, spiritual as well as legal, enables us to declare that the Roman claims are false. As a humble contribution to this good work, we purpose in the following pages to shew that our English Reformation in no way impaired the existence of the English Church, that it was a lawful as well as a necessary undertaking, and that we are now as truly a constituent part of Christ's Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church as we ever were.

To shew clearly what are the present assertions and claims of the Church of Rome, we offer the following extract from a noble sermon preached by the Rev. Canon Wordsworth before an audience of nearly two thousand persons at Westminster Abbey, November 17th, 1850 :—

"And what is the Bishop of Rome—the self-styled successor of St. Peter—doing at this hour ?

"His recent act amounts to no less than a denial of the existence of a Church in this country. Indeed it is founded on the assumption that the English nation has no Episcopate, that it has no Priesthood, no Diaconate, no Sacraments, no right preaching of the Word of God ; in a word, that we have no Christianity.

"What then, is the state of the case ? What, I repeat, is the Bishop of Rome doing at this hour ?

"He, the Bishop of that City—the City of Rome—which has never printed a single copy of the Holy Scriptures in their original languages, and almost prohibits the use of vernacular Scriptures to the laity,—treats as Heathen and Infidel this City of London and this Realm of England, which (whatever may be our sins, and doubtless many they are), yet, by God's grace, and through His infinite mercy, has printed numerous editions of the Greek Testament, and has disseminated more copies of the Word of God, in the various languages of the globe, than any city or kingdom that has ever existed in the world ! Rome, my brethren, treats England as Pagan ! Rome, which for many centuries has never rightly administered a single Eucharist ;—Rome, which contradicts the words of Christ, who says : " Drink ye *all* of this ; " Rome, which will not permit any of her lay people to drink of the cup of blessing ;—Rome treats this City of London as Heathen. And all the twelve thousand parishes of England and Wales—where, thanks be to God ! the blessed sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood is frequently and duly administered to thousands of devout communicants—Rome unchristianizes them all ! Rome—who preaches a new creed, which corrupts the truth of Christ—treats us as if we had never heard the sound of the Gospel ! Rome who commands that saints should be worshipped with honours due to God, and makes the creature an instrument of dishonour to the Creator ; Rome, with all her

idolatries, treats us as if we were no better than worshippers of idols of wood and stone.

And what next? The Bishop of Rome—the so-called successor of St. Peter—not only denounces our form of Christianity, as if it were Heathenism, but affirms, and acts on the affirmation, that, unless we accept his corruptions of Christianity, we can have no hope of salvation.

It is vain for us (he says) to believe in the saving efficacy of the Cross of Christ, unless we bend our necks beneath the yoke of Rome. We must sacrifice the independence of the British Church, which dates from the time of the Apostles. We must renounce the jurisdiction of our lawful Bishops, the successors of the Apostles in this land, and we must acknowledge the usurped authority of a new Papal Hierarchy, who put forth their pastorals in which they say that, by virtue of the Pope's authority, they "govern, and will continue to govern," our English counties, as ordinaries thereof. We must change our Bibles, and receive as inspired the Apocryphal books, which were never so received by Christ; we must accept human traditions as divine doctrine; we must believe in the Romish doctrine of Purgatory; we must invoke saints, and venerate relics, and worship images, and be prepared to embrace any novel doctrine that Rome may invent! Thus, and thus only, we may cease to be Heathens! Thus, and thus only, we may *become* Christians! So, and so only, we may have some hopes of salvation! In this manner, my beloved brethren, the Church of Rome treats our Christianity as if it were Heathenism, and would enforce upon us her own corrupt creed, as if it alone were the Gospel of Christ."—*Occasional Sermons*, 2nd Series, pp. 49-51.

Now all these claims of Rome proceed upon the assumption that the English Church, by unlawful and schismatical conduct in her Reformation, forfeited her spiritual existence, and merged into a mere State Establishment.

And hence, starting from the point conceded by each one who regards the Church at all as a divine institution, viz., that the English was a true and living branch of the Holy Catholic Church previous to the Reformation, we invite our readers to a brief consideration of that Reformation, with the view of investigating whether there were in it any such unlawful proceedings as to cut the reformed Member off from Christ's Body. Premising, however, with a short review of that state of religion which made a Reformation *necessary*. This is an important point, because it is not unusual to find it declared that the Reformation was brought about by worldly men for political purposes;—whereas the truth is that during the whole of the 15th century, events were gradually tending towards a Reformation; and the worldly men and political purposes were but instruments for the accomplishment of His purposes who wills that all things, bad as well as good, shall work according to His good pleasure.

The cry for Reformation did not proceed from any one party or one country. During the 14th century, throughout the

whole of Western Christendom, there was a general feeling that the existing could not be a *right* state of religion.—What that state was the following extracts from Gieseler, Division 5th, chap. iv. shew us:—"As in every part of the history of the Church in this period, so in the history of public worship, we find the most shameless abuses and impositions accompanied by bold though ineffectual attempts to bring about a reform. Thus, though constant objection was made to the excessive practice of canonization, the imposition of the priests in pretended miracles and relics exposed, and the legends of the saints subjected to a rigorous criticism, yet the number of saints, of shrines, of holy frauds and absurd fables increased daily." "This period was most distinguished by the zeal manifested to glorify the Virgin, as the real controller of all events. . . . The Ave Maria became the favorite prayer." "The religion of the people was made to consist entirely in obedience to the Church. . . . very little was done for the religious instruction and excitement of the people. Most of the Clergy could not even preach: those who did, usually entertained their hearers with absurd fables, the object of which was to magnify the importance of their various relics, or make an exhibition of their barren scholastic learning."—"The abuse of indulgences was fully recognized by the Council of Constance, and an attempt made to check it, but the restraint was only temporary." The various Councils called for the purpose of reforming these abuses testify to their fearful extent. Of the state of Italy, Ranke, in his History of the Popes, writes, "While the populace had sunk into almost heathen superstition, and expected their salvation from mere ceremonial observances, but half-understood, the higher classes were manifesting opinions of a tendency altogether anti-religious. How profoundly astonished must Luther have been on visiting Italy in his youth! At the very moment when the sacrifice of the Mass was complete, did the priests utter blasphemous words in denial of its reality. It was even considered characteristic of good society, in Rome, to call the principles of Christianity in question. . . . At Court the ordinances of the Catholic Church, and of passages from holy Scripture, were made subjects of jest—the mysteries of the faith had become matter of derision." Of the universal corruption in morals, especially among the clergy, it is needless to write here. Avarice, ambition, or lust, were the sole ruling passions among the majority. The particular corruptions in doctrine we propose to enumerate hereafter in detail:—and for the rest there is

no need to go to Reformers for information. Many voices which upheld all Roman doctrine were upraised against the existing corruptions. Dr. Pierce, a writer of the 17th century, thus enumerates these, "That there was in the See of Rome the most abominable practice to be imagined, we have the liberal confession of the zealous Stapleton himself, and of those that have published their penitentials. We have the published complaints of Armachanus and Grosthead and Nicholas de Clemanjes, John of Huss and Jerome of Prague, Chancellor Gerson and Erasmus and the Archbishop of Spalato, Cassander and Ludovicus Vives."

That the condition of religion in England was but on a par with that in other countries, all records of our country's history teach. And hence we may well determine that sufficient cause for a Reformation existed,—so far as it could be lawfully procured (as in the English Church, we shall see, and do most thankfully acknowledge it might be;) and perhaps even at some sacrifice of what was lawful (as was the case in the foreign Reformations).

No trivial matter was at stake, which it would have been better to have overlooked, rather than run those risks which always attend disturbance and agitation. All that concerns the most sacred interests of mankind was involved. Indulgences,—that is forgiveness of sins to be purchased for money—here alone was an index to pretensions lacerating the very roots of the Faith. The first rudimental principles of the Christian Dispensation were attacked. Salvation through the work of Christ was obscured and put aside. This was not a state of things which could be endured, and God in His mercy caused a spirit of reformation to go abroad.

We must not suppose that the first originators of reform, either in our own country or abroad, saw at once clearly every point that needed reformation. History testifies that it was the universal corruption of morals which at first excited men's attention, before they discerned the system of false doctrine from which these corrupt morals had proceeded.*

* Bishop Hall, in his *Old Religion*, thus describes the progress of enlightenment :—" Nothing doth so whet the edge of wit as contradiction. Now, he, who at first, like the blind man in the Gospel (it is Beza's comparison) saw men like trees, upon more clear light, sees and wonders at those gross superstitions and tyrannies, wherewith the Church of God had been long abused ; and now, as the first hue and cry raiseth a whole country, the world was awakened with the noise, and starting up, saw, and stood amazed to see its own slavery and besottedness ; meanwhile, that God, who cannot be wanting to Himself, raiseth up abettors to His truth ; the contention grows, books fly abroad on both parts."

In our own country, from the days of Wickliffe, men's attention was gradually aroused to this, and the heaven was gradually working its way, when political events hastened its progress, and God wrought that the sinful humours of an ungodly king should so be thwarted by the usurped power of a Pope, that men's eyes must needs be opened to that unlawful jurisdiction, and Christian nations unite in flinging off that yoke which would, as future events proved, have been a complete obstacle to all effectual reformation on points of doctrine.

Political events *hastened*, we say, for we never can allow that they *originated* the Reformation, either in our own country or in any other. As to our own Reformation, the fact is that Henry was *not* an upholder of the doctrines afterwards embodied in our Liturgy and Articles. So far from being a friend or favourer of the Protesters, he was himself a persecutor of them. Not only when the Pope, in approval of his rigorous proceedings against them, and of his book against Luther, sent him his title of "Defender of the Faith," and proposed him to the Emperor as a pattern for imitation, but afterwards also, when he had taken Cranmer into his counsels, had made him Archbishop, and had renounced subjection to the Pope, he was as zealous a supporter of Romish doctrines as ever—so that his acts against those who upheld the Papal supremacy, and against those who denied the Six Articles, have been compared (so Bramhall says) to Samson's foxes, looking divers ways, yet each with a firebrand at his tail. He did indeed, when he found that the Papal power interfered with his will, and the gratification of his passions, join himself with such of his subjects as were favourers of reformation, and made common interest with them in subverting the usurped jurisdiction; but he went no further than this. And while, we thankfully acknowledge, that from this political aid, the cause of reformation did acquire an immense accession of strength; we cannot allow that Henry was an *intentional* agent in the *final* Reformation of the Church of England. Providence can over-rule everything for the accomplishment of its purposes, and the evil passions of Henry were made the effectual means of freeing the realm of England from the usurped dominion of Rome. But Henry was a firm supporter of the greater portion of the errors of Rome, and he *intended to prevent* the spread of the reformed doctrines, as is loudly witnessed by his cruel persecutions and murders of those who maintained them, like Lambert and Frith; by the promulgation of the Six Articles in the

last years of his reign, (law, as was said, written in blood, and executed in blood;) and by the imprisonment of Latimer and Shaxton, the forced separation of Cranmer from his wife, and many other acts of a cruel and persecuting nature against the Protestants. It may be said that Reformation took deeper root and advanced in spite of Henry. However, during his life nothing was *authorised* except the setting forth of an English Bible; and even the treatment of this, at one time authorised, at another prohibited, at another its reading fettered with restrictions, and limited to certain classes, can hardly be termed a *willing* move of Henry's, although he *permitted* it at Cranmer's instigation. And the time of all *real* reformation *in doctrines* took place during the succeeding reign. Before leaving this part of the subject, we must remember, however, in the words of a living author, that in regard to such steps of Henry's as *did* forward the Reformation, we have no right to call in question his motives. "His public professions were unexceptionable. According to them he was influenced by a desire of reforming abuses, reviving usurped rights, and relieving the Church and State from foreign oppression and exactions."

And admitting that Henry *was* our reformer, which he was not, his character and motives would have nothing to do with the question. "God often does good works by evil agents. Jehu's heart was not upright towards the Lord, yet God used him as an instrument to reform his Church, and to punish the worshippers of Baal." [Bramhall.] And Romanists themselves admit that ungodly men have often been made instruments in performing works beneficial to the Church.

Two other causes may be added, which, besides political events, tended to accelerate the progress of reformation in our country. One of these was the discovery of the art of printing; for the consequent diffusion of the translated Scriptures in the vernacular tongue had caused many to institute a comparison between the existing teaching and that of the Word of God; and the other was the encouragement that had been given to the study of the classical languages, and the taste for these that had superseded the passion for the philosophy of the schools.*

As the study of the Holy Scriptures in the original and vernacular tongues, and of such of the Fathers as were accessible to the Reformers, proceeded, it began to be seen that

* Cf. Massingberg's *History of the Reformation*; pp. 237-239.

the existing corruptions in morals were not the only evils, and that as the claims set up by the Bishop of Rome were unwarrantable, so the doctrines then enforced were repugnant to the Word of God, and perilous to the salvation of men. It became more and more evident that it was a matter of life and death. Highly desirable, doubtless, it would have been had the whole of Christendom concurred in the work, and proceeded unanimously towards reformation. But every day made it more evident that the party of the Pope clung to the existing corruptions of doctrine as if they were the Gospel. Appeals to General Councils had been made in vain. Our Church must proceed alone, or persevere in professions and practices plainly corrupt and discordant with Divine commandment. And the magnitude of the cause justified her in proceeding alone,—at the risk of being maimed,—if she could but retain life. The mere consideration that others would not concur, and would separate themselves, ought not to restrain her,—the cause for reformation was too great for the indifference of other Churches to exercise any restraining influence. So long as she did not sin herself, she was fully justified in renouncing corruptions imposed upon her by any authority, but most of all by a clearly usurping Patriarch.* Then *did* she so sin by any unlawful, schismatical proceedings? This is the question we propose now to answer.

Nor is this matter unworthy of consideration. Many there are who say, "The existing errors made *any* reformation lawful;—no need to enquire whether every step was exactly in accordance with precedent or done with due authority. If you ask me my reasons for justifying our Reformation, I point to the errors which we renounced." Now these errors were reasons for reforming, but not for reforming *with sin*. Those who are so careless as to the mode in which the work was done, seem to run the hazard of approximating to the Jesuits' principle that the end justifies the means. It is very true that a Churchman of the present day, in controversy with a Romanist, may well point to the errors of Rome as forming an insurmountable obstacle to communion with her. We frankly confess that if our own Church were *proved* to have forfeited her spiritual existence, and that we were therefore out of the fold of Christ, we *could not* join the Church of Rome on her present terms of communion. But still it is not

* For a full vindication of the independence of the ancient British Secs, Cf. Cave. *Discourse on Ancient Church Government*, pp. 244—255; and Stillingfleet. *Origines Britannicæ*.

unimportant that we are also able to prove that in our Reformation our Church was *not* guilty of schism, did *not* cut off herself from the one Holy Catholic Body of Christ. For on this plea Romanists have succeeded in blinding men and leading them astray. And on this point many feel a laudable anxiety to be satisfied. Let not those who do *not*, shew such little want of sympathy with others, such desire to reduce all minds exactly to the mould of their own, as to condemn those who *do*. And we ourselves confess to no small degree of satisfaction, in being able to clear our spiritual mother of such a charge, and to find that she is now as much as ever a true Branch of the Church, in which all means of grace may be fully enjoyed by all her faithful members.

Now if our Church was then guilty of schism, it certainly was not intentional;—and she certainly did not believe herself to be guilty of it. To prove this we need but refer to her 30th Canon. “So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, that, as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies, which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those particular points, wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches, which were their first founders.”

That Henry VIII., by such Acts of his as did forward the Reformation, never intended to separate the Church of England from the General Church, is evident from the whole tenor of his life, and specially from a protest which he sent to a Council called at Mantua, 1536, in which he declared that he most heartily desired a *true* General Council, and that he would maintain all the articles of the Faith in his kingdom.* In the Act which suppressed Papal jurisdiction, the Parliament declared “that they did not hereby intend to vary from Christ’s Church, about the articles of the Catholic Faith of Christendom.” “The Institution of a Christian Man,” and “the Necessary Doctrine and Erudition,” made the same professions. They are abundant in the works of Cranmer and other Reformers. The language and views of our Church are well summed up in this passage of Hooker—“Notwithstanding so far as lawfully we may, we have held and do

hold fellowship with them. For even as the Apostle doth say of Israel that they are in one respect enemies but in another beloved of God; in like sort with Rome we dare not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations, yet touching those main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ.* Moreover, we do still communicate with the Church of Rome as far as we can—we admit her Baptism and Holy Orders,—and possess within our Church all elements for being at unity with her. And as regards the Catholic Church,—we reformed ourselves, in order to become more truly and soundly Catholic, declare that “except a man believe faithfully the Catholic faith he cannot be saved,”—we pray daily for the “good estate of the Catholic Church,”—we believe nothing that she has rejected, and reject nothing that she believes.†

It is, besides, well-known that for many years after the Reformation had been completed, our Church was not affirmed to have lost life. *By permission* all Roman Catholics in the country communicated with her, thereby implying that the means of grace were still with her.—Popes Paul IV. and Pius V. even offered to confirm our Book of Common Prayer, if Queen Elizabeth would acknowledge the Papal Supremacy; and the excommunicating Bulls of Pius V. did not come until 1569,—twelve years after Elizabeth had ascended the throne.‡

However, of course the question is, not what did our Reformers or the Romanists think about the matter, but what really was the case. Was our Church really guilty of schism or not in her Reformation? Now she is accused of being so only on two allegations. First, by her renunciation of the Papal Supremacy. Secondly, by her engaging alone, as a National Church, in the work, without waiting for the other Churches, and thus violating the unity of Christ's Body.

I. As to the first allegation, it is impossible within the limits of this paper to enter fully into all the arguments on this question; for this we must refer our readers to the works which we have placed at the head of our article. But we offer these few remarks. First, it must always be carefully borne in mind that while we *did* renounce *obedience* to

* E. P. III. c. I. (1).

† Cf. Wordsworth's *Theophilus Anglicanus*; pp. 201—206.

‡ Palmer; i, 347.

the Bishop of Rome, we *did not* renounce *communion* with him. Communion with him, and a recognition of his lawful primacy, *primus inter pares*, would always have been conceded*, but he has claimed utter subjection from us. Now so long as we can prove this claim unwarranted by Scripture, and unsupported by Catholic Antiquity, we cannot be deemed guilty of schism for not yielding it. For be it remembered, our Church made no declaration of separation from the Churches of the Roman obedience,—she never ceased to profess communion with them. She simply renounced obedience to the Papal jurisdiction, after circumstances had led her to consider the grounds of the Pope's claims, and she had discovered them to be false. The Reformers found that no part of Scripture gave such universal supremacy to St. Peter. That it was a scriptural truth that St. James, not St. Peter, presided in the Councils of the Apostles. That it was recorded by another Apostle that neither did St. Peter claim, nor others yield, any such obedience. And what St. Peter neither had nor claimed, his successor could have no right to, and for many hundred years did not claim. "It is certain," to use Dr. Wordsworth's words,† "that St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, knew nothing of such a supremacy in Pope Anicetus; that Poly-crates, Bishop of Ephesus, and the synod of Asiatic Bishops, and St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, and the Council assembled in that city, knew nothing of such supremacy in Pope Victor; that St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, and the African Bishops knew nothing of it in Pope Stephanus; that St. Augustin and the Bishops of Africa knew nothing of it in Popes Zosimus and Boniface; and that the *Bishops of Rome themselves* for six hundred years were so far from knowing anything of such supremacy as residing in themselves or in any one else, that Pope Gregory I. (as St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, had done before him,) denounced the assumption of the title of Universal Bishop as arrogant, wicked, schismatical, blasphemous, and antichristian; "Quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat," says he, "Antichristum præcurrit."

To account for the growth of this false power is easy. The troubles of the whole world at the breaking up of the Roman Empire led men gladly to recognize any power which afforded them hopes of security, however questionable

* Palmer; i, pp. 330, 338.

† *Theophilus Anglicanus*; p. 214.

might be the basis of that authority. And such a power the See of Rome had become—elevated first in the estimation of the whole Church, from “the number of its clergy and people, its wealth and charity, its Apostolical origin, the purity of its faith, and the greatness and dignity of the City of Rome.” False decretals which were forged in the 8th century, professing to contain decrees of the Council of Nice and others, which had passed current in ignorant and uncritical ages, were still universally received as genuine. These decretals pretended that the laws of the Church during its most primitive ages had recognized such powers to be inherent in the See of Rome. But these are now but subjects for history,—they hold no place in the controversy, for their false origin, since their exposure by the compilers of the Centuries of Magdeburgh, has been universally allowed, and no use is attempted to be made of them. Would that the Power whose foundations are discovered to be false were also disallowed by its upholders. But no, power is sweet,—and although the adherents of Rome have now abandoned all appeals to Scripture, or to the Fathers, to prove the Papal Supremacy, although the documents on which it was established have been proven forged, a new mode of defence has been discovered, and the Supremacy is now maintained upon the theory of development. Into this we will not now enter. Unintelligible indeed it is to most, perhaps, to all;—but such as it is, ample refutation of it may be found in the writings of the late Professor Butler of Dublin, Dr. Moberly, the Rev. W. Palmer of Worcester College, and in Dr. Wordsworth’s Letters on the Church of Rome. But it is beyond the purpose of this present paper, inasmuch as our Church can hardly be declared guilty of schism for not recognizing in the 16th century an authority, the proper defence for which has been only discovered in the 19th by the Count de Maistre, and Dr. Moehler.

II. We affirm with equal confidence that our Church was as free from schism in engaging in the work of reformation alone, as we did that she was so free in renouncing the Papal Supremacy. We before shewed that she must either reform alone, or not at all,—that the Pope’s party clung to the corrupt doctrines as if they were the Gospel,—and it was no trifling error, which had better be put up with rather than differ from other Churches. To abide in Rome was indeed likely to bring forth death,—death to the corrupt Church, death to souls of her children. Men who have the Truth

brought before their eyes must hold to it at any cost short of sin. And the unity which must be purchased by continuance in such false and dangerous doctrines could not be the unity inculcated by the Gospel. These facts fully justify our Reformers in proceeding alone, after they had found that there was no hope of a General Reformation, if only they *lawfully* could. And this we affirm that they could do. We affirm, that every particular or national Church is a complete Body of itself, subject to none but Christ Himself, and His voice in a true General Council; and that such a Church has full authority to ordain, change, or abolish ceremonies and rites, and to examine into and cast off errors and corruptions in doctrine and worship, so long as she be guided by the existing declarations and definitions of the Catholic Church. And beyond this our Church did not go.

She did not tamper with or add to the Catholic Faith; she ordained no new creeds; she did not attempt to impose upon other Churches any new terms of communion. And we can justify what she did do, both by scripture precedent, and ancient practice. The scripture precedents we offer in the following extract from Hooker. "The Church of Christ which was from the beginning, is, and continueth unto the end: of which Church all parts have not been always equally sincere and sound. In the days of Abia it plainly appeareth that Judah was by many degrees more free from pollution than Israel, as that solemn oration sheweth wherein he pleadeth for the one against the other.—2 CHRON. xiii. 4, 9, 10, 11. In St. Paul's time the integrity of Rome was famous; Corinth many ways reprov'd; they of Galatia much more out of square. In St. John's time Ephesus and Smyrna in far better state than Thyatira and Pergamus were. We hope therefore that to reform ourselves if at any time we have done amiss, is not to sever ourselves from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are so still. Other difference between our estate before and now we know none but only such as we see in Judah; which having sometimes been idolatrous became afterwards more soundly religious by renouncing idolatry and superstition. If Ephraim 'be joined unto idols,' the counsel of the prophet is, 'Let him alone.—If Israel play the harlot, let not Judah sin.'—'If it seem evil unto you,' saith Joshua, 'to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom you will serve; whether the gods whom your fathers served beyond the flood, or the gods of the Amorites in whose land ye dwell: but I and my house will serve the Lord.' The indisposition therefore of the Church

of Rome to reform herself must be no stay to us from performing our duty to God; even a desire of retaining conformity with them could be no excuse if we did not perform that duty.”* The history of ancient practice we offer in the words of Bishop Ferne. “To cast errors and corruptions out of a Church by public reformation, is required *sufficient* authority. That also was not here wanting, both the Civil and Ecclesiastical. Both these were seen in the ancient lawful synods, gathered and held for the same purpose of reformation. And therefore every national Church, having within itself the whole subordination of ecclesiastical power or government (the permission and authority of the supreme civil power concurring), may reform itself, *i. e.*, make a public national reformation. The ancient Council of Arles in France, the several Councils of Carthage in Africa, of Toledo in Spain, did so; and that not only in matters of discipline, but doctrine also; as that of Arles, for rebaptizing them which came from heretics, denying the Trinity—*Can. 8*. The Council of Mileve determined against the Pelagian heresy: the third Council of Toledo gathered for extinguishing the relics of that heresy. Again these Councils were gathered, and held, and did conclude, independently of Rome, or without acknowledgment of any such jurisdiction, as was afterwards challenged by the Bishop of Rome. Though fair respect was had to that Bishop in a fraternal way of communion, and sometimes of communicating to him what they had done and concluded.”†

Thus we hold our Church to have acted lawfully in this matter,—in her Reformation she never moved from where she was before,—as may be seen more fully in Barrow’s Account of the First Settlement of the Church, containing in vol. iii, p. 267 of the “Christian Institutes.” We claim to be still Catholic, yea, and more so than the Churches of the Roman obedience, for we are ready to hold communion with thrice as many true Christians as they are; we have not been guilty of any such acts of heresy and schism as they have. By their decrees of the Council of Trent they have ratified heretical doctrines, and by their excommunicating us and all the Eastern Churches they are truly guilty of schism. They are the party by whom the offences have come. Differences truly do exist, but they who still depart from the pure primitive Church,—who have brought in corruptions in the Faith, who

* E. P. III. c. I. (1.)

† Quoted in *Anglo-Catholic Safeguards*; vol. i. pp. 241-42.

impose unscriptural terms of communion,—they are the guilty party. We have done nothing to cause the separation. We have but cast off the yoke of a jurisdiction which we can prove to be usurped, and have made such internal reforms in ceremonies and rites, and such definitions of doctrines previously stamped by Catholic consent, as we had lawful liberty to do. As has been said, “in her Reformation the Church of England did in truth nothing but what she had *a right* to do; and what she had been accustomed to do; and what it was her duty to do. That a breach of communion has followed upon our acts, cannot be imputed to us, who acted lawfully, but to those who took umbrage at them, and in consequence committed unlawful, uncatholic acts. Their anathematizing all who do not believe the unscriptural and anti-scriptural new doctrines authorized by the Council of Trent, as necessary to salvation. Their formal Excommunications and Interdicts and Bulls. Their sending Missionaries into England as a heathen land. Their unlawful appointment of new Bishops in a country where a true Branch of the Church already exists. These are the causes of discontinuance of communion. As regards our Church, *non schisma fecit, sed patitur*. And her members may well say with Bishop Jewell *non tam discessimus, quam ejecti sumus*; and with James I., *non fugimus, sed fugamur*.”* We did not go out from them, but as the Apostle says, “they went out from us.” Let them answer for it before Christ’s tribunal who made the rent.

In a future number we hope to be able to add a paper upon the guiding principles of the English Reformation.

* *Theophilus Anglicanus* p. 197.

V.

THE ETERNITY OF SOUND ;

A DOGMA OF THE MÍMA'NSÁ.

At page 305, vol. 1, of Mr. Colebrooke's *Collected Essays*, where he is treating of Jaiminí's system of philosophy, the *Mímánsá*, we read as follows:—"In the first chapter of the lecture occurs the noted disquisition of the *Mímánsá* on the original and perpetual association of articulate sound with sense." What this dogma means, and why the question forced itself upon Jaiminí at the opening of his work, we here propose to consider.

"The object of the *Mímánsá*"—to employ the words of Mr. Colebrooke,—“is the interpretation of the *Vedàs*.” As he adds,—“Its whole scope is the ascertainment of duty.” This is declared in the opening aphorism, which, interspersing an explanatory comment, we may render as follows:—“Well, then, [O student, since thou hast read the *Vedàs* while residing in the family of thy preceptor,] therefore a desire to know *Duty* [which knowledge, without further aid, thou wilt scarcely gather from the texts with which thy memory is stored, ought now to be entertained by thee].”^{*} But what do you *mean* by “Duty?”—enquires the student. To expound the entire import of the term would be difficult, if not impossible, at the outset; so Jaiminí, following the recognised method of laying down a “characteristic” (*lakshana*), by which the thing, though not fully described, may be securely *recognised*, declares as follows:—“A duty is a matter which may be recognised [as a duty] by the instigatory character [of the passage of scripture in which it is mentioned].”[†] As Mr. Colebrooke observes—“Here *duty* intends sacrifices and other acts of religion ordained by the *Vedàs*. The same term (*dharma*) likewise signifies *virtue*, or moral merit; and grammarians have distinguished its import according to the gender of the noun. In one, (the masculine,) it implies virtue; in the other (neuter), it means an act of devotion. It is in the last-mentioned sense that the term is here employed.” We may add, in explanation of this, that the discussion of the gender of the word was provoked by Jaiminí's choosing to employ the masculine form (as may be observed on the original aphorism given in the

* अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा ॥१॥

† बोदनालक्षणो धर्मः ॥२॥

note), instead of the neuter. To the query, why Jaiminī was guilty of this grammatical solecism, one of his commentators coolly replies,—“take [and be content with] as the reason thereof, the fact that he [Jaiminī] is a great sanctified sage,—[and therefore entitled to give the word what gender he pleases].” Arguments of this lofty Pope Hildebrand order, which were doubtless rolled out with unction, *et ore rotundo*, in the palmy days of Hindūism, the Brāhmins now-a-days are most amusingly ashamed of;—those of them, at least, who are not prepared to join cordially in a broad grin over the “bumptiousness” of the pretension.

Whilst Jaiminī contents himself with giving, in the first instance, a ‘characteristic’ by which *duty* may be recognised, his commentator supplies an account of its *nature*,—i. e. what constitutes that a Duty to which the characteristic in question belongs. According to him, what constitutes anything a Duty is “the fact of its not producing more pain than pleasure—[or, in other words, its being calculated to produce more pleasure than pain].” The agreement of this with the Benthamite definition of the Useful is noticeable. Another thing which we wish here to take an opportunity of noticing, is a correspondence, in point of terminology, between the systems of the East and of the West. That which constitutes anything what it is, was called by Plato its *Idea*. Aristotle disliked the term; and he sought to convey the same meaning by a term which the Schoolmen rendered *Form*. Bacon adopted the word *Form* in this sense, and the exactly corresponding Sanskrit word—viz. *svarūpa*—is the one here employed, and generally employed, to convey the notion of what is the abiding cause of a thing’s being what it is. When a Hindū writer, at the opening of a treatise on anything, says “I shall declare the *lakṣhaṇa* and the *svarūpa* of the thing in question,” he means to say, that he will tell first how we are to recognise the thing as *the* thing that we are talking about, and that he will tell next—*all about it*. The *lakṣhaṇa* is the mark on the sealed package, by which we recognise it among other packages;—the *svarūpa* is the contents of the package. The reason why we think it worth while to advert to the import of the phraseology in question is this, that we ourselves once took a good deal of pains unprofitably to reconcile these two terms with the “genus” and the “specific difference” which together make up the “definition” according to European logic. The one set of terms and the other, however, belong to different aspects of thought.

To return to Jaiminī:—having intimated that the cause of our knowing anything to be a duty was simply an instigation, in the shape of a passage of scripture holding out the promise of a reward for the performance of a given act, he next thinks proper to show how nothing else *could* be the evidence for it. “An examination,” he says, “of the cause of [our recognising] it [—viz. a duty,—is to be made];”*—and he explains, as follows, how our organs of Sense cannot supply the evidence of it. “When a man’s organs of sense are rightly applied to something *extant*, that birth of knowledge [which then takes place] is Perception,—[and this Perception is] *not* the cause [of our recognising a duty], because the apprehension [by the senses] is of what is [then and there] existent, [—which an act of Duty is *not*].”† Since Perception is not the evidence of a thing’s being a duty, it follows, according to the commentator, that Inference, or Analogy, or anything else, “which has its *root* in Perception,” cannot be the evidence; and, consequently, precept—express or implied—is the only evidence of a thing’s being a duty.

But here the doubt presents itself, whether the evidence in favour of a thing’s being a duty may not be as fallacious as is the evidence of the senses. According to the objector, —“after words and meanings have presented themselves, since the connection between the two is one devised by *man*,—consisting, as it does, of the conventions which man has devised,—therefore, as sense-knowledge wanders away from truth when it mistakes mother-o’pearl for silver, so language is liable to part company with veracity in matters of assertion, and consequently the instigatory nature of a passage which, being couched in words, is liable to be misunderstood, cannot be the instrument of certain knowledge in respect of duty.” Jaiminī, in reply, denies that this doubt affects the evidence of scripture. “But the natural [—i. e. the *eternal* and not conventional—] connection of a word with its sense, *is* [the instrument of] the knowledge thereof, and the intimation [of scripture which is] infallible though given in respect of something imperceptible. This [according to our opinion as well as that] of Bādarāyana [the author of the *Vedānta*

* तस्य निमित्तपरीष्टिः ॥३॥

† सत्सम्प्रयोगे पुरुषस्येन्द्रियाणां बुद्धिजन्म तत्प्रत्यक्षमनिमित्तं विद्यमानोपलम्भात् ॥४॥

aphorisms] is the evidence [by means of which we recognise a duty,] for it has no respect [to any other evidence—such as that of sense].”* Assertions in regard to ordinary things, such as the assertion that there is fire in this or that place, meet with credit, because people have opportunities of verifying such assertions by ocular inspection. This is not the case with regard to the assertion that this or that act is a duty; and therefore Jaiminī,—in the absence of the possibility of verification,—rests the evidence of testimony, in the case of scripture, on its *infallibility*. The mention of the name of Bādarāyaṇa (who is the same as Vyāsa,) in this fifth aphorism goes to prove that Jaiminī’s work, the *pūrvva-mīmāṃsā* was not antecedent in time to Vyāsa’s *uttara-mīmāṃsā*. Mr. Colebrooke’s rendering of the terms *pūrvva* and *uttara* by “prior” and “later” (—see *Essays*, vol. i. pp. 227 and 295—) would seem to have led Dr. Ritter to suppose that Jaiminī’s system was the earlier in order of publication. Dr. Ritter says (at p. 376. vol. iv. of his *History of Philosophy*,—Morrison’s version—) that “according to Colebrooke, the adherents of this school may be divided into the earlier and the later”, —and then he goes on to speak of “the older and genuine Vedānta:”—but in fact the terms “prior” and “later” refer not to time but to the divisions of the *Vedā* which Jaiminī and Vyāsa respectively expound,—the latter directing his attention to the *Upanishads*, or theological sections, which stand last in order. The word *mīmāṃsā* means “a seeking to understand”——and the *pūrvva-mīmāṃsā* is “a seeking to understand the prior (or ritual portion of the *Vedās*”), while the *uttara-mīmāṃsā* is “a seeking to understand the latter (or theological portion of the *Vedās*).” These two compounds, in short, to speak grammatically, are not *Karmadhāraya*, but *Shashṭhī-tatpuruṣa*.

Jaiminī, we have just seen, denies that the connection of a word with its sense is dependent on human convention. This he was obliged to do in order to remove the *Vedās* beyond the imputation of that fallibility which attaches to all that is devised by man. The *eternal* connection between a word and its sense, the commentator here remarks, “is dependent on the eternity of *Sound*,”—seeing that if Sound were not eternal, then words which consist of sound could not be eternal, nor consequently could the relation of such to

* औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन सम्बन्धस्तस्य ज्ञानमुपदेशो
व्यतिरेकश्चार्थेन उपलब्धे तत्प्रमाणं बादरायणस्यानपेक्षत्वात् ॥५॥

their significations be eternal. Being compelled, therefore, to demonstrate that sound is eternal, Jaiminī, in pursuance of the established method of procedure, first grapples with the arguments which, *primâ facie*, might seem to countenance an opposite view of the matter. The first objection to the eternity of Sound is its being made by effort. Thus, according to Jaiminī, "Some [— viz., the followers of the Nyāya—] say that it is a product, for, in the case of it, we see [the effort made for its production]." * Jaiminī is far too secure in the strength of his own position, to be under any temptation to stop the mouths of objectors before they have said their say. Half a dozen objections he allows to be tabled against the eternity of Sound, the second of them being "Because of its transitoriness," †—because "beyond a moment, it is no longer perceived." Moreover, the Naiyāyikas contend, in the third place, that sound is not eternal, because it is stamped as factitious by the usage of language,— "Because of [our employing, when we speak of sound,] the expression 'making.'" ‡ When you talk of *making* something, as a jar for instance, you talk of something that has a commencement, else where were the need of its being *made*? Fourthly, according to the Naiyāyikas, the alleged eternity of Sound is incompatible with its undeniable *multeity*;—and the fact that *multeity* *does* belong to it is inferred "From its being simultaneously in another person [occupying a different place from some first person whom it also affects]." § According to the explanation of the scholiast, "The scope of the present objection is this, that an argument which establishes the *eternity* of sound will equally establish its *unity*; and thus we should have to admit that a numerically single and eternal entity is simultaneously present to the senses, both of those near and those far off;—which is an inconsistency." And the Naiyāyikas infer that Sound is not eternal, because, "Also, of the original and altered forms" || of words,—a condition incompatible with the changelessness of eternity;—and, finally, because, "Also, by a multitude of makers there is an augmentation of it." ¶ A thousand lamps, rendering a jar manifest, do not make the jar seem larger than a single lamp does; yet a thousand persons uttering a sound in concert,

* कर्मैके तत्र दर्शनात् ॥६॥

† अस्थानात् ॥७॥

‡ करोतिशब्दात् ॥८॥

§ सत्त्वान्तरे यौगपद्यात् ॥९॥

|| प्रकृतिविकृतयोश्च ॥१०॥

¶ बहुविधैश्च कर्तृभूम्नास्य ॥११॥

make a proportionately greater sound than one person does ; so this must be a case not of manifesting a previously existent sound, but of *making* one.

Before stating the arguments in support of his own view, Jaiminī addresses himself to the refutation of the foregoing objections ; and antecedently to this also he judiciously seeks to narrow the ground of contention by determining how far both parties *agree*. “ But alike,” he says, “ is the *perception* thereof,”*—according to both views,—both agreeing that the *perception* of Sound is only for a moment, whatever difference of opinion there may be as to sound itself being momentary. But though acquiescent so far as *this* point is concerned, Jaiminī cannot allow that the sound which we perceive for the moment was *produced* at the moment. He explains :—“ Of this [Sound,] while it really exists, the non-perception at another time [than that when the sound is perceived] is due to the non-application [of a manifestor] to the object [—the then unheard sound].”† In like manner a jar, seen by a flash of lightning, is not then *produced*, nor does it cease to exist on its ceasing to be perceived. The same jar may be manifested for another moment by a subsequent flash. According to the commentator—“ Sound is eternal, [as we are constrained to admit] by force of the recognition that “ This is that same letter K” [—viz., the same‡ sound that I heard yesterday, or fifty years ago—], and in virtue of the *law of parsimony*,”—one of the fundamental laws of philosophizing acknowledged by philosophers both of the East and of the West, and implying that we must never assume more causes of a given effect than are sufficient to account for it. Europeans hold that sound is due to vibration. Jaiminī’s commentator admits that it is not perceived when there is *no* vibration ; but, with perverse ingenuity, he argues that the absence of vibration, or the stillness of the air, is what prevents us from perceiving the sound, which never ceases to *exist*, whether perceived or not. “ The conjunctions and disjunctions [—or

* समन्तु तच्च दर्शनम् ॥१२॥

† सतः परमदर्शनं विषयानागमात् ॥१३॥

‡ In opposition to the Mīmāṃsakas the Naiyāyikas contend that the form of expression ‘ This is that same letter K ’ is grounded merely on the fact that the things referred to are of the same *kind*,—just as is the case with the expression ‘ He has taken the same medicine that I did.’ See the *Siddhānta Muktāvalī*, p. 103 ; and compare the remarks of Whately (in the Appendix to his *Logic*) on the ambiguity of the word ‘ Same.’

undulations]—of the air issuing from the mouth, remove the *still* air which was the obstacle to the perception of sound, and thence it becomes perceptible.”

Replying to the objection conveyed in Aph. 8, Jaiminī says “This [expression ‘making’] means *employing* ;” *—we talk of *making* a sound when we only make *use* of it. Then, as for the objection that sound cannot be *one*, because its perception is present to many at a time, he replies, “The simultaneousness is as in the case of the sun ;” †—which is explained to mean, that, “As the Sun, which is but one, is seen simultaneously by those stationed in different places, so, like the sun, Sound is a great object, not a minute one”—such as cannot come at once under the cognizance of persons at any distance from one another. Then, as for the objection that sound cannot be eternal since it undergoes changes in the hands of the grammarian, he says—“This [—e. g. the letter *y* coming in the room of *i*—] is another letter, not a modification” ‡—of that whose place it takes. As the commentator adds—“The *y* is not a modification of the *i* as a mat is a modification of the straw. If it were so, then, as the maker of a mat is under the necessity of providing himself with straw to make it of, the man that employs the letter *y* would be under the necessity of taking the letter *i* to make it of.” Finally, to the objection that Sound must be a product, because there is the more of it the more numerous are those employed in making it, he replies—“It is the increase of *noise* that becomes great,” §—and not of *Sound*.

Here we begin to perceive that this notable dispute is somewhat of a verbal one, and that Jaiminī does not mean by Sound what his opponents mean by it. Sound, according to Jaiminī, like the music spoken of in Othello, is of a kind “that may not be heard,” §—a “silent thunder” in its way. But let us hear Jaiminī, who, having disposed of the offered objections, proceeds to defend his own theory. “But it must

* प्रयोगस्य परम् ॥१४॥

† आदित्यवद्योगपद्यम् ॥१५॥

‡ वर्णान्तरमविकारः ॥१६॥

§ *Clown*. If you have any music that may not be heard, then to't again : but, as they say, to hear music, the general doth not greatly care.

Musician. We have none such, sir.

Clown. Then put up your pipes ———.

Othello. Act iii, sc. 1.

be eternal [—this Sound—], because its exhibition is for the sake of another” ;*—and the commentator adds, in explanation,—“ If it were not eternal, then, as it would not continue till the hearer had understood our meaning [—the perceived sound ceasing on the instant that it reaches the ear—], the understanding [of what was uttered] would not take place because of the absence of the cause ;—for, to explain further, the understanding of what is uttered must *follow*—at however short an interval—the perception of the sound uttered ; and if the sound perish on the hearing, as the *noise* does, then being no longer in existence, it cannot be the *cause* of anything. If, on the other hand, it continue to exist, for any period however short, after ceasing to be perceived,—it is impossible to assign any other instant at which there is any evidence of the discontinuance of its existence,—whence its eternity is inferred. Moreover, as it is prospectively eternal, so was it antecedently, which he considers to be proved, “ By there being everywhere simultaneousness”† in the recognition of it by ever so many hearers, who could not *recognise* it if it were a new production. For example, when the word *cow* is uttered, a hundred persons recognise the word alike ; and, the commentator adds, “ a hundred persons do not simultaneously fall into an error,”—this being as unlikely as it is that a hundred arrows discharged simultaneously by a hundred archers should all by *mistake* hit the same object. Then, again, Sound is proved to be eternal “ By the absence of number ;”‡—for, *e. g.*, “ When the word *cow* has been uttered ten times, we say ‘ The word *cow* has been uttered ten times,’ but not ‘ Ten words of the form *cow* have been uttered.’ ” Further, Sound, as being indescribable, is proved to be eternal. “ By there being no ground for anticipation”§ of its destruction. “ As, on the mere inspection of a web, one feels certain that ‘ This web was produced by the conjunction of threads, and it will be destroyed by the destruction of the conjunction of the threads,’—so, from the absence of the knowledge of any cause that should lead to the destruction of *Sound*, we conclude that *it* is eternal.”

But some one may contend that Sound is a mere modification of the Air, and he may cite the *Sikshā*—that appendage

* नित्यस्तु स्याद्दर्शनस्य परार्थत्वात् ॥१८॥

† सर्वत्र यौगपद्यात् ॥१९॥

‡ संख्याभावात् ॥२०॥

§ अनपेक्षत्वात् ॥२१॥

of the Vedàs which treats of pronunciation, which tells us that "Air arrives at the state of being Sound" after undergoing such and such treatment;—so Jaiminî anticipates and repels this, "Because [if it were so], there would be no perception [by the organ of Hearing] of any object appropriate to it."* He means to say that "modifications of the Air are not what the organ of Hearing takes cognizance of, Sound not being something *tangible*," as the Air is held by the Naiyâvikas to be, which Sound, they admit, has an altogether different substratum, viz., the Ether. Here Jaiminî, though he does not himself hold Sound to be a quality of Ether, does not however disdain to avail himself of the *argumentum ad hominem*.

Finally, to put the seal upon the evidence of Sound's eternity, he refers to the Hindù scriptures;—"And [Sound is proved to be eternal] by our seeing a proof"† of this, in the text which the commentator supplies, viz., "By language, that alters not, eternal," &c. Here ends the topic of Sound; and assuredly Jaiminî does not make it very clear what he means by the term. Let us therefore turn to a fuller exposition of the dogma in question, and this may be found in the *Mahâbhâshya*, and its commentaries.

Patanjali commences the *Mahâbhâshya*, or "Great‡ Commentary" on the Grammatical Aphorisms of Pânini, by saying "Now, the teaching of Sounds:—" "Of *what* Sounds?" he asks,—and he replies, "Of those secular and those sacred." Kaiyata remarks on this as follows:—"Since the word "Sound" signifies sound in general, having reflected that—since, but for the question in hand, &c., there would have been nothing to determine the species,—the teaching also of the sounds of fiddle-strings, and of the cries of crows, &c., might have suggested itself, he asks "Of *what*," &c." Then, "having further reflected, that since Grammar is an appendage of the Vedâ, from the sense of the terms the species [of sounds with which Grammar is concerned] may be inferred, he says [—in order to give a useful reply to his own question—] 'Of *secular*' &c." After several pages of such disquisition, which provoke twice as many more from Nâgêsa Bhaṭṭa, Patanjali is allowed to go

* प्रख्याभावाच्च योग्यस्य ॥२२॥

† लिङ्गदर्शनाच्च ॥२३॥

‡ Its 'greatness'—though the commentator Kaiyata, with allusion to its bulk, styles it an 'ocean of a commentary'—is explained by *his* commentator, again, Nâgêsa Bhaṭṭa, to consist in its being, unlike ordinary commentaries, a subsequent authority, and not a mere exegesis.

on again. "Of these, the secular, in the first place, are such as *cow, horse, man, elephant, bird, deer, brahman*. The scriptural are verily indeed such as *sanno devirabhishtaye* ('may the goddess be propitious to my prayers,')" &c. He goes on to say—"Well—'*cow*,'—here which is the word? That which is in the shape of a thing with dewlap, tail, hump, hoofs, and horns,—pray, is *that* the word? Nay, replies he,—that is verily a *thing*. Then, the hints, gestures, and winking,—is *that* the word? Nay, he replies, that verily is *action*. Then the white, the blue, the tawny, the spotted,—is *that* the word? Nay, he replies, that verily is *quality*. Then, that which in [many] different is [one and] not different,—and which is not destroyed in things which [by disintegration] are destroyed,—that which is the common nature,—is *that* the word? Nay, he replies, that verily is the *form* [—implying the genus, or Platonic '*idea*'—the *ἐν ἐπὶ πολλῶν*.]—What then *is* the word?*" The word ['*cow*'] is that through which, when uttered, there is the cognition of things with dewlap, tail, hump, hoofs, and horns." We must not at present indulge ourselves in a *rechauffement* of all the drolly sagacious things that Kaiyaṭa and Nāgēsa take occasion to propound with reference to these remarks of His Snakeship† Patanjali. We must confine ourselves to the question of what is *eternal*, or held to be eternal, in the matter of sound.

Everybody allows that the constituent *letters* of a word are non-significant; because, says Kaiyaṭa, "if letters severally were significant, the pronunciation of the second, or of any subsequent [letter in any word] would be purposeless;—but, assuming that they are severally non-significant, then, on the theory that they *arise*, since they cannot arise *simultaneously*; and [then again] on the theory that they are *manifested*, since, from their being manifested *successively*, there is no [stable] aggregate,—if those that are impressed on a single [page of] memory were what express [the meaning connected with these letters so recorded], then we should find no difference between the sense gathered in the case of *sara* 'an arrow' and *rasa* 'a taste [—the letters of which are the same.] In the *Vākyapadīya* [of Bhartrihari]

* The enquirer is supposed to ask this after having run through all the categories, which the grammarians reckon to be four,—the four above-mentioned.

† Whilst the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* (and of the *Yoga Aphorisms*) honoured the world with his presence, he is understood to have been a serpent.

it is diffusely established, that what denotes [the thing denoted] is [—so to speak—] a ‘disclosure’ (*sphoṭa*,) other than these [letters, and, at the same time] revealed by utterance.” What is here called *sphoṭa*—a ‘disclosure’—is what Jaiminī meant by the term sound (*śabda*,) though he chose, for prudential reasons of his own, not to point out to his opponents—what they ought to have had perspicacity enough to discern for themselves—that he was “paltering with them in a double sense.” Possibly, again, the case may have been an exemplification of the Hudibrastic principle, that

Sure the pleasure is as great
Of being cheated, as to cheat.

The Naiyāyikas had no interest in really clearing up a confusion of ideas which allowed Jaiminī to settle the eternity of the *Vedā*, on which all the six schools repose, while at the same time it left a world of cloud-land available for endless and luxurious logomachy. The Naiyāyikas were *humbugs* when they did not come down upon Jaiminī with the sledge-hammer of Gautama’s 52nd Aphorism. They *knew* that he was “paltering in a double sense,”—but then their philosophical virtue was not of the termagant order, but rather of the kind that coyly resists with sheathed claws. Paying no further attention to the Naiyāyikas, let us attend to the conception which the Grammarians, in accordance with the Mimāṃsakas, denominate *sphoṭa*.

At page 305 of the first volume of his *Essays*, Mr. Colebrooke says—“Grammarians assume a special category, denominated *sp’ho’ta*, for the object of mental perception, which ensues upon the hearing of an articulate sound, and which they consider to be distinct from the elements or component letters of the word. Logicians disallow that as a needless assumption.” Of this *sphoṭa*, which the Grammarians—as being Vedāntins—assume to be the only real entity in the universe, Nāgēsa Bhaṭṭa speaks as follows: “The cognition ‘This is one word,’ ‘This is one sentence,’ is proof of there being such a thing as *sphoṭa*, and of its unity [—it being held to be one with knowledge, or one with God—]; because too there is no solid evidence of the fact that memory is exactly according to the order of apprehension [—so that *sara* and *rasa* might come to suggest each the same idea—] since we *see* things that were apprehended in one order recollected even in the inverse order. But, in my opinion, as there becomes gradually, in a web, a tincture of various hues deposited by various dye-stuffs, so in that [*sphoṭa*] which is perfectly single, by the course

of utterance does there take place a quite gradual tincture in the shape of each letter; and this is permanent, and it is this that the mind apprehends." He adds, that this *sphoṭa*—this substratum of unqualified but diversely qualifiable knowledge—is *one* thing, though "common to the denomination of jars, webs, &c.;" and he mentions, that, in another work of his, the *Manjūshā*, he has shown how "the apprehension of the difference is reflectional,"—as when the pellucid crystal* assumes successively the hue of the red, blue, or yellow flower beside it.

This illustration of the web, to which a succession of tints may be communicated, reminds us of the contrivance of an editor in the backwoods of America, where printing materials were scarce. Each of his subscribers was provided with a towel, on which the current number of the journal was stamped, not with ink but with the black mud from the neighbouring swamp. When this had been duly perused by the family, the towel was washed and sent back to receive the next day's impression. The towel of the subscriber, like the *sphoṭa* of the Grammarian, remained one and the same towel throughout, whether serving as the substratum of a democratic harangue, a defence of repudiation, or an advertisement of wooden nutmegs.

We observed, that, by the Vedāntin grammarians the *sphoṭa* is regarded as the sole entity :—with them the 'word' (*śabda*) is 'God' (*Brahma*.) This remarkable expression would require to be carefully considered when the question has reference whether to the adoption or the avoidance of such and such terms in conveying the doctrines of Christianity. The pandits furnish a striking exemplification of Bacon's remark, that, by men in general, "those things which are new in themselves will still be understood according to the analogy of the old." Employ a term that holds a definite place in any of the current systems, and the whole of the pandit's thoughts will immediately run in the mould of that system, to which he will strive to accommodate what he hears,—rejecting whatever refuses to be so accommodated. A pandit remarked to us one day, for example, that the very first verse of the Bible contained a palpable contradiction. "It is stated here," said he, pointing to the first verse in the

* Cf. Sāṅkhya Aphorism, §19. c. The word *sphoṭa* is derived from *sphuṭ* 'to open as a bud or flower,' being that by means of which each particular meaning is opened out and revealed. It means *meaning in general*, the foundation of all particular meaning.

Sanskrit version of Genesis by the Baptist Missionaries, "that God, in the beginning, created Earth (*prithivī*) and Ether (*ākāś'a*); and then it is added that the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the *Water*—an element the creation of which is nowhere mentioned in the chapter, the next verse going on to speak of the creation of Light. If Water and Air did not require to be created, why did the other three?" Here the unfortunate employment of the terms *prithivī* and *ākāś'a* had marshalled his thoughts at once under the categories of the Nyāya. Our explanation, that the one term was intended to denote all the matter of this globe, and the other term all that is material, external to this globe, satisfied him that the contradiction did not exist which he had supposed; but he felt sure that the words would raise precisely the same notions in the mind of every Naiyāyika that they had raised in his own. The terms *bhūmī* and *diva*, not being technically appropriated, would be free from the objection.

K.

GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

CICADA.

Why, shepherds, with crafty pursuit,
 The shade-loving Grasshopper seize,
 And snatch me, an innocent prey,
 From dew-sprinkled tops of the trees ?
 'Tis mine to salute with a song
 The nymphs passing by on the way,
 To enliven the hills and the groves
 With chirping in heat of mid-day.
 The blackbirds and thrushes and crew,
 Who rob the young fruits of the soil,
 Subsisting on mischief and ill,
 For them spread the merited toil.
 Destroyers of fruit are fair game,
 For such the last sentence is due,
 But why should you grudge me a feast
 Of green leaves and fresh-sprinkled dew ?

R. B.

VI.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BISHOP KEN.*

A Life of Bishop Ken, worthy of the name, had long been a desideratum in British Literature. His character is perhaps the most attractive which the annals of our Church contain, and his Biography is interwoven with the most interesting events of our national history, *quorum pars magna fuit*. As the original of Dryden's good Parson, and the courageous remonstrant against vice in Charles the Second, and against cold-hearted cruelty in William of Orange, he presents the rare combination of a sweet and gentle mind united with inflexible strictness as a moralist. As the brother-in-law of Isaac Walton, and the author of those beautiful hymns for morning and evening which are appended to the Prayer Book, the earliest songs of praise which Christian Infancy repeats, his name is venerably associated with a Churchman's most habitual sympathies. While even with those who are merely Protestants, his unflinching resistance to Romanism under James the Second earns for him an undying memory as one of the most intrepid of the Confessors and Patriots of our land. Of such a spirit, the British Critic, in a very able Review of his Life and Works, in July 1838, regretted with much reason that no faithful portrait had as yet been traced, when materials were at hand sufficient to throw light upon

"One of the most real and perfect characters with which we are acquainted; one certainly which it will be both interesting and profitable to set before us in this particular age in which our lot is cast;—which is singularly calculated to explain to us the depth of the system under which we live, and, instead of allowing us to innovate,—to throw us back upon that system,—to call upon us to enquire how that sacred system may best be acted up to. Ken would make the Clergy, from the highest order to the lowest, in the best sense and to the best purpose, dissatisfied with themselves; and less and less disposed to acquiesce in the existing *practice* of the Church of England, at the same time that he will as surely convince and satisfy them that her *theory* in government and discipline and doctrine is in the main good, and may be, what our enemies deny it ever has or ever can be, realized."

The void which the British Critic lamented has been most creditably supplied by an octavo volume published last year by Pickering, and these interesting pages—a fact which affords to our mind a most gratifying and hopeful symptom

* THE LIFE OF THOMAS KEN, *Bishop of Bath and Wells*. By a Layman. LONDON. WILLIAM PICKERING, 1851.

of the progress of the Church in the affections of the Laity—are compiled by one who appears to have no direct vocation to ecclesiastical pursuits. The appearance of this truly valuable Life of Bishop Ken from the pen of a layman is a signal illustration, not only of the express attachment which many of the most educated class of the nation entertain towards the Church of their fathers, but it is a proof that they are able and ready, whenever the necessity may arise, to bring to her support laborious investigation, a sound spirit of discrimination, literary abilities of no second rate order, and a style of gentle and winning piety, which justifies, by adorning, the school in which these qualities were acquired.

It is not our purpose to pretend to offer the essence of the work before us through the alembic of our Review, because we are well assured that no reader of a refined literary taste would be tempted to skip many pages of the volume itself; but we shall hold ourselves excused if we present our constituents with a short epitome of the Life of Thomas Ken, and with some copious extracts from his Biographer, in order to meet the exigencies (especially in ecclesiastical literature) which Mofussil Book Clubs very imperfectly supply, and also to give a just idea of the style and spirit in which our author writes.

The future Bishop of Bath and Wells was born at Little Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, in July, 1637. He had the misfortune to lose his mother, whose maiden name was Martha Chalkhill, when he was only four years old, and his father, Mr. Thomas Ken, an Attorney at Law, of Furnival's Inn, London, and a scion of an ancient Somersetshire family, the Kens of Ken-court, also died before he was fourteen. But he found a second mother in a sister twenty-five years older than himself—"a woman of remarkable prudence, and of the primitive piety,"* and a second father in one who appears to have realized in his own character what he has portrayed so pleasingly in his well-known book—the example of a Christian English gentleman. Isaak Walton, or "honest Isaak," a title which the author of the "Compleat Angler" received from Dr. King, the Bishop of Chichester, and which the whole kingdom appears to have adopted by acclamation, married Thomas Ken's sister Ann; and at her father's death, these became the guardians of the orphan. In such a home he grew up under the eye of that

truthful and pious writer, whose quaint but delightful histories of our real English Saints, Donne and Sir Henry Wotton and Herbert and Hooker and Sanderson have made "Walton's Lives" one of the most popular books in our language—a popularity which it justly merits, and we trust it may long retain. There too his mind would be strengthened, and his early opinions formed, by intimacy with the pious Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, to whom, under the persecutions of the Commonwealth, if a tradition which we would gladly believe is true, Walton's roof had furnished an asylum. Such sound instruction was more than sufficient to counteract any heterodox influences to which Ken's boyhood was exposed, when absent from that faithful household. And his education was in more than one instance conducted under such auspices. Dr. Harris, the Warden of Winchester school, where he was placed at the age of thirteen, was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and was tinctured, though we know not how deeply, with the sectarian principles of the day. But to his powers of rhetoric it is probable the young Wykehamist was greatly indebted for the reputation which in after years distinguished him among Prelates of high accomplishments, as "the eloquent Bishop." He spent five years at Winchester, and during that time an intimacy commenced which lasted through their lives with Francis Turner, who was afterwards elevated to the Throne of Ely. Their names are to be found together in the stone buttress of the South East corner of the cloister. Ken became the Head of the School, and in 1656 was elected to New College, Oxford; but there was no vacancy at the time, and he therefore entered himself as a student at Hart Hall till the contingency which he was expecting should take place. This vacancy, from which he could otherwise have reaped no benefit, occurred within the year, and Ken was again united with his friend and school-fellow Turner, as a member of the same College, in 1657.

But these were sore times in the ancient Halls of Oxford. Six years previously, the "Arch-rebel and Regicide, Cromwell," "*ipsis molossis ferocior*,"* had been installed as Chancellor, and not only the Heads of Houses, Professors, Lecturers, and other Members of the University, down to the under-graduates, but (according to Anthony à Wood) even "the beadles, college servants, bed-makers and scrapers of trenchers, were thrown out, and banished from their places."

* SALMASIUS. *Clamor Regii Sanguinis.*

George Marshall, who had served as chaplain to the rebel army, had been intruded into the Wardenship of New College, from which the loyal Dr. Pink had been ejected. The chairs of the Professors, and the rooms of the Tutors, were occupied by an illiterate rabble of Independents, Anabaptists, Fifth-Monarchy men, Behmenists, Socinians, Levellers, &c. The new Teachers had generally "mortified countenances, puling voices, and eyes commonly, when in discourse, lifted up, with hands laying on their breasts;" they mostly had short hair, which at this time was called the "*Committee cut* ; and went in *gairpo*, in a shabb'd condition, and looked rather like apprentices, or antiquated school-boys, than academicians, or ministers."* If the pious student desired to offer worship to his Maker in the beautiful forms of the Church of his Baptism, he was obliged to creep by stealth into Merton Lane, where a resolute band of Christians, under Fell,† and Dolben,‡ were accustomed to meet, with doors shut,—like their spiritual forefathers,—for fear of their enemies, in the house of one Thomas Willis, for the use of the English Liturgy, and for celebration of the Communion on Sundays and holy days. No where else could he render his wonted sacrifice of prayer and praise ; for the songs of Zion had ceased in the land. If he passed between the venerable pillars of St. Mary's porch, it was to hear one of the seven Puritan ministers, who had been appointed by Parliament to preach against lawful obedience in Church and State, utter some extravagant invective against "Prelacy," and "steeple houses," and "the dry bran and sapless pottage," of the Liturgy—or "*Lethargy*"§ as their wretched wit sometimes called it. Or, if the occupant of the pulpit could so far forget himself as to conclude his extemporaneous rant with the sacred words of our Lord's Prayer, Dr. Owen, the Vice-Chancellor, in his undignified and indecorous costume, would be seen to sit down, and put on his hat, or sneer and turn aside with the most public demonstrations of disapproval and contempt. If he entered one of the other churches of the city, he was forced to witness the desecration of the holy place by the blasphemous and sanguinary application from the mouth of some disbanded soldier, of the history of Ahab, or the extermination of the Priests of Baal. By degrees, however, when the rapacity of Master Boanerges

* Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* ; ii, p. 61.

† Ex-Vice-Chancellor.

‡ Afterwards Archbishop of York.

§ Southey's *Book of the Church* ; p. 503.

Bangtext, and of Corporal Sin-despise Zorubbabel, and of Sergeant Hew-Agag-in-pieces-before-the-Lord was satiated, or the booty was exhausted, the violence of actual persecution against the loyal Oxonians abated, and the scholars were left pretty much to themselves, so that Ken was enabled to pursue his studies in comparative tranquillity.

Of his academical reading we have no detailed account, for Anthony à Wood only certifies that "his towardliness towards good letters and virtue were observed by the Seniors;" and informs us that in the number of those who frequent the musical parties in the University, "Thomas Ken, a Junior of New College, would be sometimes among them, and sing his part." And his biographer Hawkins also has recorded that he had "an excellent genius to musick." But the *Noscitur a Sociis* test may fairly be invoked to prove that his time was well employed. The list of his intimate associates includes the names of "the great and good Robert Boyle," whom Bishop Sanderson's encomium has immortalized; of Mr. Thomas Thynne, afterwards the estimable Viscount Weymouth, whose mansion at Long Leat afforded his College friend an asylum for twenty years, and an untroubled deathbed, and of George Hooper, who preceded Ken in his chaplaincy at the Hague, and succeeded to his Mitre, and "of whom the celebrated Dr. Bushby declared that he was the best scholar, the finest gentleman, and would make the best Bishop that ever was educated at Westminster."

Our narrative, which has hitherto claimed kindred with history, only because it has pretty nearly arrived, in Lord Plunkett's phrase, at the "dignity of an old Almanack," leads us now to the most important event in Ken's life,—his admission to holy orders. The date is lost to us. It certainly occurred between the year 1661, when he obtained his Bachelor's, and 1664 when he took his Master's Degree, and perhaps during part of that period, he may have been engaged as a Tutor of his College. In that position he would have the most favorable opportunity to mature his mind, and by access to the stores of primitive piety and the writings of the Fathers which the Bodleian afforded, to prepare himself for the solemn duties of the sacred calling. And much as the Priest's office requires thought and prayer and study at all times, this was especially the case in the hour when Ken went forth to feed the sheep and lambs of Christ. If he had entered Oxford when the sober wisdom of that seat of learning was scandalized by the profane excesses of Puritans

and Fanatics, the first years of his ministry in the Church were a season of no less difficulty and conflict. The whole Empire, from the highest order to the lowest, was intoxicated with the sudden changes which had come upon the entire fabric and genius of the State. The Monarch who three years before had written, in the language of a mendicant, to his sister the Princess of Orange, to borrow a jewel which he might pawn for his necessities,* had just been placed upon a throne, at the foot of which the treasures of a wealthy nation were eagerly poured out in the profusion of that first enthusiasm which greeted the Restoration. Released from all restraint by the apparently inexhaustible complaisance of his subjects, Charles hastened to enjoy the new pleasures of Whitehall, and the royal circle set at defiance all rules of morality and of common decency. The nation, depressed to an enforced and unnatural strictness by the Puritan Government, imitated the Court in mistaking licentiousness for liberty. As a necessary reaction to the pietistic severity, and caricature of Biblical language, which prevailed under the Commonwealth, a tone of scoffing and scepticism came in as with a flood. Nor was the position and general character of the Clergy equal to the task of stemming the torrent of evil. We believe indeed that Mr. Macaulay† has overstated the case, when he tells us that "no ministers distinguished by abilities and learning were scattered among the rural population" at this epoch. The Metropolis and Cathedral Towns monopolized, it is true, the lion's share of ecclesiastical merit, but we cannot believe that the country parishes were wholly abandoned to ignorance and vulgarity, when we find three such names as Hooper, Ken, and Milles of High-Clerc, two of whom became Bishops, all serving rural benefices in the small Diocese of Winchester alone; when Kettlewell was at Coleshill in Warwickshire, Nicholas Ferrer at Little Gidding, Sanderson for more than thirty years at Boothby Pannel. A few years previously George Herbert had died at Bemerton. And Bull was nearly half a century in the Vicarages of Suddington and Avening before he was preferred to the Bishopric of St. Davids.

We may readily suppose that many more in "God's own Word and sacred learning versed," men of an humble un-aspiring mind, "of whom the world was not worthy," lived

* See Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*; vol. iii, p. 177.

† *History of England*; vol. i, p. 329.

and died in the unmarked industry of village ministrations, and did their part abundantly to recommend the Church to the affections of our forefathers. Still it must be owned that the Clergy of the time were neither in parentage or reputation such an order of men as we now find ministering at our altars. Many of them were most imperfectly educated, many of mean extraction, and not a few degraded their elevated vocation by course and positively vicious habits. The dignities and prizes of the Hierarchy seldom attracted the scions of noble, or even of gentle families. The names of a Crewe* or a Trelawney† were only beacons to make the obscurity of their Brethren more palpable. They were generally a plebeian class, and the want of refinement was too often accompanied by illiterate tastes and laxity of principle. No one could have turned a page of the Clergy List, if such a roll had existed in that day, without discovering some such character as the Parson Two-tongues of Bunyan, or some of the prototypes of those chaplains whom Swift described as owing their preferment to their devotion to the Lady's waiting woman, and whom Swift himself in some degree impersonated, for the Dean of St. Patrick's was Sir William Temple's Clerk, when Stella was Lady Temple's waiting maid.

It was in such fellowship, and under this cloud of evil (for which the Church was mainly indebted to Cromwell's policy, which, like the wicked Prince of Israel, had made of the lowest of the people Priests of the high places) that Ken devoted himself to the pastoral office. And if ever her ministers have been instruments to raise the Church as a city set upon a hill, and to cleanse off the soils and stains which have dimmed her purity, that praise is surely due to this faithful witness in a faithless age, who set before his people with such unquestionable efficacy the loveliness of personal sanctity and the light of a living faith. Among some uncertainty and contradiction on the part of various annalists, it appears that he was instituted in 1663 to the Rectory of Little Easton, and there, in his humble church, outside Lord Maynard's park, and in this rustic community, supported and revered by his parishioner and constant friend Lady Margaret Maynard, "a woman of so divine a spirit, with such ardour of devotion and charity, as might have become a Proba or a Monica,"‡ he commenced, what he afterwards

* Bishop of Durham.

† Bishop of Bristol.

‡ Ken's Sermon at the funeral of Lady Margaret Maynard, 1682.

carried out in his successive incumbencies of Brightstone in the Isle of Wight and Woodhay in Hants, that self-devoting system of pastoral holiness and zeal, which, if Ken had given us no other qualities to admire, would be a mirror for the Clergy of our day to read their imperfections in. In one of his Poems he has sketched the character of a true Pastor of Christ, and the portrait, though undesigned, is a likeness of himself. In the volume before us the lines are to be found at length, and as we have not space for the entire quotation, we dare not mutilate the picture. His Church, we may be sure, was open morning and evening, the Fasts and Festivals, the Ember and Rogation days, according to the Rubric, and the desire of Bishop Morley, his Diocesan, were all duly observed. He fasted to an extent which perhaps might be deemed in these days supererogatory at the least, though not to be seen of men; neither his time nor his purse were any thing to him but talents for others' use. He was that energetic Priest who,

" Instructive in his visits and converse,
Strives every where salvation to disperse."

He was that charitable and compassionate benefactor,

" Of a mild, humble and obliging heart,
Who *with his all* does to the needy part."

He was that discreet and sympathizing adviser who,

" Distrustful of himself, in God confides,
Daily himself among his flock divides ;"—

for the system of daily prayer never hindered him, as the indolence of this age is apt to allege, from personal ministrations among his people. As a general rule, from all that we have heard or seen, we are assured that the most industrious among our Parish Priests are they who most faithfully fulfil their ordination engagements, and the order of their Church,—by saying "daily the morning and evening prayer" in the open House of God. Such men we have seldom found wanting in their visits to the sick beds of their Parishioners, and the cottages of the Poor. And it may be well worthy of the consideration of the Clergy in this country, where the Pastor is of necessity the visited rather than the visitor, whether a punctual attendance on their part at a stated hour in the church would not greatly facilitate their intercourse with the humbler classes of their cure, especially in a military congregation; and at the same time protect the Clergyman from many desultory interruptions, when engaged in some important occupation.

But these reflections are so forcibly confirmed in the pages which we are reviewing, that we cannot refrain from transferring the following extract to our own :—

“ Would that the Clergy in this our day followed, as he did, the primitive rule, enjoined by the Rubric, of daily service, and the celebration of the Fasts and Festivals, throughout the year. If men are to have their affections raised to something higher than this care-worn world, it must be through the consistent example of a devout, steadfast, abiding Clergy. How can the people be expected to obey the injunctions of the Church, if their Pastors maintain a contrary rule, after the varying standard of their own judgment and convenience? It is vain to preach to them the privileges of public worship, so long as the Priests themselves disobey and keep their church-doors closed against the ‘ little flock.’ There may on Sundays be a gathering of the refined and educated, brought up in a love of order, and willing to attend once a week, if only to set an example to their household and dependents. But the poor, the labourer, the rude uncultivated mass,—still more the sabbath-breaker, the drunkard, the licentious and unbelieving, will never be converted from the power of evil under a languid inexpressive system, such as now prevails in the majority of our Parishes.

“ The lower orders of the people have a keen sense of the nonconformity of those set over them, and of *their equal right to adopt their own measure of obedience*. Many perhaps could not, or would not at first, attend the daily services, or observe the festivals, even if offered to them; yet they can appreciate the affectionate untiring zeal of their Clergy in giving them the opportunity. Of this we have a touching example in ‘ some of the meaner sort’ of George Herbert’s parish* ‘ who did so love and reverence him, that they would let their plough rest when his Saint-bell rang to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him; and would then return back to their plough. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God and to him, that they thought themselves the happier, when they carried Mr. Herbert’s blessing back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reason and example to persuade others to a practical piety and devotion.’ And what, if there be some within the parish who secretly sigh after the absent services, and are debarred from the sympathy of common prayer? What, if the aged and infirm, or the suffering, or the penitent, long to wend their way to the sanctuary, and may not? Who shall hear the reproach? or who render the account?”—pp. 34-36.

To return to Ken. We have already mentioned different parishes of which he was Incumbent—but, to speak more precisely—his relinquishment of Little Easton was the result of his appointment as Chaplain to Bishop Morley, a distinction to which his own merits conduced, no less than the affection of Isaac Walton, who lived with that holy Prelate in his episcopal home at Winchester. Hooper was also selected as one of the Bishop’s Chaplains. At the

* See Walton’s *Life of George Herbert*.

same period Ken was instituted to Brightstone in the Isle of Wight, one of those pleasant villages in that delightful garden of our land, where the overhanging down, clothed with the flocks of sheep,—the geranium and hydrangia growing in luxuriance before the clean white walls and latticed windows of the peasantry,—the dimpled sea, and shining cliffs of Freshwater, present a landscape which we have often perused, and often summoned back to memory, and from which one of the English Bishops* of our day, a preacher not less eloquent than Ken, must often have drawn some inspirations, when Samuel Wilberforce walked abroad among the lanes and hills of Brightstone. May his splendid talents be exerted for the Church, if new days of rebuke and blasphemy are to come upon her, with the same single eye, and the same constancy through good report and ill report, as those of his sainted predecessor! In this sweet retreat, as at Little Easton, Ken was only permitted to remain two years. He was installed as Prebendary of Winchester in 1669, and the Bishop, in order to keep him near his person, collated him to the Rectory of East Woodhay. But at the end of three years he resigned this charge to Hooper, whose health required a release from the marshy grounds of Havant. But his was not a spirit to sleep in a Prebendal stall. With the Bishop's consent he undertook the gratuitous cure of the neglected district of St. John in the Soke, a place overrun by Anabaptists, and he reaped his reward ere long by gathering many of them into the bosom of the Church. During this period he had been unanimously elected Fellow of Winchester, and had consequently resigned his Oxford Fellowship. And here also we are indebted to the modern biographer for rectifying an error of Mr. Bowles by shewing that Ken was no pluralist in all this variety of preferment, but that he uniformly resigned each benefice, when circumstances precluded him from discharging its duties in person.

In the mean time Ken's connection with the Bishop, and his frequent residence at Winchester, which was a favorite resort of Charles the Second, introduced him to the notice of that monarch. But before we enter upon the second great act of this good priest's life, his ministry in King's houses, we must refer to the Italian tour which he undertook with "young Master Isaak Walton." It would be a

* The Bishop of Oxford.

pleasing task to transcribe the order of their foreign excursion, and the peculiarly graphic description of the Roman Catholic Pilgrimage, which the year of Jubilee, proclaimed by Clement X., had evoked, and of which our travellers chanced to be spectators. But our only purpose in alluding to this visit to Rome is to deplore the bigotry and prejudice of our countrymen, who either from ignorance or malice, are not ashamed, even at this day, to accuse any faithful Clergyman of Popery, who thinks right to witness the Papal ceremonial, and to explore the Roman Catholic system with his own eyes. We are sure that there is scarcely a Priest who is worthy of our anxieties, upon whom an enlarged acquaintance with the Roman Church, in its development on the continent, would not produce the same effect which Robert Boyle experienced, when "he ceased to wonder that the Pope should forbid the sight of Rome to Protestants, since nothing could more confirm them in their opinion." At the same time we should not shrink from avowing with that strong thinker Dr. Arnold, whose anti-sectarian spirit we can reverence without subscribing to his theories, that "the open churches, the varied services, the beautiful solemnities, the processions, the calvaries, the crucifixes, the appeals to the eye and the ear through which the heart is reached most effectually, have no natural connexion with superstition."* But so it was, that Ken's tour in Italy touched the morbid nerve in the otherwise sound judgment of the nation, and "he lost the favour of many of his former auditors, who supposed that by this journey he had been tinged with Popery." This introduces us to some admirable observations, which we quote without apology, bearing significant allusion to the circumstances of the present time, and at the same time full of evidence that the writer who undertook to pourtray the catholic character of a really evangelical man of God, is himself of a kindred spirit in his faithful adhesion to the faith of our National Church.

"Something there may be in the Roman theory to captivate sensitive and fervent minds, who find at home a confused strife, relaxed discipline, and discordant clergy. Still our Mother Church, on whose bosom we have been regenerated, is a sure point of rest to humble and confiding men, who believe that Christ can and will pour His healing balm into their wounds. Faint of heart, and void of courage are they who cannot realize the joy of steadfastness and patient waiting—who think that God will not give His strength to bear her up in her day of need. Surely it is His own Church, for which He endured the agony of

* Cf. Life, 6th Edit. p 671.

the Cross. St. John and St. Peter and all the glorious company of Aposles, the goodly fellowship of Prophets, and the noble army of Martyrs, are never weary of praying for her peace. To join in this would exemplify greater humbleness of mind, and a more abiding faith, than to magnify her defects, and yearn after another communion.

"Certain it is that Ken's filial attachment to the Church of England sustained him in his obedience amidst all her confusion. Her pure worship and services were sadly neglected, her doctrines perverted, her most devoted ministers held in suspicion. He knew that her heavenly Master could in His own time bring her forth from the trial. He was always a moderator in religious disputes; and because he did not rail against an erring Church, he was accused of a leaning towards her doctrines. He could not shut his eyes to the fact that Rome had degraded the spirituality of Christ's Kingdom to a secular government,—from an invisible power, not of this world, to a bold assumption of temporal rule.

"But there is a wide difference between rejecting their errors, and holding the Romanists in abhorrence and scorn. Surely we all share in the common name of Christians, and have one faith in the ever adorable Trinity. If we cannot partake in their worship, we may pray for them as our brethren; and even by contrast with their misplaced fervour, learn to mourn our own palsied devotion. If we condemn their penance and their pilgrimages, as works of merit, we must confess that they spring from a principle of earnest faith; and it would be well for Reformed England, if her clergy and laity would emulate the hardness which their's endure.

"If Roman priests have celibacy and poverty bound upon them, and we have received no such command, do not our's openly traffic in the cure of souls for their children's sake? If they invoke the Blessed Virgin, and the holy Apostles, we seem almost to deny the Communion of Saints; neglecting and depreciating festivals appointed by the Church which should be to us joyful occasions of prayer and thanksgiving, with the whole Church visible and invisible, 'knit together in one communion and fellowship in the mystical Body of Christ our Lord.'* If their religion exceeds in ceremonial, we have well nigh given up the reverential solemnities of worship. If their Churches are gorgeous with images, and multiply altars, we suffer the damp walls and mouldering roofs of God's house to fall to decay, side by side with lavish decorations of our own dwellings.

"Ken clearly saw the perversions into which the English Church was then betrayed,—the Puritan extremes into which she was falling from a fierce antagonism to Rome. He perceived how she had relaxed her discipline, and almost forgotten the nature of a holy obedience; how every priest set up his own standard of conformity, as the measure of his doctrine and practice, with little or no regard to primitive antiquity, or the injunctions of his Diocesan; so that freedom of thought in matters of doctrine, and liberty of action in ecclesiastical order, came to be equally insisted on by the laity also.

"Whoever attempted to restore a strictly uniform practice, or urged the real nature and efficacy of the Sacraments, or shewed in his personal

* "The feasts and fasts of the Church are happy days set apart for the remembrance of God's love."—KEN'S *Exposition of the Catechism*; Ed. 1686: p. 84.

living a holy mortification, was accused of a design to introduce the superstitious formalism of Rome. Thus it was that Ken's regard to every ordinance of the Anglican Church, his ascetic life, and his deep sense of Christian mysteries, were taken at this time by many of his flock to be an indication of his leaning towards the Papacy. But he *lived down* these prejudices, zealously and consistently setting forth in word and deed the harmonious doctrines of the Gospel, and giving example of a strict adherence to the Church, in times when she was most in danger. He continued at Winchester three years after his return from Rome, pursuing the same studious mortified life, the same unremitted labours to promote the spiritual advancement of all who lived within his sphere."—pp. 87-90.

Ken was now called into immediate connection with the royal household. We find him in 1679 appointed to succeed his friend Hooper as Chaplain to the Princess Mary, the wife of William of Orange. We must here with diffidence express our dissent from the too favourable picture which our author has drawn of that celebrated character. Brave, we must allow the Prince of Orange to have been, a Captain whose firmness and composure under adverses in war few generals have equalled, and in addition to this a Politician of extraordinary sagacity. But these qualities alone are not sufficient in our judgment to entitle him to the name of "Hero." (pages 97,100.) Harsh, selfish, unfeeling, unrefined, illiterate, the man who permitted the inhuman butchery of the De Witts, who drove his father-in-law from his throne by the most iniquitous corruption and the most treacherous artifices, who is the fully-convicted author of the massacre of Glencoe, who effected Sir John Fenwick's execution by one of the most disgraceful judicial murders upon record; we dare not, as we value truth and honour, connect the idea of heroism, even with a limitation to the battle field, with a name so dwarfed by little meannesses and merciless frauds and cowardly assassinations and private ends, as that of William, Prince of Orange. The very chapter which we are criticizing furnishes sufficient illustration of the unamiable and unexalted character of this remarkable man, in his behaviour to his gentle and devoted wife, and his illiberality, both doctrinal and pecuniary, to her Chaplains, or at least, we should qualify our phrase by saying, to those among her Chaplains who were honest enough to incur the Prince's displeasure by differing from him in his sectarian theology and his unconjugal morals; for the plastic Burnet appears to have fared far better than either Hooper or Ken, his predecessors. The following details are certainly not calculated to inspire a more favourable opinion than we have now ventured to express :—

"It was fortunate for Dr. Hooper that he had independent means of living; for 'all the time he was in Holland he was never offered any money. The other Chaplain was a worthy man, but not so well provided with subsistence in England, and not doubting but he should have a handsome stipend for his attendance, he ran so far in debt that he was so unhappy as to die under confinement by a broken heart, *never being able to get one shilling of the Prince*. But the night before Dr. Hooper was to embark, when he left Holland, Mr. Bentinck, afterwards Lord Portland, sent a servant to him with a bag in which the servant told him there was £70 and an excuse for its being sent no sooner. This was all Dr. Hooper had for a year and a half's attendance; a specimen of Dutch generosity, of which I could give more instances.'

"The Doctor found that some books had been put into the Princess's hands (who was a great reader) to incline her to a more favourable opinion of the Dissenters, than was consistent with that regard which a person so near the throne ought to have for the preservation of the Church of England; which made him take all opportunities to recommend her to such books as would give her the clearest notions of Church Communion and Government, and the great obligations to submit to them. The Prince coming one day into her apartment, happened to find Eusebius's Church History, and Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity lying before her Highness, and she reading in one of them, when he, with great commotion and eagerness, said, What, I suppose Dr. Hooper persuades you to read these books.*

"From the same source which furnishes these anecdotes we are able to give one or two further characteristics of the Stadtholder, simply as bearing on the difficulties Ken afterwards met with, when he acted in the same capacity. 'Dr. Hooper, when he came into Holland, found the Princess without any regular Chapel for Divine Service, and the house so small as to afford no room to make one, except the dining room in which she dined, for the Prince and Princess never eat together, as the States and their officers often were admitted to his table; but not fit guests for her's. This room she readily parted with for that use (and ever after, at least as long as Dr. H. staid there, dined in a small dark parlour) and ordered Dr. H. to see the room fitted up in a proper manner for her Chapel, and when it was near finished Her Highness bid Dr. H. attend on such a day, when the Prince intended to come and see what was done. Accordingly the Prince came, and as there was a step or two at the Communion Table, and another for the chair where the Princess was to sit, he kicked at them with his foot, asking what they were for, which being told in a proper manner, he answered with a *hum*. When the Chapel was fit for use, the Prince never came to it, but on Sunday evenings, the Princess constantly attending twice a day, and for fear she should ever make Dr. Hooper, or the congregation, wait beyond the appointed time, she ordered him, when it was so, to come to her apartment, and show himself only, as she would immediately come.†

"The Prince afterwards learned to behave himself more reverently before the altar, when he possessed himself of the Palace at Whitehall. It might be no reproach to him, as a Presbyterian, that he should take umbrage at the Princess studying Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, but it was no mark of his tolerant spirit to treat with disrespect and contempt

* PROUSE MS. *Life of Hooper*.

† PROUSE MS.

the circumstantialia of the Church into which she was baptized. It is creditable to his judgment and his heart that, when he had better opportunities to inform himself of the real principles and ritual of the Church of England, he cordially adopted them. Would that all who have the same opportunities were equally teachable. But to proceed with Hooper's memoirs.

“One day the Prince was talking with Dr. Hooper about the great distractions then in England at the time of the Popish plot, and the great indulgence intended to be shown to Dissenters. But the Doctor not expressing himself so favourable to those measures as he liked or expected, the Prince said to him ‘Well, Dr. Hooper, you will never be a Bishop.’ For although the Doctor acted with great prudence and decorum in the difficult station he was in, so as to give the Prince no just occasion of offence, yet he would never yield by undue compliance where the Church of England, or any thing belonging to it, was concerned, which made the Prince once say to one that was in his confidence, ‘if ever he had any thing to do with England Dr. Hooper should be Dr. Hooper still.’ He little thought that the Chaplain would survive him many years and be consecrated a Bishop.”—pp. 100-103.

The behaviour of Mary is here set before us in a very pleasing light, and we cannot but wish that all the royal consorts who have sat on the throne of England, since her time, had exhibited the same edifying example of respect for the worship and ministers of God. But in this particular we have long paid the penalty of rebelling against our lawful sovereigns, and transferring the temporal Headship of the Church to Princes who were aliens from our Communion. We are fain to contrast this record of the grand-daughter of our martyred Charles, with the practice of a German Princess, the Queen of George II., whose Chaplains were ordered to say the Morning Prayer in the anteroom of the Palace, while her majesty was at her toilette in her adjoining chamber, receiving from her attendants, amidst frequent laughter, the scandalous gossip of the day. Mary, with all her faults, was at least incapable of requiring the ministers of the Most High to “whisper the Word of God through the keyhole,” as a Clergyman, who remonstrated on the subject, expressed it to Queen Caroline. The irreverent rudeness of William, whose subsequent conformity to the Anglican Communion was probably an act of policy rather than conviction, shews his overbearing disregard of all feelings but his own, and reminds us of the anecdote which the Duchess of Marlborough has preserved, with more truth than good nature, concerning his domestic manners.

“There happened to be a plate of peas, the first that had been seen that year. The King, without offering the Princess the least share of them, ate them every one up himself. Whether he offered any to the Queen I cannot say; but he might do that safely enough, for he knew

she durst not touch them. The Princess confessed, when she came home, she had so much mind to the peas that she was afraid to touch at them, and yet could hardly keep her eyes off them." "Account of the Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough;" p. 123.—Quoted in the notes to Wallace's *Continuation of Mackintosh*; ix, 147.

Our estimate of William's character has not been formed merely from the malicious chronicle of this venomous old woman. It is certain that Burnet, whether his own account or Lord Dartmouth's is most to be trusted as to the actual share which the Prince had in the business, was allowed or instructed to practise on the simplicity of Mary, in order to engage her to cede her own claims on the crown of England in favour of her husband. The poor Princess gently hinted that if she complied with one command, "*Wives, be obedient to your husbands in all things,*" she might hope that the Prince would practise the other, "*Husbands, love your wives.*" "By these words she alluded to his amour with Mrs. Villiers, afterwards Lady Orkney; but William, though he exacted from her the benefit of the promise, was careful to absolve himself from the obligation of complying with the condition."*

Such was the man in whose palace the noble and generous spirit of Ken was at this time exercised. We cannot wonder, if ere long, the connexion became irksome to both. Ken was even less disposed than Hooper to learn to square his own Catholic sentiments with the ultra Calvinistic views in which the Prince had been educated. It is more likely that he would point out how the gross errors and schisms of the time, the inconsistencies and wild doctrines of the sectaries, the latitude which they claimed for their own private judgments, and the intolerance which they shewed to their opponents, had reacted in behalf of Rome; and how all things were tending to that issue which Laud's memorable words upon the scaffold, when he told his murderers that the Dissenters and not the Ritualists were the pioneers of Popery, had predicted.

"And I pray God that this clamour of *VENIENT ROMANI*, of which I have given no cause, help not to bring them in. For the Pope never had such an harvest in England since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the sects and divisions that are amongst us."—*Archbishop Laud's Dying Speech*.†

But there was another subject on which it was still more difficult for Ken to do his duty to God without offending

* LINGARD; vol. xiii, p. 125.

† Cf. HEYLIN'S *Cyprianus Anglicus*; p. 532.

man. William's bad treatment of his affectionate and submissive wife was notorious enough.* Ken, attached to his royal Mistress, and always fearless in duty, resolved to remonstrate with her sullen husband, "though he should kick him out of doors."† That he discharged this delicate office with meekness and gentleness, but with uncourtier-like honesty, we may feel as certainly assured, as we are that the Prince would be mortally offended with any one who presumed to expose or reprimand his failings. His anger however was suppressed, till Ken, again coming forward as the apostle of honour and virtue, induced Count Zulestein, a relative and favorite of the Stadtholder, to abide by his engagement to marry the beautiful Jane Worth, a maid of honour at the Hague and niece to Lord Maynard, Ken's early friend and patron at Little Easton. This union took place during William's absence at Amsterdam, and he was so deeply displeased on his return, that he openly expressed his indignation, and threatened to dismiss the outspoken and pure-minded Chaplain, who would brave the power of a Prince to restore peace to a wounded spirit. He immediately sought permission to retire, but at William's express request, he "consented to continue for one year longer."

When he returned to London, the king rewarded his faithfulness by appointing him one of his own Chaplains, and the profligate monarch learned to esteem in him the virtue which he could not imitate. When he preached at Whitehall, Charles broke away from the licentious circle which surrounded him, saying "I must go and hear Ken tell me of my faults." But the most celebrated incident of his Court Chaplaincy, which connects itself as closely with the mention of his name as Sherwood Forest, with Robin Hood's, is the firmness with which, during one of the royal visits to Winchester, he objected to receive not the least abandoned of the King's many mistresses as his guest. "He absolutely refused her admittance, declaring that a woman of ill repute ought not to be endured in the house of a Clergyman, especially the King's Chaplain."

Thus, in the course of these four years, he was constrained, both in England and Holland, to bear testimony against impurity before the Princes whom he served. In both courts

* See CLARENDON CORRESPONDENCE, i, 165. and MACAULAY vol. ii, p. 172.

† Sydney's *Diary*, vol. ii, p. 19.

he was called upon to exert his authority as a Minister of Religion, in questions which are the most delicate subjects of pastoral interference, and on which the Laity in general, and especially those who move in the higher spheres, are peculiarly sensitive. Such interference was especially hazardous in an age when virtue and even decency were wholly out of fashion, when Evelyn had seen Charles and his brother publicly making love to the same woman;—when the refined and intellectual St. Evremond is delighted with the most gross and indelicate of Dryden's lines and quotes them in a letter to the Duchess of Mazarine;—when even the virtuous Clarendon professed that he would have seen his daughter the mistress rather than the bride of the Duke of York;—and when a party of titled courtiers—“*tons gens d'honneur*”—says the author of the *Memoires de Grammont*—are not ashamed to swear falsely against that Lady's fame, and were afterwards received and commended for their base and infamous libel by her husband, her father, and herself. Many a Priest in such an age, it must be confessed, would have connived at the licentiousness of a Court; and few would have dared to rebuke the criminal *liaisons* of a King. But on both occasions Ken had the fearless spirit to vindicate the holiness of his office; and, to the honour even of a profligate like Charles, it must be added, that far from being offended, as the Prince of Orange, with the Christian boldness of his Chaplain, he only shewed his remembrance of the uncompromising rectitude of his conduct, by enquiring, in his own characteristic way, when the Bishopric of Bath and Wells was in his gift, “Where is the good little man that refused his lodging to poor Nell?” But before we place Ken upon his cathedral throne, we may ask whether most of the Clergy in this land or in this age would imitate our conscientious Presbyter in bearing their intrepid witness that no conventional etiquette should preclude the Minister of God from reprimanding and repressing vice. And if the humble priest, who, often overlooked and lightly esteemed by vulgar wealth and vulgar pride, still bears the Apostolic Stewardship to bind and to loose—should deal with those high in station as Ken acted towards William and towards Charles, would his Diocesan always be prepared to take the responsibility of such an act upon himself? Be this as it may, we do trust that the Church is not so fallen, but that priests would be found among us, who, whenever the immorality is patent or notorious, would act with the same gentleness, but with the same firmness, towards a Gene-

ral or a Judge, aye and towards the highest in the land, in repelling him from Communion, in avoidance of his society, in protecting the lambs of the flock from his iniquity, as Ken when he obtained for Jane Worth the hand of Count Zulestein, or shut his doors against the infamous Nell Gwynne. And amidst our cold Erastianism, it is refreshing to look back upon these valiant actions. We are thankful that we live in times when a virtuous tone of feeling is encouraged at Government House, as well as at Windsor Castle; but since we also live in times when the State has assumed "authority in controversies of faith," and when Governors in Council have little scruple to impose upon the Clergy things contrary to Ecclesiastical order, we could wish in all the Prelates and Pastors of the day, whenever the hand of secular intrusion is raised against the doctrine or discipline of the Church, somewhat more of that holy independence, which, in rendering unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, regards not the powers of Princes in any of the things of God.

We shall speak but casually of the expedition to Tangier,* in which Ken, by the royal command, now entered upon a novel, and we may well suppose an unattractive occupation, as Chaplain to the fleet under Lord Dartmouth. Nothing but his strong sense of duty could have induced him to accept a labour so foreign to his habits and inclinations, and, as to promise of material success, so peculiarly uninviting. The naive and communicative Pepys, the Secretary to the Admiralty, who was one of his companions in this voyage, has several notices in his matter-of-fact record, of the worthlessness and immorality of the people at Tangier, "the Duke of Grafton, the king's son, being the top of all." We shall only avail ourselves of one extract from the honest courtier's Diary.

• "30th September. Sunday. To Church (in Tangier); a very fine and seasonable, but most unsuccessful, argument from Dr. Ken, particularly in reproof of the vices of this town. I was in pain for the Governor and the officers about us in Church; but I perceived they regarded it not."

* Tangier and Bombay were ceded by Portugal to the crown of England as part of the dowry of the Princess Catherine, the Queen of Charles the Second. That monarch, in order to retrench the enormous expenses which the maintenance of the place had entailed, and to have the troops who occupied it available for home service during his misunderstanding with his Parliament, dispatched Lord Dartmouth on a secret expedition to demolish the fortifications and to bring the garrison to England.

The Governor upon whom the worthy gentleman was prepared to expend so much unnecessary sympathy, was that truculent monster, Colonel Kirke.

When the fleet returned from Tangier in April 1684, the holy circle of friends at Winchester was lessened and lessening. Ken was to receive no welcome from the loved lips of his venerable kinsman.

"The devout Walton had fallen asleep; and he not by to receive his last words, and be the minister of Christian solace in his parting hour! Few men in so humble a sphere had lived a more useful life: the memory of few is more cherished. His writings are the mirror of a meek spirit, purified by a simple devotion to God. It is not too much to say that they have been our comfort under trials, and the companion of our holiday walks; they have made us love the pleasantness of the mountains,—they have decked the meadows with more than their native flowers, and have made the falls of the rivers more musical; for they lift the hearts of the afflicted to their only Comforter, and the thankful praises of the happy to the Divine Author of every blessing. Ken, amidst his regrets for such a loss, had the best comfort of mourners,—the conviction that he who had been to him all but a spiritual Father, had left this jangling word, the discord of 'bad men on earth' for an eternal rest and harmony."—pp. 135-36.

Within twelve months another friend was taken from him. "He was summoned to Farnham Castle to receive the parting benediction of the munificent, learned, and self-denying Bishop of Winchester." Dr. Morley had suffered under the Commonwealth for loyalty to his King—the words of his will are faithful witnesses of his affection for his Church. Among other bequests he leaves an annual stipend to the vicarages of Farnham and Horswell, and the two parish churches of Guilford, upon condition that the Clergy "do read the Common Prayer, not only on Sundays and holy days, Wednesdays and Fridays, but *every day in the week, morning and evening*, at some such hours, as most of devout and well-affected people may most conveniently resort unto it."

The death of his venerable superior was the immediate occasion of advancing Ken to the Episcopal dignity. Dr. Mews was translated from Bath and Wells to Winchester, and the King, with kingly generosity, insisted that the vacant Mitre should be conferred, not on the application of others, but as his own spontaneous appointment, upon that courageous minister who had put him to an open shame. Among those who assisted at Dr. Ken's consecration, which took place at Lambeth Palace on the Festival of St. Paul, 1685, was his old schoolfellow, Francis Turner, who was now a

Bishop, and had been translated from Rochester to Ely. But again the shadow of death fell across his path, taking from him one who, if not his friend, had appreciated his character, and shewn himself, in his high place, a protector and well-wisher. Within one short week after the consecration, "Archbishop Sancroft and the Bishops of London Durham and Ely—but more especially Dr. Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells"*—were gathered round the dying bed of Charles the Second. Ken, who was in greater favour than all the Bishops, "gave close attendance by the royal bed, *without any intermission at least for three whole days and nights*, watching for proper intervals to suggest pious and proper thoughts and ejaculations on so serious an occasion."

Burnet—whose principles in politics and theology were widely opposed to Ken's, who owed to intrigue and useful offices the preferment which the latter achieved by transcendent merit, and who must often have heard with chagrin of the high-minded Chaplain who had been his predecessor at the Hague,—appears to have adopted with even more than his usual precipitation and partiality, a hearsay account of the last moments of the King, upon which he grounds reflections injurious to Ken. This envious† historian says that he pronounced the absolution "when the King expressed no sorrow for his past life nor any purpose of amendment." It would be injustice to the truth to state the reply in any but our author's words:—

"Nothing can be more culpably erroneous than this last part of Burnet's statement. It is one of the many instances of the prejudices and unscrupulous boldness of this writer, who was a principal mover of the Revolution, and implacable towards the House of Stuart, of which Ken was so inflexible an adherent. Burnet was a powerful disputant in the controversies of his time: as an historian, so partial, that our admiration of his talents frequently yields to astonishment at his unfaithfulness. As a counsellor of William, he inflicted deep wounds on the Church of England, and lent his aid to abolish in Scotland the Apostolic rule. His account of the last moments of Charles is inconsistent with itself. He would have it appear that the king neither thought, nor spoke, nor cared about religion; yet in another place he admits that 'after such a confession to Huddleston, the Priest, as he could make (in his exhausted state) and receiving absolution, and the other Sacraments, he seemed to be at great ease upon it.' He was not

* Evelyn's *Diary*; vol., i, p. 580.

† "The Bishop could never spare his slander or depreciation of any person who came into collision or comparison with himself".—*Wallace's Continuation of Mackintosh*; vol., viii, p. 103.

present at the scene; and he might have given Bishop Ken credit for an exact judgment in pronouncing the peace of the Church, admitting, as he does, that he 'spoke like a man inspired.'*

"Surely we may believe, that in the long days and nights, during which this holy messenger had watched by the bedside of the dying king, while his exhortations were seconded by pain, and the fearful looking for of what was to come, he could best decide on the proper moment for pronouncing absolution. He was aided, too, by the judgment of the four other prelates who were present. Ken knew the ministerial authority committed to him. Our Church, in her Ordination Office, has solemnly invested her priests with the power of absolution. In her Order for the Visitation of the Sick, she has directed them, on confession of sin, to pronounce pardon 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' We could, therefore readily excuse the Bishop, if for the 'Lord's Anointed' he left a deep—nay, even were it an indulgent,—anxiety to convey to him the most joyful tidings that could be brought to the ears of a dying man. Great is the value of an immortal soul, over which the angels of heaven rejoice; and with all the awful apprehension we must ever entertain of the efficacy of a death-bed repentance, Ken would lose nothing in our esteem, if he yearned to pronounce the blessing, 'By His authority committed unto me I absolve thee.'

"But he requires no apology; Burnet's assertions that Charles died impenitent, and that Ken improperly gave him absolution, are simply unfounded. We have the clearest evidence of those who were present that the king repeatedly confessed his sins, and gave token of contrition.

"1st. We have seen from Hawkins's account (the best of testimony, because he must have received it from Ken himself) that 'the Bishop urged the necessity of a full, and prevailed as is hoped, for a sincere repentance.'†

"2nd. The Duke of York, the King's brother, tells us that 'the Bishop of Bath, and another Bishop, read the Visitation of the Sick, when the King was despaired of. The King saying that he repented of his sins, the Bishop read Absolution to him.'‡

"3rd. We have a detailed statement of the whole scene from the Chaplain of the Bishop of Ely, who was in the room. Though certainly not free from the adulation which then so deeply infected all within the influence of the Court, it may be taken as some cumulation of proof. Among other things he says 'twas a great piece of Providence that this fatal blow was not so sudden as it would have been, if he had died on Monday, when the fit first took him. By these few days' respite he had the opportunity (which accordingly he did embrace) of thinking of another world. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, watching on Wednesday night (as my Lord had done the night before) there appearing then some danger, began to discourse with him as a Divine; and therefore he did continue the speaker for the rest to the last, the other Bishops giving their assistance both by prayers and otherwise, as they saw occasion, with very good ejaculations and short speeches,

* "He spoke with great elevation both of thought and expression like a man inspired, as those who were present told me."—*Burnet's History of his own Times*.

† Hawkins's *Life of Ken*; page 11.

‡ Macpherson's *Original Papers*; vol. i, p. 142.

ill his speech quite left him ; and afterwards by lifting up his hand, expressing his attention to the prayers.*

"4th. The last and most conclusive testimony of the king's penitence is Huddleston's '*Brief Account*.' 'I was called,' he says, 'into the king's bed chamber, where approaching to the bedside and kneeling down, I in brief presented His Majesty with what service I could perform for God's honour, and the happiness of his soul at this last moment on which eternity depends. The King then declared himself: that he desired to die in the Faith and Communion of the Holy Roman Catholic Church; that he was most heartily sorry for all the sins of his life past, and particularly that he had deferred his reconciliation so long; and through the merits of Christ's Passion he hoped for Salvation: that he was in Charity with all the world; that with all his heart he pardoned his enemies, and desired pardon of all those whom he had any wise offended, and that if it pleased God to spare him longer life, he would amend it, detesting all sin. I then advertised His Majesty of the benefit and necessity of the Sacrament of Penance, which advertisement the king most willingly embracing, made an exact confession of his whole life with exceeding compunction and tenderness of heart; which ended, I desired him in further sign of repentance and true sorrow for his sins to say with me this little short act of contrition O my Lord God, with my whole heart and soul I detest all the sins of my life past, for the love of Thee, whom I love above all things, and I firmly purpose by Thy Holy Grace never to offend Thee more; Amen, sweet Jesus, Amen. Into thy hands, sweet Jesus, I commend my soul; mercy, sweet Jesus, mercy.'

"This he pronounced with a clear and audible voice; which done, and his sacramental penance admitted, I gave him absolution. After receiving the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist and Extreme Unction, he repeated the Act of Contrition, raising himself up, and saying let me meet my Heavenly Lord in a better posture than in my bed, &c. and so he received his Viaticum with all the symptoms of devotion imaginable.†

"So much for Burnet's first charge; but he goes on to say that 'Ken was also censured for another piece of indecency: he presented the Duke of Richmond, Lady Portsmouth's son, to be blessed by the King. Upon this, some that were in the room cried out, the King was their common father. And upon that all kneeled down for his blessing, which he gave them.' Again, 'the King recommended Lady Portsmouth over and over again to the Duke: he said he had always loved her, and he loved her now to the last; and besought the Duke in as melting words as he could fetch out, to be very kind to her and her son. He recommended his other children to him; and concluded 'let not poor Nelly starve,' that was Mrs. Gwyn. But he said nothing of the Queen, nor any one word of his people, or his servants.' And in another part, speaking of the king's insensibility to 'the weighty observations made to him by Archbishop Sancroft and Ken,' he says, 'of this too visible an instance appeared, since Lady Portsmouth sat on the bed, taking care of him as a wife of a husband.'

* Ellis's *Original Letters*; 1st series, vol. iii, p. 335.

† "Brief Account of Particulars occurring at the happy death of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second, in regard to Religion; faithfully related by his then assistant John Huddleston: 4to; 1685."

"All the parts of this narrative as far as they relate to the Queen, and Bishop Ken, and Lady Portsmouth, are the very reverse of the truth.

"1st. Hawkins declares that the 'Duchess of Portsmouth coming into the room, whilst the Bishop was suggesting pious and proper thoughts and ejaculations on so serious an occasion, *Ken prevailed with his Majesty to have her removed*, and took that occasion of representing the injury and injustice done to the Queen so effectually, that His Majesty was induced to send for the Queen, and asking pardon had the satisfaction of her forgiveness before he died.*

"2nd. The Bishop of Ely's Chaplain says—'The first thing the King did, on coming out of his fit, was to ask for the Queen; she had been present with him as long as her extraordinary passion would give her leave; but this at length threw her into fits, and she then being compelled to retire, when the king asked for her, she was obliged to send a message to him to excuse her absence, and to beg his pardon, if ever she had offended him in all her life. He replied *Alas! poor woman, she beg my pardon! I beg hers with all my heart.*'†

"3rd. Barillon, the French Ambassador, who was present, wrote a full account immediately to Louis XIV. He describes the Duchess of Portsmouth's anxiety to have a Catholic Priest sent for, that Charles might be reconciled to the Roman Church. '*Monsieur Ambassador,*' she said to him, '*I am going to tell you the greatest secret in the world, and my head would be in danger if it was known. The king of England at the bottom of his heart is a Catholic; but he is surrounded with Protestant Bishops, and nobody tells him his condition, nor speaks to him of God. I cannot with decency enter the room; besides that the Queen is almost constantly there: the Duke of York thinks of his own affairs, and has too many of them to take the care he ought of the king's conscience. Go and tell him that I have conjured you to warn him to think of what can be done to save the King's soul. He commands the room, and can turn out whom he will; lose no time, for if it is deferred ever so little, it will be too late.*'

"4th. The Duke of York, in his Notes of the King's death, says he spoke most tenderly of the Queen in his last moments. And the Earl of Ailsbury, another personal witness of the scene, writing to Mr. Leigh of Adlestrop, indignantly denies the assertion of Burnet: he calls him '*a notorious liar from beginning to end. My good King and master falling upon me in his fit, I ordered him to be blooded, and then went to fetch the Duke of York, and when we came to the bed-side we found the Queen there, and the impostor says it was the Duchess of Portsmouth.*'

"As to Ken's presenting the Duke of Richmond to be blessed,—it would have been no great '*indecentcy*,' as Burnet calls it, if he had asked the parental blessing on a son (then only thirteen years of age) whose unhappy birth was no fault or crime of his. But it was not the fact; there was no occasion for his doing so. Dr. Turner's Chaplain informs us that the King '*recommended to the care of the Duke of York all his children by name, except the Duke of Monmouth, whom he was not heard so much as to make mention of. He blessed all his children one by one, pulling them on the bed, and then the Bishops moved him, as he was the Lord's anointed, and the father*

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*; p. 11.

† Ellis's *Original Letters*; 1st series, vol. iii, p. 337.

of his country, to bless them also, and all that were there present, and in them the whole body of his subjects. Whereupon the room being full, all fell down upon their knees, and he raised himself in his bed, and very solemnly blessed them all. This was so like a great good Prince, and the solemnity of it so very surprising, as was extremely moving and caused a general lamentation throughout; and no one hears it without being much affected with it, being new and great.*

We cannot concur in this panegyric on Charles as 'a great good Prince,' any more than we admit the justice of Burnet's opprobrious comparison of him to the 'monster Tiberius.' It is certain his death occasioned a general sorrow; he was an indulgent father, a kind master; his courteous and easy manners endeared him to the people, who are not usually the most accurate observers of character. In the many vicissitudes of his fortune he lost the opportunities of showing himself a great man; his vices prevailed to render him an inglorious king."—pp. 153-161.

Dr. Ken now devoted himself to his episcopal duties, from which he was occasionally called away;—to assist at the Coronation of James II., and to preach at Whitehall his celebrated Lent Sermon on the character of Daniel, whose nature "*greatly beloved*" was so kindred to his own, and whose trials he was soon to realize. About the same time his admirable work—the more admirable for being written in years of general strife and agitation—"The Practice of Divine Love"† appeared.

We cannot afford to linger long over the charming picture of such a Bishop in his Diocese. We must refer to the original pages those who would know more of his prayers, his sermons, his poems, his charities, his austerities;—of the Clergy whom he found divided and impatient of control, but who learned to look up to him as a guide, as a father, as a friend;—of the poor who loved him for his affability and instruction even more than for his munificence;—of the schools, which he opened throughout his Diocese;—of the libraries which he began to establish chiefly from his own store of books;—of the twelve aged paupers who dined at his table as often as the first day of the week came round. We need not take pains to prove that he was not one of those who, as Sidney Smith somewhere says in reference to the dignitaries of this generation, require from their Clergy an absolute down-dropping-ness of acquiescence and respect—that he was not one of those who exact the uttermost farthing of the popular and ultra-protestant sense of some of the articles of the Church Code, while they themselves openly infringe

Ellis's *Original Letters*: 1st series, vol. iii, p. 338.

† *An Exposition of the Church Catechism, or the Practice of Divine Love.*

other requirements of more certain obligation, by sitting on Fridays at the banquets of the great, and indulging at full boards throughout the Christian Fasts of the Lenten season. According to Hawkins, the remainder of his income which was not drained by generosity to his poor relations, was "dispensed to necessitous strangers with so open a bounty, that he became a common father to all the sons and daughters of affliction."

Nor did his humanity display itself only in pecuniary relief. After the battle of Sedgemoor, when the deluded countrymen who had followed Monmouth's standard were exposed to the most terrible retributions from the ferocities of Kirke and the bloody assizes of the atrocious Jeffries, Ken was the first to relieve and interpose. If we may not appropriate to him the story, (which is variously related, sometimes as applying to Dr. Ken, by others attributed to Dr. Mews,*) of the Bishop who expostulated so warmly against the wholesale executions which Lord Feversham was perpetrating on the unhappy fugitives;—"My Lord, this is murder in law. These poor wretches, now the battle is over, must be tried before they can be put to death;"—yet it is certain that he devoted himself to supply and alleviate the wants of the hundreds of miserable captives who were imprisoned in the Jail at Wells. He wrote to their king in their behalf, and ten years afterwards he was forced to appeal to his charitable ministrations among these prisoners, in order to justify before the Privy Council a similar work of mercy, his benevolent efforts for another class of sufferers, the Non-juring Clergy. "My Lord," he says, "in King James's time there were about a thousand or more imprisoned in my Diocese, who were engaged in the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, and many of them were such which I had reason to believe to be ill men and void of all religion; and yet for all that I thought it my duty to relieve them. I visited them night and day, and I thank God I supplied them with necessaries myself as far as I could, and encouraged others to do the same."—p. 206. There was one illustrious prisoner, the unfortunate Monmouth himself, to whom by the King's command he was deputed as a melancholy attendant on his last moments in company with Drs. Turner, Hooper, and Tenison. The

* Sir J. Mackintosh ascribes this humane interference to Dr. Ken; but Mr. Macaulay, with whom our author is inclined to concur, regards it as the act of Dr. Mews, the previous Bishop of Bath and Wells.

conduct of these four Divines appears to have been misrepresented; for their behaviour to the Prisoner has been made to wear the semblance of harshness and unseasonable pertinacity in urging him to a dying acknowledgment of his guilt. Monmouth, upon whom we have little sympathy to expend, whose handsome face and reckless profligacy appear to have constituted his chief recommendations to popular esteem, and whose unnatural ambition was redeemed neither by bravery in the field nor by fortitude before his conqueror, seems to have mounted the scaffold in an utterly hard and impenitent spirit, "conscious neither of the guilt of rebellion, nor of the misery with which his selfish schemes had clouded a thousand homes, nor of the criminality with which, in defiance of the laws of God, he had deserted his wife and connected himself with Lady Henrietta Wentworth. We dare not blame the ministers who attended him, if they pleaded with urgency and vehemence that the soul about to rush into the presence of its Maker, should not pass to its account justifying adultery and murder, and defying the purity of God. And the perseverance of these spiritual guides overcame at length the obduracy which resisted their first persuasions. They at length prevailed with Monmouth to confess his sorrow and repentance, and who shall take upon him to aver that there may not have been an eleventh hour of a sinner's salvation and of special mercy even beneath the axe of the executioner? At any rate we know enough of Bishop Ken to rest infallibly assured that he was not one against whom the want of Christian tenderness on this occasion could with any probability be alleged.

We now come to another episode in the Bishop's life, which, with all our abundant admiration of his character, we cannot dismiss with the same full measure of approbation which his biographer accords.

From the days of Edward the Confessor, the Kings of England exercised the miraculous prerogative, which they were supposed to inherit, of healing by the royal touch a variety of strumous or scrofulous diseases. A similar inheritance was believed to attach to the crown of France. In our Island the formal parade of this attribute of Royalty was enacted even in the eighteenth century. It was thought by many that only lineal descent* could convey this sanative power

* "*Reges Angliæ rite inaugurati*" is the limitation expressed in the title of a learned Treatise on the subject, by William Tooker, afterwards Dean of Lichfield.

to the occupant of the throne ; and there is no doubt that Charles Edward, as the lawful successor in the line of the Stuarts, touched for the evil at Holyrood House. But the want of a full hereditary title does not appear to have been an admitted disqualification ; for there is a deposition on record given by an old man at Oxford who was enabled to fix the date of some point in law by recollecting that the occurrence happened when he was taken before Queen Anne to be touched for the evil. The Judge enquired whether the cure was effectual, to which the deponent replied that he believed he never had any evil to be cured, but his parents, who were very poor, were desirous to obtain the bit of gold which the Sovereign was accustomed to bestow upon those who sought this species of relief—an interesting accompaniment which must doubtless have rendered the ceremony highly acceptable to His or Her Majesty's subjects curable or incurable ;—and, in fact, in Charles the Second's reign, no less than ninety-two thousand persons were decorated with the “angel piece of gold strung upon a white silk ribbon,”* the most wonderful property of which was this, that when it was lost, the disease returned, and a repetition of the remedy, including another piece of precious metal, was required to remove the malady. No wonder that, under these circumstances, the royal touch acquired as high a popularity among the poor, as in our own time Mr. St. John Long's manipulations achieved among the higher classes. And considering that, in the latter case, the process of the gold piece passing between leech and patient was reversed, the history of credulity would not perhaps be altogether in favour of the 19th century. The curious reader who requires more accurate information upon the particular maladies which were amenable to, and the ceremonial which accompanied, the royal touch, may consult the *Charisma Basilicon* or *Adenochoiradelogia*, by John Browne, one of Her Majesty's Chirurgeons in Ordinary ; 8vo. 1684 ;—or the still more venerable pages of Polydore Virgil and Matthew of Paris.

This popular performance James the Second, who was now desirous of strengthening his interest in the Parliament, having already entered upon his infatuated and perfidious resolution to uphold the Popish Faith, put in practice during the Royal Progress which he undertook in the summer of

* Evelyn's *Diary*.

1687 through the West of England. His progress was intended to conciliate the affections of the people,* and to induce them to elect representatives who would maintain the King's dispensing power in the impending discussions in the new House of Commons. Especially in Ken's Diocese, where the cruelties of Kirke and Jeffries were fresh in men's remembrance, nothing was to be omitted which could connect royalty with more gratifying associations. Accordingly the simultaneous promotion of Popularity and popery was arranged in the following manner:—

"James, in his progress to the West, reached Bath towards the end of August: notice was given that he would touch for the evil in the Abbey after Morning Prayer. He found no lack of candidates for the privilege of the royal gift. That all who approached might receive their cure through faith in the Blessed Virgin's intercession, a new form of Prayers for the healing, which had been previously published by authority, was here used. The Bishop was at Wells: hearing of what was going forward, he was in doubt what course he ought to take. He found himself unexpectedly placed in a novel situation. The act of the King in touching for the Evil,—the use of a Popish office of prayer, and the great noise and confusion of a concourse of people, violated the sanctity of the Church. Yet it was quite beyond his power to stop the proceeding,—the very attempt would have created an uproar: he chose therefore to yield to the necessity of the moment, rather than hazard a greater confusion in so sacred a place.

"But for fear the use of a Roman ritual in the Abbey should be misunderstood, or the opening of the Church doors for any other offices than those of the Church of England be drawn into precedent, he preached a sermon the following Sunday to explain that the object of the service being one of charity, might qualify the otherwise unseemly act."—pp. 252-53,

If St. Ambrose had adopted the pacific considerations which weighed with Bishop Ken, would not his name have come down to posterity somewhat shorn of the glory which now shines forth upon it from his courageous exclusion of the Emperor Theodosius from the House of God? And if the Bishop of Bath and Wells had resolved to protect his Church, at all hazards, from the pollutions of hypocrisy and superstition, is it not possible that James might have been deterred from prosecuting those ulterior plans in behalf of the Roman Church which precipitated the Revolution? Such a result is not probable, we allow; but we believe that the line of duty, in this case, admits of no question. A Cyprian or a Basil would not have yielded his Church, even

* "Se roi croit," writes Barrillon, 20 Sept. "que son voyage lui a servi à ramener les esprits, et que les peuples en été detrompés de beaucoup de faussetés.

at a King's command, for the services of idolaters. That Ken himself seems to have doubted the abstract propriety of his passive acquiescence in this desecration, appears from the apologetic letter which he addressed to his Metropolitan :—

“I had not time to remonstrate, and if I had done it, it would have had no effect, but only to provoke : besides, I found it had been done in other churches before, and I know no place but the church which was capable to receive so great a multitude as came for cure ; upon consideration I was wholly passive.”*

But if we have ventured, though with hesitation and reluctance, knowing how fully the simple rectitude and holy boldness of the Bishop were established in other ordeals, to suggest that a firmer attitude upon this occasion would have been more in harmony with his character, we shall not find him wanting, as we proceed, in witnessing for the truth before Princes with a Martyr's resolution, and an almost Apostolic dignity.

The events which occupy the latter half of the volume have been so fully treated by our best writers, Hallam, Mackintosh, Macaulay, that after hastily looking back upon the volcanic years which commenced with Ken's Episcopate, we shall dwell but briefly upon the great historical questions in which he now acts a leading part. James with equal perfidy and blindness had resolved *per fas et nefas* to re-establish Romanism. His first open aggression against the Anglican Church, whose rights and privileges he had solemnly sworn, at the time of his accession, to maintain, was the exercise of his dispensing power—the power, that is, of exempting individuals from the operation of the penal statutes of the realm, for the purpose of nullifying the law which prohibited Roman Catholics from holding ecclesiastical preferment. The refractory Judges who declared his pretensions illegal were dismissed, and as soon as more compliant successors had given judicial sanction to these claims, several perverts to Rome, Obadiah Walker, Master of University College, Boyce, Dean, and Bernard, Fellows of their Colleges, Selater, Curate of Putney and Eshare, were allowed to retain their emoluments. To the still greater outrage of law and principle, Massey, a Roman Catholic, was immediately appointed Dean of Christchurch, and the vacant Bishoprics were assigned only to those who seemed to lean to the same errors. Soon after, as Head of the Church, the King issued an injunction charging the Clergy to abstain

* Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury ; August 26th, 1687. p. 254.

from preaching against Popery. The great majority of the Clergy, holding no such absolute interpretation of the Royal Supremacy as we have seen contended for in our time, resisted this spiritual assumption. Sherlock, the Master of the Temple, was one of the most unsubmissive. His pension was stopped and he was severely reprimanded.* Sharp, the Rector of St. Giles, and Dean, not "of Canterbury," at this date, as stated in the volume, but of Norwich, offended still more deeply. The Bishop of London, Dr. Compton, was directed to suspend him. That Prelate humbly remonstrated, and contented himself with privately requesting Sharp to refrain from preaching. The royal indignation was transferred from the Preacher to the Diocesan, and Dr. Compton was suspended from his episcopal functions by a Court of High Commission, created for the purpose, the object and spirit of which may be divined from the facts that Archbishop Sancroft excused himself from attending it, and that the miscreant Jeffries was the presiding Judge. At the same moment Evelyn's religious principles were shocked by the public celebration of mass in the Royal Chapel. "I went to hear the music of the Italians in the New Chapel now first opened publicly at Whitehall for the Popish service. Here we saw the Roman Catholic Bishop in his mitre and rich copes, with six or seven Jesuits and others in rich copes, sumptuously habited, often taking off and putting on the Bishop's mitre, who sate in a chaire with armes pontifically, was adored and censured by three Jesuits in their copes; then he went to the altar, and made divers cringes, then censuring the images, and glorious tabernacle placed on the Altar, and now and then changing place: the crozier, which was of silver, was put into his hand, with a world of mysterious ceremony, the music playing, with singing. I could not have believed I should ever have seen such things in the King of England's Palace, after it had pleased God to enlighten this nation; but our great sin has, for the present, eclips'd the blessing which I hope He will in mercy and His good time restore to its purity."†

Then followed the arbitrary invasion of the privileges of Magdalene, in order to obtain the Presidentship of that rich foundation for a creature of the Court. Farmer, the infamous nominee of the King, having been respectfully rejected, the Fellows elected as their President the virtuous and distin-

* Macaulay, vol. ii. p. 9.

† Evelyn's *Diary*, 29th December, 1686.

guished Hough. In vain James tried by every method, by the carbines of his troopers, by the sophistries of Penn, and the intimidations of Jeffries, to induce the College to cancel the election and accept Parker, the Bishop of Oxford, as their Head. The Magdalene men were steadfast, and the baffled Despot appointed a Special Commission who expelled all the Fellows but two with many of the Demies; and Magdalene College was turned into a Popish Seminary.

Next came the Declaration of Indulgence, an illegal measure, by which the King, giving a general instead of a particular scope to the dispensing power which he had already exercised, assumed the right of suspending by his mere authority the Acts of Parliament which had been passed against Popish and Protestant Dissenters. This was the bond of alliance between the Papal party and the sectaries, when, to use the language of Dryden's celebrated extravaganza, "the Socinian Fox, the Presbyterian Wolf, the Independent Bear, the Anabaptist Boar," were invited to make common cause with Rome, the milk-white Hind, under the auspices of the Lion, the Ruler of the Realm, against the Anglican Church, the Panther.

A similar experiment of despotic interference with the Acts of the Legislature had been attempted by Charles the Second in 1672; but on the remonstrance of both Houses of Parliament "Charles had ordered the obnoxious instrument to be cancelled in his presence, had torn off the seal with his own hand, and had, both by message under his sign manual, and with his own lips from his throne in full Parliament, distinctly promised the two Houses that the step which had given so much offence should never be drawn into a precedent."*

Of the spirit and expectation with which this Indulgence to Dissenters was granted we may form an accurate idea from the language of the great satirist whom we have already named.

"Of the receiving this toleration thankfully," says Dryden, "I shall say no more, than that they ought, and I doubt not they will consider from what hands they received it. It is not from a Cyrus, a heathen Prince, and a foreigner, but from a Christian King, their native sovereign, who expects *a return in specie* from them, that *the kindness which he has graciously shewn to them may be retaliated on*

* Macaulay ; ii, pp. 210-11.

those of his own persuasion."* The anticipations of the renegade Poet were not altogether disappointed.

"The Dissenters received the Declaration as a princely act of clemency: fulsome addresses poured in from all denominations; no language could be too strong to express their admiration of the most enlightened and generous of Kings, who had removed all restraint from the consciences of his people.† Their triumph was exuberant; and not the less because they thought this act of toleration struck at the ascendancy of the Church. James seemed to enjoy a momentary success in fomenting the spirit of jealousy between them. He hoped to make their disunion a stepping stone to the establishment of his own creed. The Dissenters were ready to fall into the snare, forgetting that, if Popery were once set up on the ruins of the Church of England, they themselves would afterwards be an easy prey. But the artifice did not long escape detection. They soon perceived that this sudden toleration was but a pretence. They called to mind the long periods of their slights and disabilities at the instigation of James, and how he had always testified his repugnance to their principles. To them he had constantly ascribed his father's death. They remembered also how marked a preference he had always shewn to the members of the Church, praising them as good and loyal subjects faithfully attached to the Monarchy. They could not but reflect that a Roman Catholic Prince must needs labour to extirpate the tenets which he pronounced to be heretical; and that they would be the first to feel the consequences of his success. The Church party likewise clearly saw that the King, disappointed of their expected support, wished to undermine their influence by pretending a liberality wholly foreign to his nature. These convictions seemed likely to soften the jealousies of both, and might have led to more charitable sentiments towards each other. But events crowded on so fast, they had scarcely time to do more than indicate a disposition to mutual forbearance, and a united resistance to the establishment of Romanism. The whole brunt of the contest fell upon the Church, and nobly did she sustain it.

"The King, when it was too late, perceived that he had over-acted his part; he says‡ 'he had much heightened the general disaffection by the great countenance he shewed to many noted Presbyterians, who were in outward show grateful for their present ease; and as it is natural for a Prince to be pleas'd with those who are pleas'd with him, so they were well looked upon at Court, and their counsel made use of in the management of several private affairs, as the regulating corporations, and the like; but this was the sequel of that train, which his treacherous counsellors had traced out for him, to set those against him, who might otherwise have been his friends, and to court those who, they were sure, never would.'"—pp. 240-41.

Such is the history of the first Declaration of Indulgence, which the Commons refused to confirm, and which consequently obliged the King to dissolve the House and to convene

* Dryden's *Preface to the Hind and Panther*.

† One address phrased it that His Majesty "has restored God to his empire over conscience."—Dryden's *Preface to the Hind and Panther*.

‡ "Memoirs writ of his own hand."—*Clarke*; vol. 2, p. 165.

a new Parliament; all the influence of the Crown being exerted to influence the elections, and among other expedients, the Royal Progress in the Diocese of Bath and Wells to which we have already adverted. During all this gathering of the storm, the Bishop of that see had not been careless to preserve that good thing committed unto him, the sacred truth of which he was the highest depository in his Diocese, from the corruptions to which it was exposed. In February 1687, he addressed a Pastoral Letter to his Clergy, in which he alludes to the national sins and public judgments, exhorts them to greater zeal "in private and public prayers morning and evening in their families and in Church, to penitent humiliation of soul and body," in fasting, almsgiving and fervent supplication—and beseeches them to "teach publicly and from house to house, and to warn every one to continue stedfast in that "faith once delivered to the Saints" in which they were baptized; and "to keep the Word of God's patience, that God may keep them in the hour of temptation." He concludes with a prayer "that the God of all grace may establish, strengthen, settle them in the true Catholick and Apostolick Faith professed in the Church of England." In the following month he came to London as one of the Lent Preachers at Whitehall; and notwithstanding the censures which the Court of High Commission, then sitting, perhaps within hearing of his words, had inflicted on Sharp and Compton, he delivered a sermon, which, Evelyn says, vol. ii, p. 639, "contributed not a little to the disadvantage of the Popish interest." So great were the crowds who flocked to hear "the wonderful eloquence" of this great preacher, that the Princess Anne herself was obliged to ask Dr. Turner to keep a place for her in his Chapel at Ely House that she might listen to him.

In May he preached a sermon in the Cathedral Church of Bath, on Ascension Day, which elicited a warm but unsuccessful attack from an anonymous writer "of the Company of Jesuits"—a pamphlet, which in spite of its demerits, was dedicated to the King and published "with allowance."

At length the eventful year 1688 arrived. The King had brought his army to Hounslow to overawe the city. From the Lord-Lieutenant of the county down to the officers of the custom-house, the *sine qua non* of retaining their appointments was to subserve the King's endeavours to obtain a Popish Parliament. Tyrconnel had deluged Ireland with noble Protestant Blood. The royal Prohibition against

controversial preaching was made yet more peremptory. At this time Ken was again called to occupy the Lent Pulpit at Whitehall, and on the 1st of April he preached a glorious sermon from Micah vii, 8, 9, 10, in which he applied the figure of the Reformed Church of Judah, her Babylonish Captivity, and the exultation of the Edomites at her distress, to the existing circumstances of the national Church, oppressed by Romanists and exulted over by Dissenters. We could gladly, if space allowed, transcribe the copious extracts which our author gives from this impassioned and spirited discourse—but we must be content to sum up its effects in other language than our own:—

“The Court rang with comments upon this memorable sermon: Ken had foretold, too truly, that he would be charged by ‘insidious men’ with personally reproaching the King. The deep and tender concern he expressed for the Reformation, and his fervid calls to holy dread and awe of the national sins, were so many emphatic reflections on the enemies of the public peace: they made ‘tragical relations’ to the royal ear of these ‘necessary though severe truths.’ It appears from Hawkins’s account that ‘although many of his sermons were framed against the Church of Rome, the King so far entertained hopes of absolute obedience to his will and pleasure, that it was thought worth while to attempt to gain him over to that party at Court. But so ineffectually; that upon the preaching of this sermon in the King’s own chapel at Whitehall (which seems wholly intended against both the Popish and Fanatic factions then united at Court) and it being misrepresented to the King, who had not been present at Divine Service, but sending for the Bishop, and closeting him on the occasion, received from him nothing but this fatherly reprimand, ‘*that if His Majesty had not neglected his own duty of being present, his enemies had missed this opportunity of accusing him.*’ Whereupon he was dismissed.”—
p. 273.

Twenty-seven days after the delivery of this sermon, the second Declaration of Indulgence, the proximate cause of the Revolution, was published by royal authority. But not content with monopolizing the functions of the Legislature, James determined to carry his measures by the agency of the Church. On the fourth of May an Order of Council was issued requiring the Bishops to have the Declaration of Indulgence published on two successive Sundays at the time of Divine Service by the officiating Ministers of all Churches and Chapels of the kingdom: The 20th and 27th of the month were the days on which the Proclamation was to be read in London and the suburbs. An organized resistance soon manifested itself among the Clergy of the Metropolis. The most eminent members of their body avowed their determination to refuse compliance with an injunction which

they esteemed injurious to the interests of Religion. On the 12th of May, Archbishop Sancroft held a conference at Lambeth with Bishops Compton, of London, Turner, of Ely, and White, of Peterborough. They resolved that they could not lawfully execute the instructions of the King—and letters were forthwith dispatched to ~~their~~ provincial Bishops entreating them to come up without delay and strengthen the hands of their Metropolitan. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, Lake, Bishop of Chichester, Sir John Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol, and Bishop Ken hastened to the capital. William Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, whose summons, in spite of all precautions, had been intercepted by a Postmaster, did not reach London in time;* for the Prelates whom we have already mentioned, almost as soon as they arrived, were obliged to assemble at Lambeth without delay. They speedily resolved to lay a petition before His Majesty, praying to be excused from reading the Declaration, inasmuch as the Sovereign was not constitutionally competent† to force upon them a violation of the Statutes in matters ecclesiastical. The paper was signed by

St. Asaph,	.. Lloyd.	Chichester,	.. Lake.
Ely,	.. Turner.	Bristol,	.. Trelawney.
Bath and Wells,	.. Ken.	Peterborough,	.. White.

Compton, who was suspended from his jurisdiction, did not sign; and the Archbishop, though he wrote the document with his own hand, being in disgrace at Court, was not with his brethren when they presented it to the King. At 10 at night on the 18th of May, only thirty-six hours before the time appointed for reading the Declaration, the six Bishops proceeded in a boat to Whitehall, and were soon ushered into the presence of the king “in the room within the bed-chamber.” They presented the petition on their knees. The king was greatly moved with the contents. “Here are strange words;” he said, “This is a standard of rebellion.” Lloyd and Trelawney, with the rest, passionately asserted the loyalty of their sentiments. “We have two duties to perform,” Ken reminded him, “our duty to God and our duty to your Majesty. We honour you but we fear God.” “Have I deserved this,” said the King, “who have been such a friend to your Church? I did not expect this from some of you. I will keep this paper; I will not part with it. I will

* Macaulay ; vol, ii, 346.

† Ibid. 347.

remember you that have signed it. My Declaration shall be published. Go to your Dioceses and see that I am obeyed." "God's will be done," answered Ken. "God hath given me this dispensing power," said the King, "and I will maintain it. I tell you there are still seven thousand of your Church who have not bowed the knee to Baal. If I think fit to alter my mind I will let you know."

The petitioners respectfully withdrew. The petition was printed during the night. How it got abroad is a mystery to this day. For there was but one copy, and this had been put into the King's hands. Sympathy with the Prelates was almost universal. The Declaration was read in only four of the Churches of the Metropolis. James, who saw in all this nothing but an insurrectionary movement which irritated rather than alarmed him, resolved to adopt the advice of Jeffries in preference to the more magnanimous policy proposed by Sunderland, and to carry matters with a high hand.

The Archbishop and his six Suffragans were accordingly summoned to appear on the 8th of June before the King in Council. The Chancellor and the King himself conducted the examination. It must have been a sight to make the angels weep to have seen Jeffries with his satyr's face and insolent manner sitting in judgment upon the venerable Primate and his heroic brethren. Sancroft acknowledged the handwriting of the Petition. They were then told that a criminal information would be established against them in the Court of King's Bench, and they were required to enter into recognizances. Against this they pleaded the privilege of peerage. And to this plea they resolutely adhered, upon which they were committed to the Tower.

It is well known with what intense enthusiasm the people, as they passed to their prison and their trial, hailed these venerable champions of the national religion, the very officers and soldiers who received them at the Tower Wharf falling upon their knees to beg a blessing, while the suffering Fathers exhorted them with one voice to fear God, honour the King, and maintain their loyalty. The Cornish Boors still recall the words of the ballad which was sung in the West of England, when the imprisonment of the Bishops was known in the provinces :—

"Trelawney he's in keep and hold,
Trelawney he may die,
But twenty thousand Cornish bold
Will see the reason why."—

The trial came on on the 29th of June, and we need not recapitulate the details. The verdict of acquittal was received with a perfect *furor* of delight. "There was a most wonderful shout," says the Earl of Clarendon, who was present, "that one would have thought the ball had cracked." James soon after in his camp at Hounslow was startled by the acclamations of the soldiers. He sent Lord Feversham to learn the cause. "It is nothing," was the reply, "but the soldiers rejoicing at the acquittal of the Bishops." "Call you that nothing?" said the King,— "but so much the worse for them."

The great events of the political drama now crowded on with almost scenic rapidity. Two days after the committal of the Bishops the Queen had been delivered of a son,— and the disappointment of the great party who rested their hopes on a Protestant succession, or had been secured to the interest of the House of Orange, was expressed in undisguised animosity. The most abominable fables and the most miserable cavils against evidence more unimpeachable than any other royal infant could have appealed to, were circulated to impugn the legitimacy of the Heir to the Throne. In the morbid, maddened state of the national judgment these improbable calumnies were eagerly listened to and believed. The Prince of Orange, who had been watching his opportunity with keen policy, now prepared to take advantage of the popular discontent. A large armament was assembled at the Hague. Even at this juncture James might have saved his crown, had he not indignantly rejected in a tone not unworthy of a British monarch, the proffered interposition of Louis XIV. "He was not a Cardinal Furstemberg," he said, "to seek protection under the wings of a foreign Prince."* But he was soon awakened to such a sense of his danger, that he hastened to repair the chief acts of his misrule. The Bishops who had so lately been the objects of persecution were invited to offer their advice, and Ken was in the number of those who immediately obeyed the summons.

They counselled him, in a paper which contained ten articles, to rescind those measures which had been adverse to the national religion, and to convoke a free Parliament, which would have deprived the Stadtholder of the ostensible motive for his impending expedition. Some points of the advice

* Lingard ; vol. xiii, p. 163.

were adopted. The Ecclesiastical Commission was annulled. the Bishop of London was relieved from his suspension. Dr. Hough and the Fellows of Magdalene were reinstated in their rights. But the writs for a new election were not issued.

William landed at Torbay on the 5th of November, and James in his answer to the Petition from the Peers declared that he would have a Parliament, such as they desired, "as soon as ever the Prince of Orange had quitted the realm—for that no Parliament could be free while an enemy was in the kingdom, who could make a return of near a hundred voices." The Invader was now in Devonshire, and the King, whose personal bravery is unquestionable, resolved to stake his crown upon the event of a battle. But treachery was in his Camp and in his Palace. Lord Cornbury, the grandson of the loyal Earl of Clarendon, was among the first to join the enemy. The Duke of Grafton followed. Colonels Trelawney and Barclay, and the contemptible Prince George of Denmark, adopted the same course. The upright Schomberg could not avoid exclaiming, when Lord Churchill imitated the baseness of the other deserters, that "he was the first man of the rank of Lieutenant-General who had been known to run away from his colours." At Whitehall there was a still more unnatural exhibition. The Princess Anne, who was completely governed by Lady Churchill, fled from the house of a most indulgent father to aid the invader of his throne. "God help me," cried the wretched parent, on the receipt of this intelligence,—“my very children have forsaken me.”

The King returned to London, conferred with the Lords, and professed his consent to the meeting of Parliament. The Queen and the Prince had already been sent to France, and James was unfortunately persuaded to seek the same asylum. But his attempted flight was unsuccessful. The vessel in which he was to sail was seized near Sheerness. He was brought back to Feversham, and detained, amid the rough insolence of the mob, till the news reached London, and the Lords despatched Lord Feversham to liberate him. The rebels in the meanwhile had advanced to Windsor. The flight of the King was the very result which William most desired, and his return to Whitehall amidst the cheers of his subjects, seemed to baffle the main object of that enterprize which was to set the crown of Britain upon the head of the Stadtholder. That unscrupulous and ambitious man omitted no means to shape events according to his wish. He used

the most unworthy artifices to practise on the personal fears of a Sovereign, whose father had fallen a victim to the crimes which follow in the train of rebellion. The Dutch guards were ordered to occupy his Palace. They were marched in the dead of night to their post, which the brave old Earl of Craven, the commanding officer, offered to defend till he was cut in pieces, before he would permit a King of England to be made prisoner by foreigners in his own Palace. But James forbade the unavailing sacrifice. At midnight he received a warrant from the Prince ordering him to leave the Palace. James was soon worked upon to believe that his life was in danger, and finally to forsake his kingdom, which he thus threw into the hands of the invaders. He embarked on Christmas Day, 1688, for France, where the generosity of Louis XIV. received him at St. Germain with all the sympathy due to his misfortunes.

The Revolution may now be said to have been virtually accomplished. The Prince, by the joint invitation of the House of Lords, and of an assembly unknown to the constitution, composed of former M. Ps., Aldermen, and Common-Council-Men, who represented the People for the nonce, issued his summons for the meeting of the Convention Parliament. In this Parliament, illegally summoned, and representing (even if the elections were conducted with due freedom) only two estates of the realm, the settlement of the nation was long and warmly debated. William, whose manifesto before his landing, and whose avowed sentiments afterwards, had positively disclaimed any intention of occupying the Throne, would now be content with nothing less than the actual sovereignty of the kingdom. He would not even be "gentleman usher" to his wife, if the sceptre should be put into her hands alone. After much discussion, the Whig resolution, an object of universal derision for its inconclusive statements, had been carried in the House of Commons. On the 28th of January it was resolved that the King "having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original compact between him and the people, and having by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the Government, and that the Throne was thereby vacant."

It was some time before the Lords could be persuaded to accept the absurdities contained in this vote of the Commons, in which it is so gravely asserted that bad counsels and mal-administration and withdrawal from the kingdom, taken to-

gether, make an act of abdication,—according to the same logic by which three grey pigeons make one grey horse. On the 31st of January the clause affirming that the Throne was vacant was thrown out by a majority of 11. Archbishop Sancroft, though he took no part in the debates, was in favour of a Regency, to be instituted on the ground that James was incapable of conducting the Government. Mr. Macaulay calls this plan nonsensical; but it certainly was less illogical, less unjust, less opposed to the theory of the constitution, than the Parliamentary resolution above quoted. A powerful section of the Lords adopted it. On the great question whether the Prince should be Regent or King, the latter was carried only by a majority of two. Ken supported the views of his Metropolitan and voted on all the questions. But “when, at length, the Peers concurred with the Commons in bestowing the crown upon William and Mary, he joined with the minority in a protest against the Resolution, and then altogether withdrew.”

But the Church, although William, at a very early day, had courted her good will by receiving the Sacrament from the Bishop of London and estranging himself from his old friends, the Calvinistic sects, was not so easily persuaded to acquiesce in a successful usurpation. The Primate, with eight of his Suffragans, including five of those seven whose courageous vindication of the Truth had contributed to the Revolution more than any event in James's reign, and had lately been acknowledged by an unanimous vote of thanks from Parliament, refused the new oath of allegiance. The Government allowed them a space of several months to reconsider their refusal; at the expiration of which they were first suspended and finally deprived of their sees. Of the principles which moved Ken to cast in his lot with the Non-jurors we have a clear explanation in the following extract :—

“He found himself in a strait between opposing difficulties. No doubt the late king had violated his coronation oath, that he would maintain unimpaired the Church of England,—to Ken the most sacred of all things upon earth. On the faith of that oath he, and all the clergy, had sworn allegiance to him. Had not James broken this mutual compact? Ken himself had joined in thanks to the Prince, as the instrument of their deliverance from Popery: the estates of the realm had declared the crown to be forfeited by the one, and their decree had already placed the other in possession. Could he set up his own sense of their respective rights, against the voice of the nation, making himself judge on the difficult points of casuistry involved in the claims of a king *de facto*, and a king *de jure*, with the other political questions that followed in their train? Again, the refusal of the new oath would involve

him in an unequal contest with the temporal power, separate him from his flock,—deprive him of all influence in preserving true doctrine throughout his extensive diocese. It would, perhaps, expose him to persecution and imprisonment, certainly reduce him to poverty—above all, lead to a schism in the Church. Here were his love of peace, the law of obedience, long-cherished friendships, his own personal safety and interests, and especially the cause of unity,—prompting him to submit. These, in their several degrees, had induced the majority of the Bishops and the great mass of the clergy to yield acquiescence.

One simple fact, however, to his mind, outweighed them all. If he should forfeit his oath of fidelity to James, by transferring an allegiance, which he conscientiously believed to be irrevocable, he would peril his own soul. His plighted faith was not his own to barter away at any price; the awful words ‘so help me God,’ sealed on the Holy Evangelists, were registered in Heaven, beyond the dispensing power of man. All, therefore, was as dust in the balance against the solemn sense of his duty, and of his account hereafter to be rendered. No interests could swerve him—no terrors shake him—no persuasions seduce him to do evil that good might come. There was a moral compulsion that bound him indissolubly. Archbishop Sancroft and seven other Bishops adopted the same views.”—pp. 348-49.

There are only three of the Non-juring Prelates of whom we have hitherto had no occasion to speak, Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, Cartwright, of Chester, and Thomas, of Worcester. The others were Sancroft, the Primate, Ken, of Bath and Wells, Turner, of Ely, Lake, of Chichester, White, of Peterborough (who had all been imprisoned for resisting the Declaration of Indulgence), and Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich (who would have joined his brethren on that occasion, if the summons had reached him in time to admit of his taking part in the proceedings at Lambeth).

Here then was a marvellous thing. The very men whose attachment to the Church had set in motion the stone which had ground the late Monarch’s strength to powder, refused to sanction the usurpation of his Throne. The undaunted conduct of the seven Bishops has been loudly praised. The streets of London blazed, and its walls shook with plaudits. The Parliament voted thanks, and writers of all creeds have panegyricized those who resisted James II. and Jeffries, and won the victory of religious truth and liberty in Westminster Hall. But the far greater heroism of the Non-jurors, instead of receiving the same eulogy, because it happens not to chime in with the prevailing popular sentiments, is even reviled as bigotry. Yet the good confession of 1687 beams with a tenfold lustre in the Non-jurors of 1689. This latter resolution stamps their conduct as the noblest instance of integrity and patriotism which the history of the world affords: for here is a proof, that as far as they contributed to that end, the tide of selfish

and ambitious passions was not the great impulse which dethroned James the Second,—but the strength of a holy principle which forced men without political designs, to be actors in spite of themselves in great political results. Those very men who opposed the assailant of their Church in all the power of his monarchy, were the only loyal and devoted hearts which clung to him in exile, and willingly endured the loss of all things rather than their fealty to the anointed of the Lord.

The Revolution of 1688 then must be viewed in a two-fold aspect,—as a political movement, and a vindication of ecclesiastical truth. In so far as it was a political achievement, the fruit of the machinations of such men as Halifax, Danby or Churchill, or even of Russell and Sydney, it was utterly despicable and inglorious. But in so far as it proceeded from the noble stand which the Fathers of the Church were forced to make against the unlawful intrusion of the secular authority, it holds a position which defies criticism and requires no apologist. The distinction between these two opposite elements which combined to give birth to our present constitution has never, to our knowledge, been accurately analyzed.

Great political changes have seldom been produced in England by any sudden outburst of popular feeling. The Puritan ascendancy which brought the royal martyr to the block had been gradually accumulating from the reign of Elizabeth. In like manner the sentiments which stirred up the rebellion in 1688 had been festering for years.

The ambition of the Stadtholder, the gold which France had poured into the traitorous hand of Sydney, the vindictiveness of the aristocratic families who yearned to revenge on the Stuart family the blood of Russell, these tended in their measure to the change of dynasty. But the real conception of this catastrophe in the bosom of the nation is to be referred to the days of the King's Head or Green-Ribbon Club, when the maintainers of civil liberty and popular protestantism, who held their meetings at the Tavern near the Temple, would issue forth into the balcony "with hats and no perukes, pipes in their mouths, merry faces and dilated throats for the entertainment of the caniglia below,"* and fan the excitement against Popery in high places. The

* North's *Examen*. p. 572.

first rough-cast of the "Glorious Revolution" is to be found in the projects of the Chief of this convivial Club.* It was in all essential points the scheme devised in the reign of Charles II, by one who at the time was the idol of popular enthusiasm, and the leader of the opposition in Parliament. The Earl of Shaftesbury again and again attempted to pass a Bill to exclude James, Duke of York, as a Popish recusant, from succeeding to the crown, and his speeches upon this and similar measures had a vast circulation and a corresponding effect to the disadvantage of James upon the popular mind. And who was Shaftesbury to whom we have assigned the chief apostleship of that successful insurrection which some men have lauded as only second to the great work of the Reformation? He commenced life as a Royalist. He was presently one of those godly men whom Cromwell appointed as his Council of State.† He was the friend and dissolute companion of Charles the Second. He was that Judge in the highest Court of Equity who fostered, if he did not originate, the prodigious fables of the Popish Plot, and the murders with which Oates's perjuries and the prejudices of the time disgraced the British nation. He was that infamous Lord Chancellor who thought that a smart repartee was sufficient justification for the most insufferable licentiousness; who, when Charles told him that he was the most profligate man in his dominions, facetiously answered, "*Of subjects, Sire, I believe I am.*" It is almost unnecessary to add that he was the tutor of that infidel writer, the second Earl of Shaftesbury, whom Voltaire himself described as too vehement an opponent of Christianity. This was the man who, as the Protestant champion of Britain, moved once and again in Parliament, but unsuccessfully in the House of Lords, the Bill of Exclusion which was the embryo of the Revolution.

And the succeeding representatives of that baser element, the popular impulse in the Revolution, were not unworthy of their political progenitor. The defection of the Clarendon family, the mischievous counsels of the King's false friends, the infamous conduct of Churchill, the flight of the Princess Anne, the artifices and dissimulation of William, are evidences of

* Shaftesbury excited the people with Popish processions, the precise counterparts of those profane pantomimes which passed through the streets of London with the Wiseman mobs.

† Burnet even says that he advised Cromwell to take the Kingdom. (See Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. iii, p. 299.)

the blackest sort, which exhibit the utter want of national and moral principle among those who were chiefly concerned in getting rid of James the Second. We must remember, too, that the whole Revolution was effected by foreign troops. Well may the great Whig historian, Mr. Hallam, say, when commenting on the dismissal of the Dutch Guards, that "the men had claims which a grateful and generous people should not have forgotten, who had terrified James from Whitehall, and brought about a deliverance which, to speak plainly, we had neither sense nor courage to achieve for ourselves."* And well may Mr. Macaulay, a Whig and a Presbyterian, pronounce a judgment not much more panegyrical.—"It was assuredly a happy Revolution, and a useful Revolution; but it was not, what it has often been called, a glorious Revolution. William, and William alone, derived glory from it. The transaction was, in almost every part, discreditable to England."†

But very different was the feeling which animated those who, like Sancroft and Ken, played a principal part in defending the Church against the tyranny of a misbelieving King. They had no design to subvert the Government, or to acquire power for themselves, or to adapt their conduct to the prevailing mood of the popular temper. They presented themselves at Whitehall, prepared to suffer, not expecting to prevail. Yet a higher Power caused their faithful protest to be the turning point of the Revolution.

The Declaration itself excited no extraordinary ferment. It was a repetition of the King's encroachment upon the constitution. But the Laity, restrained perhaps by the horrors and iniquities of the great Rebellion, were inclined apparently to submit. The infatuated King, however, not content with political encroachment, had rashly endeavoured to make the Anglican Church the instrument and organ of his attempted

* *Constitutional History*, 4to Edit. vol. ii. p. 489.

† *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. i. p. 201. We for our part cannot even say, without qualification, that it was a happy Revolution or a useful Revolution. Instead of being really governed by rulers by Divine right, we are now, thanks to 1688, at the mercy of a Parliament in which Sectaries, Socinians, Atheists regulate the doctrines of the Church and the duties of the Clergy. It is owing to the same event that schism has been legalized in the Empire. When the Apostolical form of Government was disowned in Scotland, and Presbyterianism established by William, the people were taught in the most emphatic way that the fellowship of the Apostles was a thing to be valued only on the South side of the Tweed. The recognition in the people of two various Communions was the greatest blow which has ever been inflicted on the Unity of the Church.—(See this point ably stated in the last chapter of Mr. Gresley's *Coniston Hall*.)

usurpation, and the abettor of heresy and schism in various forms. His irregularities as Chief of the State might probably have passed off in a collision with the Parliament to which he must ultimately have succumbed; but the attempt to force upon the Clergy, by means of his authority as Supreme Ordinary, the promotion of a scheme for the encouragement, as it was then understood, of false doctrine:—or in other words—the uncanonical exercise of the royal supremacy, put the torch to the train of revolutionary matter, which shivered the Throne of the Stuarts to its fall.

There was thus another principle at work, distinct from the vulgar protestantism of the People and the political ends of the Statesmen, the CATHOLICISM OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. It resisted James because he was a Romanist, but it equally rejected William as an usurper. This feeling was shared by men of moderate views, such as Evelyn and Sherlock and Tenison, in common with those more ardent characters who could die for their *Religion*, but had no desire to promote a *Rebellion*. But the non-resistance of the Churchman was overmatched by the wisdom of the Revolutionist, and the two diverse sources of insubjection were forced into the same channel to form the strength of the torrent which broke down the barriers of legitimacy and allegiance. Yet the noble disinterestedness of the Non-jurors enables us to distinguish between the work of the Church and the work of the Politicians. Even those who are unable to sympathize with our admiration of their steadfast adherence to the simple rule of duty, might discern how brightly the one current flowed, while the other was polluted with the dregs of human selfishness. The same eminent writer whom we have already quoted as bearing testimony to the inglorious character of the civil movement, has not hesitated to attribute unequivocal praise to the Non-juring Clergy, though he deservedly reflects upon the *condition* of the Church which could claim his praise only to so limited an extent.

“In a Church,” he observes, “which had as one man declared the doctrine of resistance unchristian, only four hundred persons refused to take the oath of allegiance to a Government founded on resistance. In the preceding generation, both the Episcopal and Presbyterian Clergy, rather than concede *points of conscience not more important*, had resigned their livings by thousands.”*

As our object is not to vindicate the Church at large of that time, we shall perhaps best express our sense of

* Macaulay's *Critical and Historical Essays*, vol. i, p. 202.

the two opposite principles which, utterly inharmonious in themselves, worked together for good in bringing about the Revolution, if we place, one under the other, from the pen of the same contemporary poet, who wrote with no such design, the portraits of two celebrated characters, the exponent of the one system, and the representative of the other. The Politician is Shaftesbury. Ken himself is the Churchman. Dryden has thus delineated the characters of both :—

THE CHARACTER OF SHAFTESBURY.

Of these the false Achitophel was first ;
 A name to all succeeding ages curst ;
 For close designs, and crooked counsels fit ;
 Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit ;
 Restless, unfixed in principles and place ;
 In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace :
 A fiery soul, which working out its way,
 Fretted the pigmy body to decay,
 And o'er-informed the tenement of clay. }
 A daring pilot in extremity ;
 Pleas'd with the danger, when the waves went high
 He sought the storms ; but for a calm unfit,
 Would steer too nigh the sands to boast his wit.

* * * * *

In friendship false, implacable in hate ;
 Resolved to ruin or to rule the state.
 To compass this the triple bond he broke ; }
 The pillars of the public safety shook ; }
 And fitted Israel for a foreign yoke : }
 Then seiz'd with fear, yet still affecting fame,
 Usurped a patriot's all-atoning name.
 So easy still it proves in factious times,
 With public zeal to cancel private crimes.
 How safe is treason, and how sacred ill,
 Where none can sin against the people's will ;
 Where crowds can wink, and no offence be known,
 Since in another's guilt they find their own !

* * * * *

Now, manifest of crimes contrived long since,
 He stood at bold defiance with his prince ;
 Held up the buckler of the people's cause
 Against the crown, and skulk'd behind the laws.

(Absalom and Achitophel.)

THE CHARACTER OF THOMAS KEN.

A parish priest was of the pilgrim train :
 An awful, reverend, and religious man ;
 His eyes diffus'd a venerable grace,
 And charity itself was in his face.

Rich was his soul, though his attire was poor ; }
 (As God had cloth'd His own Ambassador ;)
 For such, on earth, his bless'd Redeemer bore. }
 Of sixty years he seem'd, and well might last
 To sixty more, but that he lived too fast ;
 Refin'd himself to soul, to curb the sense ;
 And made almost a sin of abstinence.
 Yet, had his aspect nothing of severe,
 But such a face as promised him sincere.
 Nothing reserv'd or sullen was to see,
 But sweet regards, and pleasing sanctity ; }
 Mild was his accent, and his action free. }
 With eloquence innate his tongue was arm'd ;
 Though harsh the precept, yet the preacher charm'd ;
 For letting down the golden chain from high,
 He drew his audience upwards to the sky :
 And oft, with holy hymns, he charmed their ears :
 (A music more melodious than the spheres).
 For David left him, when he went to rest,
 His lyre ; and after him he sung the best.
 He bore his great commission in his look :
 But sweetly temper'd awe ; and softened all he spoke.

The allusion to his public conduct in the Revolution must be added :—

Such was the saint ; who shone with every grace,
 Reflecting, Moses-like, his Maker's face.
 God saw his image lively was express'd ;
 And his own work, as in creation, bless'd.
 The tempter saw him too with envious eye,
 And, as or Job, demanded leave to try.
 He took the time when Richard was depos'd,
 And high and low with happy Harry clos'd.
 This prince, though great in arms, the priest withstood ;
 Near though he was, yet not the next in blood.
 Had Richard, unconstrained, resigned the throne, }
 A king can give no more than is his own ; }
 The title stood entail'd, had Richard had a son. }

* * * * *

He joined not in their choice, because he knew,
 Worse might, and often d'd, from change ensue.
 Much to himself he thought, but little spoke ;
 And, undeprived, his benefice forsook.
 Now, through the land, his cure of souls he stretch'd ;
 And like a primitive Apostle preach'd.
 Still cheerful ; ever constant to his call ;
 By many follow'd ; lov'd by most ; admir'd by all ;
 With what he begg'd, his brethren he reliev'd,
 And gave the charities himself received.
 Gave, while he taught ; and edify'd the more,
 Because he shew'd, by proof, t'was easy to be poor.

(Character of a good Parson.)

Some time elapsed before the Government finally carried out measures of severity against the Bishops. An Act of Comprehension or Compromise was introduced in Parliament, to relieve the Dissenters from the Test Act, and the Bishops from the Oath of Allegiance. Overtures were even made to the latter, proposing that they should exercise their episcopal functions without being required to swear allegiance to the new occupant of the Throne. Mary herself employed Burnet to sound the Bishops on the subject. Ken, who was the most moderate of the number, would probably have advised the acceptance of this offer, but sterner counsels prevailed, and all terms of accommodation were rejected. Still the Government delayed the execution of the law. William was conscious that he owed his success to none more than those men who had firmly defended their Church against James the Second.

He could not but be aware that he had less to dread from the avowed impugnors of his title, than from the many latent enemies who were equally averse to his claims, though they had not the virtue to declare their sentiments in the same spirited and high-minded attitude which the Non-jurors had assumed. Burnet is not likely in this instance to have spoken unadvisedly when he tells us that the majority of the Church were unfavorable to Orange royalty. "The generality of the Clergy," he says, "took the oaths with too many reservations and distinctions, which laid them open to severe censures, as if they had taken them against their consciences."* On the other hand, the small body of the Non-jurors included, besides the Bishops, men of great learning and piety,—such as Dr. Hickes, the Dean of Worcester; Dr. Thomas Smith, author of several valuable accounts of the Greek Church; Leslie, the Chancellor of Down and Connor; Kettlewell, who was one of the most learned and the politest of Parish Priests; Collier, the ecclesiastical historian of England; Howett, the compiler of the *Synopsis Canonum*;—with many more not less distinguished among the clergy;—and among the Laity, men like Dodwell, the learned but somewhat metaphysical antagonist of Clark and Collins; and the excellent Robert Nelson, author of the *Fasts and Festivals*.

It was evident to the calculating mind of William that it would be far better policy to conciliate than to deal harshly with men like these. How far the forbearance of the Government might have extended, it is difficult to

* *Burnet's own Time*, vol. ii, p. 28.

surmise; but, unfortunately, Turner, Bishop of Ely, had engaged in a plot to restore James to the throne. One of his letters had been intercepted, in which he says, "I speak in the plural because I write my elder brother's sentiments as well as my own, and the rest of the family though lessened in number."

Bishops Thomas, of Worcester, and Lake, of Chichester had already been gathered to their rest. They had both died declaring that they would have gone to the stake sooner than have taken the new oath. Bishop Turner's complicity in a plot to restore James to the Throne by means of a French army is as unquestionable as it is indefensible, but even Burnet seems to admit that his allusions to the Archbishop and "the rest of the family" were written without authority. This event* however sealed the previous resolutions of the Government, and steps were taken to carry out, what no earthly Government has power to accomplish, the removal of the Bishops from their spiritual offices. The State may dispose of temporalities; but nothing but the sentence of the Church can really abrogate a Bishop's commission. This is not derived from the State, and the State cannot annul it. Erastians may question the correctness of our views, but we are fully convinced in our own mind that if St. Cyprian could not be duly deprived of his sacred office by Decius, the Bishops of our land wield an equally unearthly authority, which cannot be taken from them by the will of the civil magistrate, whether emanating from autocratic power, or deputed by the Prime Minister of the day.

In April 1691, more than a year beyond the limits of the Penal Act, the greater part of the deprived Bishops were displaced. Their numbers had been reduced by death; only five survived. Archbishop Sancroft was ejected from Lambeth, and, after some scruples, Dr. Tillotson, who owed canonical obedience to the Primate, as Dean of Canterbury, consented to be consecrated in his room. We must add, to the great discredit of a well-known name, that in 1683 this Divine had written a letter to Lord William Russell, a short time before the execution of that nobleman, in which he argued that, according to the law of nature, the rule of Scripture, the Christian religion and the declared doctrine of all Pro-

* A short time previously some ruffian in the Dissenting interest had published "A modest Enquiry into the Causes of the present Distresses," in which he grossly aspersed the Bishops and proposed that they should be *De Witted*. The Government tried to prevent the publication of Dodwell's noble vindication of the calumniated Fathers.

testant Churches, it was "*not lawful upon any pretence whatever to take up arms*" *against the Sovereign*; yet, alas! in 1691 he usurps the office of his Metropolitan by the favor of a Government which was based on principles diametrically opposed to those which he maintained under the Stuart Kings.

"Archbishop Sancroft died in 1693; his successor, Tillotson, within the year after; and so both rested from their troubles and their differences. The measures of Government, adopted in the short episcopate of Tillotson, and with his sanction, had a deadening influence on the Anglican Church. It is a fearful charge to be Primate of England, whose actions touch on things sacred, and in their consequence, for evil or for good, reach beyond his own short earthly span. One after another follows in the line of succession. Shall each, in confidence of his own views, presume to modify the teaching of the Church? If so, each Primate, differing perhaps from those before him, and those to come (since each man's mind is of its own character) will, to the extent of his influence, reduce her to a wavering and inconstant thing, swayed by every breath of human judgment. But the Church, like the Truth on which she is founded, is unchangeable. When an Archbishop sets his hand to a work of alteration, he undertakes what is beyond his power to limit or control. He may sanction but one degree of deviation from the rule handed down to him:—how soon, or through whom the next may be taken, is not within his range to foresee. But the responsibility must be on him who led the way. There is something fearful in this thought for Bishops, as for Princes, and their counsellors."—pp. 415-16.

Whether by accident or design, the deprivation of Ken was not carried out so rapidly as in the other cases. The Bishopric was offered in the first instance to the excellent Beveridge, who refused to accept it during the life of the rightful occupant. Dr. Kidder was less scrupulous. And the expelled Bishop, as soon as he received intelligence of the appointment, delivered a solemn protest, "in his Cathedral, from his Pastoral Chair, publicly asserting his Canonical right, professing that he esteemed himself the Canonical Bishop of the Diocese, and that he would be ready on all occasions to perform his pastoral duties." We cannot omit, even in an article more than usually prolonged, to extract the following powerful description of Ken's departure from his Bishopric.

"The same crowds, who but six short years before had welcomed him to the Pastoral Chair, now assembled with heavy hearts and tearful eyes, to hear him from the same place of authority assert his canonical rights, consecrated, as they had been, by a zealous and devoted exercise of them,—to receive his farewell blessing, and his promise of never-ceasing prayers on their behalf. How endeared to his flock must such a man have been, living constantly among them! How un-

speakingly valuable his endeavours, 'according to his poor abilities to teach them the knowledge and the love of God.*' By his example and counsels he had been a solace to the afflicted, and the support of humble souls, overwhelmed with the burthen of conscious sin; to all a ghostly father, benefactor and friend; God's almoner, and the dispenser of his grace.

"There may be something poetical, but not therefore less true, in the picture which Mr. Bowles has drawn of the Bishop's departure from his palace. 'We can easily conceive with what prayers of the poor, and how beloved and regretted, Ken bade farewell to the Diocese and flock so dear to him; to the palace at Wells, the retired gardens, and the silent waters that surrounded them; to the towers, and to the devotional harmonies of his Cathedral. Surely it would be no stretch of imagination to conceive, that on the drawbridge, as he passed, on leaving the abode of independence and peace, a crowd of old and young would be assembled, with clasped hands and blessings, to bid him farewell. Mild, complacent, yet dignified, on retiring with a peaceful conscience from opulence and station to dependence and poverty, as the morning shone on the turreted chapel, we naturally imagine he may have shed only one tear, when looking back on those interesting scenes. Perhaps his eye might have rested on the pale faces of some of the poor old men and women who had partaken of his Sunday dinner so often, and heard his discourse, in the old hall; then, and not before, we may conceive

Some natural tears he dropped, but wiped them soon;

The world was all before him, where to seek

His place of rest; and Providence his guide.'"†—pp. 390-91."

A refuge was at hand in the generous protection of his old college friend, Lord Weymouth. The deprived Bishop found an asylum at Long Leat, the princely residence of this nobleman, not many miles distant from Wells Cathedral, and that Diocese includes a part of the domain. It was here that he passed the greater portion of the last 20 years of his life, where, like his nearest prototype, St. Gregory of Nazianzum, (it is his own comparison) he

"To sacred verse consigned
The last efforts of his immortal mind;"—

employing himself in the composition of his "Preparations for Death," "Anodynes of Pain," "Hymns for all the Festivals in the Year," and "Songs on Jesus;" which, though they have no great merit as poetical pieces, contain many beautiful and pious thoughts. Other writings have been falsely attributed to him; among them a vituperative letter reflecting on the memory of Queen Mary bears internal

* Dedication of the "*Practice of Divine Love*."

† Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. ii, p. 174.

evidence that Ken was not the author. He passed his time in the beautiful retreat of his old age in very different occupations. He lived in perfect peace, and solaced himself, in ill health and suffering, with his "Relish for Divine Poesy." The beautiful woods and views in the magnificent property of Long Leat delighted him with their "shades benign" and "entrancing" prospects. At other times his "upper chamber," garnished with his books, and far from the hospitable fulness of the great Hall;—or the society of his host and some few valued friends, cheered his declining days. And here the reflection forces itself upon our mind, that, as if the noble family of Thynne were ever to be foremost in providing for those who suffer for righteousness' sake a covert from the storm, it has been the happy distinction of the present Marchioness of Bath to offer a resting place to a fearless Confessor of our own time, who, in vindication of the Church, had exposed himself to trials scarcely inferior to those which we have now reviewed. Many a warm and pious heart thrilled with gratitude when the parish of Frome Selwood, where the ashes of Ken repose, was offered to a devoted minister who had left all that he had for Christ's sake, and departed, not knowing whither he went, sacrificed by a timid Bishop to the clamour of an ignorant mob and its unprincipled anarchy. The illustrious Lady, whose pardon we should desire for this mention of her name, could not have paid a more pleasing tribute to the virtues of her ancestor and the memory of his venerable guest.

To return for a moment to the Non-jurors; as the Bishops still claimed canonical authority, and many persons among the Clergy, Nobility and Gentry acknowledged their title, this of itself produced a schism in the Church. But a great question ensued whether or not any measures should be taken to continue the ordinations, and thus to perpetuate the division. After much debate the leading Non-jurors determined to sustain the line of succession in their own body. The Primate had nominated Bishop Lloyd, of Norwich, as his Vicar-General, and Bishops Hicke and Wagstaffe were consecrated on the 23rd February 1694, the one as Suffragan of Thetford and the other as Suffragan of Ipswich. The Bishop of Bath and Wells had always been opposed to this measure, and Dodwell and Nelson, as well as Kettlewell, so far concurred in his opinion, that when Ken remained, in 1710, the sole survivor of the deprived Fathers, these two eminent laymen enquired whether he challenged their obedience, and receiving answer in the negative, conformed to

the Established Church. In fact, on the death of the intruding Bishop Kidder, who was crushed to death in the episcopal Palace by the fall of a stack of chimneys during the storm which DeFoe has commemorated, in the year 1703, Ken had already ceded his rights to one whom he dearly loved and respected, his fellow-collegian Hooper, who was prevailed upon to accept the mitre, after he had vainly exerted all possible persuasion to induce Bishop Ken to resume his office; the Queen herself having cordially approved of this suggestion. It appears therefore that the moderate and peace-loving spirit of Ken was mainly instrumental in healing the schism which had taken place;—for although the Non-juring Communion feebly existed till the death of Dr. Gordon, the last Bishop of this succession, in 1779, yet the cession of his rights in Hooper's favour, and still more his refusal to claim canonical obedience when all the other deprived Bishops had passed away, proved in the highest degree influential in restoring the unity of the Church. Not long after he had been permitted to do such essential service in accomplishing this work of love, this holy servant of God died at Long Leat. The words of his Will are a manifesto of the principles for which he lived and suffered. They are words of which every syllable should find an echo in the hearts of all who would die in the true Religion of the Church of Christ.

“As for my religion, I die in the Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Faith, professed by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West; more particularly I die in the Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Crossc.”

He had always travelled with his shroud; and before his death he put it on with his own hands, and thus waited for the coming of his Lord. He was buried in the churchyard of Frome Selwood, just under the eastern window of the chancel, on the 21st March, 1710;—for so great was the reverence with which he regarded the interior of the sanctuary, the place where God's honour dwells, that by his own desire, he was laid in the church *yard* to repose among the poorest of his flock.

We shall merely add a very brief notice of Ken's theological opinions as bearing on the distinctive principles of the Church on which the Holy Ghost had made him an overseer. Nothing can be more explicit than his catholic exposition of the Holy Sacrament.

OF BAPTISM.

“In this laver of Regeneration we are born again by water and the Spirit, by a new birth unto righteousness; that as the natural birth propagated sin, our spiritual birth should propagate grace. * * * Christ in our Baptism doth give us the holy Spirit of love, to be the principle of a new life and of love in us, to infuse into our souls a supernatural, habitual grace and ability to serve and love Him. It was His compassionate love that when we were conceived and born in sin, of sinful parents, when we sprung from a root wholly corrupt, and were all children of wrath, in our Baptism made us children of His own heavenly Father by adoption and grace; when we were heirs of Hell, made us heirs of Heaven, even joint-heirs with His own self of His own glory.”*

His teaching was no less truly Anglican, *i.e.* equally distinguished from Roman and Zuinglian error, on the doctrine

OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

“I believe,” he writes in his *Manual of Prayers* for the Winchester scholars, “Thy body and Thy blood to be as really present in the holy Sacrament as Thy divine power can make it; though the manner of Thy mysterious presence I cannot comprehend.”†

He was equally careful to instruct his Clergy aright on the duty

OF DAILY PRAYER.

“But your greatest zeal must be spent for the public prayers, in the constant and devout use of which the public safety, both of Church and State, is highly concerned: *be sure then to offer up to God every day the Morning and Evening Prayers.* This I might enjoin you to do on your canonical obedience, but for love’s sake I rather beseech you. Be not discouraged, if but few come to ‘the solemn assemblies;’ but go to ‘the house of prayer’ where ‘God is well known for a sure refuge;’ go though you go alone, or but with one besides yourself.”‡

* *Exposition of the Church Catechism*, 8vo. Ed. 1686, p. 136.

† *Manual of Prayers*, p. 73.

‡ *Pastoral Letter* from the Bishop of Bath and Wells. 4to. 1688.

His own example was the best admonition on the subject

OF CATECHIZING.

“Not only in his Cathedral did he ordain, confirm, and catechize; but in the summer time he went about to the large Parish Churches, where he would preach twice and catechize the children.”*

In practice, he who “almost made a sin of abstinence,” was even stricter than the precept which his celebrated Sermon on Daniel has preserved on the subject

OF FASTING.

“Nothing is more plain than this, that Daniel did not think the bare abstaining from flesh to be fasting, when in the meantime we indulge ourselves in all the most palatable wines and all the luxury of banquets. This is a licentious notion, which rose by the decay of Christian piety. ●

* * * * *

“The ancient Christians knew no such distinction between fish and flesh—their Lenten fare was bread and water and salt; and their first meal on fasting days was not till the evening. I mention this example to show you what the ancients thought fasting, and how they kept Lent: I do not exhort you to follow them any further than either our climate and our constitutions will bear; but we may easily follow Daniel in abstaining from wine and from the more pleasurable meats; and such an abstinence as this, with such a mourning for our own sins and the sins of others, is the proper exercise of a primitive spirit during all the weeks of Lent.”†

Thus lived, taught, suffered, and departed to his rest, this incomparable Bishop of our English Church. He was in all respects a man of real sanctity, doing all to the honour of his God.

His charity was unbounded. When the persecuted Huguenots, 50,000 of whom were refugees in England, ap-

* *Hawkins's Life of Ken.* p. 14.

† A SERMON preached in the King's Chapel at Whitehall in Lent 1685.

pealed to our nation for the relief of their necessities, the Bishop of Bath and Wells had thought it too little to contribute nearly £4,000.

His habit of prayer at different periods of the day and night, was never omitted for any interruption. He would rise at one or two o'clock in the morning to offer his petition at the Throne of Grace.

The permanence of his long friendship with the amiable Dr. Hooper and the exemplary Lord Weymouth shows the sincerity and constancy of his attachments.

In his Episcopal office we have already seen him devoting himself to the least elevated duties of the ministry, to catechizing the poor children of his Diocese, no less than the higher functions of Ordination and Confirmation.

Attached as he was to the Apostolic discipline of his Church, he was so much respected and beloved by men of other sentiments, that an eminent Dissenter in the city offered bail when he was committed to the Tower.

In his intercourse with Princes and the circumstances of his public life, necessity constantly imposed stern duties upon him, to which his meek and quiet spirit would almost have seemed to be unequal; but simplicity of purpose, and the steadfastness of his holy principles, enabled him to rise superior to every trial.

He was the most loyal of subjects, yet the law of God constrained him personally to oppose three Kings.

He was the most gentle of advisers; yet the purity of the commandment which he had received compelled him to "reprove adultery with the holy courage of the Baptist even in the palaces" of William and Charles the Second. In short he seems to have united all the great qualities which we have learned to admire in the holy Churchmen of primitive times. When he stood before James II. with the petition of the seven Bishops, he was animated by the same spirit which had prevailed of old against the Arianism of Constantine. When he protested with his heroic brethren against the authority and acts of the latitudinarian William, he was vindicating those Catholic principles which the primitive Bishops had asserted against the governments of their day, during the intrusions of Constantius and the indifferentism of Jovian.

The ruling motive of all his actions was simple rectitude, and an entire reference of his conduct to the declared will of God. This enabled him to reconcile, as he himself expresses it, "policy and religion, business and devotion,

abstinence and abundance, greatness and goodness, magnanimity and humility, power and subjection, authority and affability, conversation and retirement, interest and integrity, Heaven and the Court, the favour of God and the favour of the King.”*

Or to sum up his character in the words of the same eloquent Sermon. He had “learnt like Daniel humility by affliction, purity by temperance; to keep his graces alive by prayer, and frequenting his oratory; to subdue rebellious nature by fasting and mortifications.” He had learnt “a universal obligingness and benignity, an awful love to his Prince, constant fidelity, an undaunted courage, an unwearied zeal in serving him.” And to all these he added an equal mixture of the wisdom of the serpent and of the innocence of the dove, an inoffensive conversation, a clear integrity, and an impartial justice to all within his sphere.

Although we have done our best to convey a favourable idea of the volume before us, we have not culled half its beauties. Many passages are written in a high order of eloquence, and descriptions of scenes and places are truthful and graphic. The main purpose of the work has been admirably sustained throughout. It comprehends a copious but most interesting narrative of the exciting æra with which it is concerned, but this is never permitted to interrupt the thread of the biographical memoir. There has been no book-making. Nothing has been introduced which does not immediately bear on the conduct and character of Ken, yet we know no work of equal size which presents so just and concise a view of the Revolution of 1688. Even in this light we consider it a valuable addition to a library; but it is justly entitled to the higher praise of setting before us, for the first time, a real portrait, in a complete and interesting style, of one who was hitherto too little known, an eminent Anglo-Catholic Bishop and Confessor, and one of the chief of our English Saints.

* *Sermon on Daniel.*

THE SCORES
FOR
BISHOP KEN'S
HYMNS.

Fac-simile of the Original Tune of Bishop Ken's Evening

The Eighth Tune.

Melody



Contratenor



Hymn by Tallis, in Archbishop Parker's Psalter.

Tenor



Bass



A short score for the Organ of the tune of

Bishop Ken's Evening Hymn.

The image displays a musical score for an organ, consisting of five systems of two staves each. The first system begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#), indicating the key of D major. The notation is a short score, featuring a variety of note values including minims, crotchets, and quavers, often beamed together. The subsequent systems continue the piece with similar rhythmic patterns. The final system concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots on both the treble and bass staves.

VII.

A PAIR OF PICTURES.

I.—THE CHURCH AMONG THE HEATHEN.

CHANCE led my steps one Sunday evening to the door of a Native Christian Church belonging to one of the Missions at one of the largest towns in India. The bells were chiming from the tower, that sweetest of sounds: the hands of the clock pointed to the hour of five, and the congregation were flocking in at the door—men, women, and children. There was something soothing in the sight:—a dream of the past came over me—of the absent and of home, associated with feelings of religion and purity. My better spirit triumphed; the worldly vocations, (for prosecuting which on the Sabbath may God forgive me!) were forgotten, and joining the simple crowd, with uncovered head and reverential feelings, I entered.

It has been mine to sit in the Churches, and join in the worship of many branches of the great family of Christians,—in far and distant countries—in divers and sundry languages; in the cold and formal worship of Northern,—in the ardent and soul-felt adoration of Southern Europe—in the evangelical devotions of the Reformed Church of England—in the dark and unsightly oratories of poor degraded Syria;—but though many years a resident in India (I own it to my shame), this was the first time that I had joined in the prayers of the chosen few of those millions, whose destinies we govern.

The building was handsome and appropriate. Art and wealth had lent their assistance to the decoration of the House of God, but with simplicity:—there was that which was sufficiently distinctive from the ornaments of ordinary houses to recall wandering thoughts to a recollection of the place: but there was nothing calculated to transform the House into a Temple, or to lead weak minds to suppose that the *dead walls* constituted Christ's Church, and not the living persons of the congregation. Here at least no pride or pomp of circumstance disfigured the equality of the worshippers; no shining emblems of ephemeral station dishonoured the assembly of the Faithful; the floor sounded to no clank of martial tread; the sun, as it streamed through the windows, lighted on no dazzling insignia or scarlet trappings:—in this assemblage, he that was the least was even as the greatest.

I looked down the nave with interest and heart-felt pleasure. According to the custom of Oriental Churches the sexes were divided. On the one side the men and boys of the congregation—on the other the matrons, young women and children. Nearly all were clothed in white;—the men were bareheaded as well as barefooted, the reason for which I did not understand, such not being the practice of Oriental Churches elsewhere, and manifestly inconvenient, and as such to be avoided. The women had their heads decently covered in the folds of their scarfs. I saw many sweet expressive faces, reminding one of the blessed Virgin-Mother, not fearing, in the simple confidence of female virtue, to look in the faces of their husbands, their parents, and their acquaintances,—proud of the conceded privilege of equality with their helpmates, with hopes for the future dependent on their own exertions; not shrinking from the recollection of a past stained by corruption and degradation. Christianity, if thou hast done this alone,—restoring the modest blush of innocence to conscious and fearless virtue,—thou art the Benefactor of our Race!

But the service has commenced; a kind hand supplies me with the Book of Life, and the Book of Prayer: and that language, which had hitherto been familiar to me only as an expression of the worst passions of the governed, and the impracticable regulations of the Ruler, was now for the first time the vehicle, to my ears, of praise and prayer. Dissociated from their familiar words, which are merely the outward tenements of the inward spirit, the moving Admonition of the Priest, the humble Confession of the People, the Absolution—complete, but conditional—came back to my senses as an old strain of familiar music, long heard, and often from loved and revered lips;—now first fully felt, when ringing from the chords of a new and hitherto untried instrument. Many are the languages of men—one the language of God. How is it, that the voices of the children, responding in their deep and ringing chorus, (though the words are in a strange tongue,) bring back so truly, so vividly, forgotten Sabbaths and distant Churches? Is it that there is but one sound for prayer and praise—that human penitence can be expressed but in one tone? Is it thus that the loud Hosannahs of the denizens of the earth will be collected in one joyful chorus at the day of the Second Coming? Is this the cry of the Cherubin and Seraphim? Be that as it may;—I was struck and delighted by the devout and attentive behaviour of the

congregation:—when two or three are thus joined together, He will surely be in the midst of them.

The Psalms and First Lesson were omitted, that the Service might not be too long, and at the close of the Second Lesson followed the Sacrament of Infant Baptism; and now I became aware of another feature of order in this well arranged congregation, which from the position of my seat had hitherto escaped my observation. In front of the Font, but with their backs turned towards, and concealed from, the rest of the Church, sat with solemn, thoughtful and reverent faces those in whom the Spirit of God was working for their salvation: they were *in* but not *of* our body, they were candidates, awaiting Baptism when they had passed their ordeal, and by their consistent conduct in the *past* had given earnestness for the *future*: seated they were in front of the Font, the waters of which were to them for a season denied, while they beheld the new born Babe, unconscious of all taint, even that of hereditary sin, admitted before their eyes into the Covenant, which they were commencing to appreciate. Never till then had I fully recognized, or been sufficiently thankful for, the blessing of being born of a Christian stock, with no fiery ordeal to go through; no parents, friends and all to desert for His sake; no sad, mournful, but beloved and regretted associations of the past to look lingeringly back upon; no doubtful, scorned and opprobrious future to anticipate. I felt that they had something to wish for, which I had already in possession; something, for which they paid a great price, but which to me was a birthright,—not the right of being a Briton, but the privilege of being born a Christian. But great will be their reward. Christian children of Christian parents! feel for them, and do not in your pride despise the weak and failing brother! Measure your own strength!

Two infants were presented to be baptized,—their swarthy little faces peeping out of their white garments, and contrasting strangely with the fair hand and face of the Minister. Here the white man appeared in his true and proper dignity!—not the exterminator, the stranger, the ruler by a strong arm, the enforcer of arbitrary laws—the one that is bowed down to, and yet shunned in the streets; that is openly courted, yet secretly scoffed at and despised as unclean—here I saw the race of the Saxon bestowing on their subject people a greater skill than the science of arms, a greater miracle than the triumph of manufactures. We

are a mighty, strong, and wise people :—we have conquered countries unknown to the Romans ; we have measured the paths of the Heavens with a far-distending radius denied to the Greeks ; the achievements of our present surpass the wonders of their past ; but here we spontaneously convey to our subjects that treasure, of which they knew not, but which in the midst of our wealth we value the most :—that strength, to which they never arrived, but which in the midst of our pride is our greatest glory,—the shame of the Cross, and the mystery of Salvation. Who is the lowest in the eyes of the world amidst the congregation ? Upon whom have the doubtful gifts of fortune fallen thicker ? But the Priest takes the child of either in his arms, washes away the sins in which his mother conceived him, and signs him with that sign, of which he ought never to be shamed.

The sponsors knelt reverently round, and made their answers with feeling. I looked into the hard features of these men, to see if any hidden sign would betray a difference between him and his heathen brother, any flash of intelligence sparkle from the eye of the mind which had comprehended such truths. There was none. He that readeth the heart will judge what it is forbidden for man to know.

Then followed the three Collects, the Prayer for the Queen, the Royal Family, the Clergy, Parliament, and all conditions of Men, and I wondered, as I saw the lips of the women and girls articulating the words Victoria and Albert, what idea they connected with the same, what strange pictures they had drawn in their simple minds of the Royal Couple, and the little Shazadahs :—I could almost have wished that the prayer of native congregations were reserved simply for those in authority over them. In the Papal States alone prayers are in a marked manner *not* offered up in behalf of the authorities, under whose protection the congregation assemble.

After the Prayers followed a Hymn, sang by the congregation to the accompaniment of a Harmonicum, played by one of the junior members of the Mission : the chaunt from the Hindostanee Hymn-book, lately published at Calcutta, possessing apparently but slight poetical merit, but well suited to the place, and well sung, shewing that the Natives of the country have a full appreciation of the system of European music :—but while the Hosannah was swelling up to the roof beams from these untutored lips, I beheld through the windows, which open down to the ground, the

cortege of a wealthy Rajah sweeping by under the walls of the sacred edifice. I heard the rattle of his equipage, as every screw and bolt gave a music of its own:—I could see from where I stood the ignorant wretch—this bloated abomination of a man, contemptuously smiling, as the voices of the congregation reached him:—I saw the low truckling flatterer leaning over from the back seat, and with finger pointing to the building, and chuckling laugh, telling what I knew to be some false scandal, *his* version of what was going on in the interior. I saw the whole at a glance, and comprehended it; but busy memory, roused by the incident, bore me back many a century to the “upper chamber of Troas,” to “the school of Tyrannus.” I thought of the early Christians at Athens, at Corinth, at Ephesus, and at Rome: thus and thus, as this debased Rajah now, did the noble Roman, the philosophic Greek, great in the power of science and arms, once ride by lolling in their “bigas,” perhaps talking flippantly, perhaps discussing seriously the manners and customs of this new sect;—these worshippers in the Catacombs. With them was the flatterer, and busy mocker—the sarcastic stoic—the lively atheist—the sycophantic eunuch, to tell ridiculous stories for these good easy men to believe. I thought of these things, and God forgive me, if I triumphed, when I dwelt on the triumphs of God’s Revelations, and *anticipated new victories*. I have seen standing erect the sign of the Cross in the place where the early Christians fought after the manner of men in the Roman Amphitheatre: I have stood on the Areopagus to contemplate the ruins of the Parthenon, wondering how it looked when St. Paul spoke of Christ and the Resurrection: my voice has rung along the silent shores of Ionia—“Demetrius, surely thy craft is in danger—where is thy Great Diana of the Ephesians?”—no sound is heard in reply but the splashing of the waves of the Ocean. Returning from the past, in the full confidence of Faith, I pondered on what would be the fate of the great and wicked city around me. Will not a day arrive when that gilded pinnacle shining in the sun will be torn down, when those tapering minarets will be laid low? Will it not be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of Judgment, than for that city, in which the Word of God is daily preached in the streets—in whose ears the bells of this Church are ringing weekly warnings for repentance? Will not the men of Nineveh rise up in judgment against them?

But the Psalm has been finished, and the Sermon com-

menced: no new fangled theories, no polemical discussions, no metaphysical distinctions, fell from the lips of the Reverend Preacher. I heard a father addressing his own children, expounding simple Scripture narrative with simpler applications. I turned back, and noticed the mouth opened in interest, the neck outstretched to catch each word—I saw children hanging on the familiar notes of the father. “We are told how Noah in obedience to divine authority built the ark, how he and his family entered into it, and closed the door;—how the wicked scoffed and jeered at him:—how at length the rain *did* descend—the fountains of the deep *were* opened, the wicked utterly destroyed, but those few in the Ark saved.—This Church, my brethren, is the Ark; over this wicked city is impending the Deluge: hasten ye in.” The page of Scripture further on supplies new morals, and fresh consolation. “We hear how Abraham, trusting in God, nothing doubting, left his country and kindred, things the nearest and dearest, to go he knew not whither:—yet his faith was rewarded. And ye, my Brethren, who have sacrificed the ties of home for His sake, if ye ‘endure to the end,’ will ye not have your reward also?” No wide gulf separates the Preacher from his hearers: if he propounds a subject interrogatively, the answer appears to burst from the lips of an eager listener, and receives no check. We feel that one and all have derived instruction from such expositions, and comfort from such counsels. Sincerely we pray that the words may rest grafted in our hearts—the peace of God on the congregation, as they meekly and reverently disperse to their homes.

And who are the good—the great men, who have wrought this wondrous work? Whose hands have offered this incense of sweet savour to the Most High? Who are those, who have taken the new Jerusalem from the Jebusites, and planted this new Canaan in the land of the Heathen? Who have kept together these ten righteous, if peradventure for their sake the wicked city may be spared? There sit they—the shepherds among their flock, the Christian warriors reposing with their armour off after the combat. On their breasts are no proud insignia of battles that they have fought, of victories that they have won: but with a good fight they have carried the entrenchments of Sin and Satan, and have the *one* Cross engraved on their hearts. They have not sat on earthly judgment seats, they have not collected the tribute of nations, but they will hereafter sit upon thrones judging the heathen—they will hereafter gather in the full harvest of re-

deemed souls. They have no precedence given them in mortal assemblies, but they will be reckoned among the Angels of Heaven. They have not ruled the stormy struggles of man's bad heart; they have guided the economy of the soul, and they will be clothed in white hereafter.

I never see a Missionary, but I blame my fate, that I am not of them. Are they not to be envied whose duties in this world harmonize with those of the next; zeal in their earthly vocations promoting, not, as with us, retarding, the work of their own salvation? They stand among the Heathen, as an ensign of what each of us values most:—the General represents our victorious arms, the Governor our triumphs of administration, but the Missionary displays our virtues, our patience, our Christian charity—and shall we not be proud of him? I asked myself how is it that so few of England's learned and pious sons select this profession. The vision of one man from Macedonia took St. Paul across the Hellespont, and will no one cross the Indian Ocean for the millions, not in vision, but in reality? Will no young Augustine spring up to repay the debt of the Occident to the Orient—to bring back the Sun to the East? Had I life to begin again, this would be my choice—the glories and profits of other professions are but as vanity. We have fought battles—they are scarcely known beyond the narrow limit of the echo of the cannon. We have ruled over provinces—our fame is as soon forgotten, as we are gone. But should we have saved souls, a long line of Christians will carry back the legends of their family to our era, and entwine our names with the golden thread of grateful thanksgiving! Who remembers the Generals—the Proconsuls of the time of the Cæsars? Who remembers not the Apostles?

Thence glanced my thoughts to the early converts, those who had borne the heat of the day, on whose foreheads I had traced the lines of sorrow and early affliction (for the chain of the world is still dear to us) softened, yet not effaced, by the sweet smile of faith and resignation. Perhaps in the records of this Church will be handed down, as household words, the names of these early saints, who, when Christianity was young, forsook all things for His sake. When far and wide over this beautiful, and to me beloved land, in village and in town, floats the ensign of the Cross amidst a Christian people, then on many a Sabbath evening, when young and old are gathered together for reading and meditation, will their tale be told: old men will point to ruined tem-

ples, and tell to wondering ears, how once Idolatry existed in this land:—soft, tender, womanly cheeks will be stained with tears at the sufferings of these St. Stephens; young, manly hearts will glow in sympathy with the intrepid bravery of the Indian St. Pauls.

We are standing on the threshold of mighty events—perhaps there may be some amongst us, who will tarry till He comes. In the early Christian Church we can trace three stages;—the first, when a few obscure men professed an unknown and unappreciated Faith, persecuted by fanaticism, and crushed by ignorance. Miracles had long since ceased; the gift of the Holy Ghost no longer visibly descended, but the second stage was soon arrived at,—thriving congregations began to erect their heads amidst their neighbours, and maintain their rights, with the tacit allowance, if not the sanction, of the Government. Within three hundred years the Temple is hurled down, and the Cross erected in the Market-place.

A few months ago it was my fortunate lot to join in the Protestant worship of a few sincere and sturdy Christians in an upper room at Nazareth:—no preaching allowed in the streets, no edifices dedicated to worship: all fear, trembling, and the possibility of oppression and outrage, but for the broad Ægis of Consular England: here we have the first stage before our eyes. In the Church in which I now stand, I recognize the features of the second stage: the well-ordered congregation, the voice of the Preacher in the highways calling loudly to repentance, the modest tower rising up in the outskirts of the town—the bell calling cheerily to prayers, and this under the sceptre of England in her colonies. Thrice happy England! the extent of your conquests will be forgotten, for those of Genghis and Timour have perished: but your Missions will never be forgotten, for they will have given religion to thousands, and the time will come, when the great idol will be thrown down.

Who would not then be a Missionary—the Great King's Messenger, whose treasure is laid up in Heaven? Those who cannot attain this high office, must give of their wealth, must give of their pittance, must pray for them, as I did, as I followed the last of the congregation out of the door, thinking how sad would be the day, when, like Alexander, we had no more countries to conquer and convert,—how happy for us to see so rich a harvest gladdening the heart of the Labourer in the Vineyard?

The evening was closing, and a drizzling rain falling, as I returned into the outer world—but the picture of what I had seen clung to me, and had I to choose again, I would be a Missionary.

II.—DEATH IN INDIA.

IN the course of the present year Death deprived me of a very dear and valued friend:—though dead, his memory still liveth.

I had known him only a few months. Chance had thrown us together, but true friendships, such as link heart to heart, are of short growth. With some we may live, we may know them for years, yet the treasure-house of the affections has never been unlocked, there has been no sympathetic bond:—such was not the case with us: from the first day that we clasped each other's hand, we were friends.

He had faults—who has not? I am not describing the achievements of a hero, but of one who, a few weeks ago, moved among us. But his faults he acknowledged like a man, and like a Christian he strove to correct them. He had numbered but twenty-one summers; he was still in all the glory* of youth; but some portion of maturer wisdom had found its way to his heart. In the days of his youth he remembered his Creator, and honour be to those who had trained up the child in the right way. Honour to those kind and judicious friends who had guided his steps, and taught him where to place his affections. Verily in his not untimely end they have reaped their reward.

It seems to me still like a dream; I have scarcely realized his loss. His voice still sounds in my ears; I see his cheerful face at the board; I hear pleasurefully, though doubtfully, his enthusiastic plans for the future, his schemes of benevolence, sketched out to embrace a long life. How many a subject did we run over of classic lore or local interest? How often did we cheat the night of its rest in discussions not unprofitable, inasmuch as they tended back always to one subject which to him was the paramount thought. A prophetic intelligence appears to have possessed him, for at one time he was speculating on the future occupations of the blessed—at another repeating thoughtfully the address of Hadrian to his soul. Any instance of sudden death would draw from him serious remark. I knew that he was devout in the reading of the Scriptures, and have seen him kneeling in secret prayer.

All these things now come back upon me. Many, wise after the event, pretend to have expected his early death, and to have detected signs of decay. I saw them not. I beheld only the youth in his opening prime—the young and strong, who also cherished noble longings for the battle of life:—no wrinkle of care, no line of sorrow, had marked that smooth cheek; no languor of oriental summers, no long nights of feverish watching, had dimmed that sparkling eye. I saw in him generosity, perhaps exceeding the bounds of prudence, the gay Hope by flattering Fancy fed, the ambition for distinction, the bright anticipations for the future; burning zeal, high principles, and strong determination; the heart that could plan the good enterprize, the hand that could execute the benevolent action. Years had chilled these feelings in my breast: zeal, ambition, bright anticipations were all gone, but, mindful of an ancient flame, I acknowledged in another the traces of what once had been.

And all this is gone—all struck low in a few brief days. Alas! how often in the first years of Indian life are the brightest hopes dashed! How many a noble boy falls an untimely victim!

It was in the sickly months that he began to ail; at first slight complaints, and unsuccessful remedies. Then the shadows began to close round him; his nervous temperament aided the approach of the disease; his cheerful laugh ceased, and he no longer went abroad, but was confined to his couch. I will not say that he feared death, but, unused to illness, he anticipated it from the first. He read the Bible as usual, which was always beside him, not seizing it then, as drowning landsmen seize the anchor of salvation with unpractised hand, but clasping, as his consolation in sickness, the Book which had been the charm of the days of his health. His friends talked to him, and strove to cheer him, and tried to shake off the melancholy which had pre-occupied him. We spoke of the topics which once used to please him; the sermons of the sabbath, which he had been unable to hear, were detailed to him and discussed as in happier days. The body was weaker, still the intellect was bright. At length his ears grew dull from the effect of medicine; all interchange of mental thoughts then ceased, and the friend became even as a stranger.

Did I think he was dying? Did it pass through my mind, that thy days were numbered? Oh! had I done so, how would I have redoubled my attention to win one smile of thanks! But my eyes were darkened; the lamp of Hope burnt

brightly, and I knew not what was impending. The fever rose and sank, but the patient sank always; like the glimmer of the expiring taper, the divine principle of life flashed upwards. All that devoted attention, all that the skill of mortals can do to arrest Death, was done. He spoke little, he heard nothing. Interest for things of this world seemed to die in him. The Bible was no longer opened, though always at hand: even those messengers of Hope, those winged ambassadors of Love, that month by month cheer the exile's heart, remained unopened and uncared for by his side.

What thoughts passed through his busy brain during those long, and to him noiseless, days? On what did he ponder in anxious thought during those lonely nights? As the lengthening shadows of the evening fell, as the light of the setting sun, pouring in in a golden shower, played upon the walls of his sick chamber, as the cooing of the doves, the busy murmur of the insect tribe, told of the coming of the evening, did he rejoice that the day was gone? Or after the tedious watches of a sleepless night, did he welcome back the dim twilight of the Indian morn? Did he then in thought wander back to the hills of Cheviot, and the shores of Solway, never again to be revisited? Did in his dreaming awakenings bright eyes beam kindly, and loved forms appear to soothe that throbbing heart? Did soft hands in fancy smooth his pillow and touch that aching brow? Or did his innate piety triumph over his earthly affections? Did the prospect of Heaven draw away his thoughts even from her who had shewn the way, and was he then picturing to himself the mansions of the blest? Did he know that he was going? Had he ought that he strove in vain to say? any tender message of love to leave to those behind? any thoughtful warning to convey to those in whose welfare he felt interested? any banished friendship to implore, any evil action to crave pardon for, any hasty word to atone?

I knew not. O God! be with us in these hours: inspire us with good resolutions—strengthen our convictions in health, and give us grace to cling to them in the dying hour, and, when that last sleep seals our eyes, be then nigh!—thus thought I, as doubt was followed by anxiety, as anxiety was scarcely combated by faint hope, as at length that yielded to despair.

Is he then to die—to go we know not whither, and lie in corruption? Are such good hopes to be prematurely cut off? Is there no rotten tree that may take the place of this green branch? He died, and in peace:—we had watched him softly and slowly breathing through the night, while Hope and Fear

contended with each other, for when sleeping, we had almost fancied him dead, and when he died, to us he seemed still in slumber.—Yes, it came at last, the troubled dream was awakened from: brighter worlds began to open round him:—as the morn came upon us, dull, wet, and dreary, his quiet eyes closed:—it was but the struggle of a moment:—like the last puff of a taper the spark of heavenly flame escaped from its clay tenement; another morn than our's had dawned upon him.

To him the wondrous secret had now been unravelled, which none on earth have ever known. But what were the last ideal reflections on his brain, ere it relapsed to clay? Did he sigh for some fond breast, on which his parting soul would have relied? As the world receded, did he cast long lingering looks behind? Did his trembling spirit turn with timid love to old familiar things, bidding the earth farewell in fear and in mourning? And, as Heaven opened on his eyes, did his deafened ears recover their power, to hear the ringing of celestial sounds, and sweet voices welcoming him to rest? Did he on the threshold meet the lamented father, who had so few months preceded him?

I stood alone by his cold stiffening clay. Decay's finger had not yet swept the familiar lines: alone, yet not alone, for the memory of the friend was still embodied with me, though fast fading into the Ideal. I had not yet disconnected myself from the dream of his existence. How I blamed my hasty temper as many harsh words rose up in judgment against me? How I recalled his gentle and subdued line of argument, his chastened train of thoughts? How many subjects would I have referred to his judgment, for in the last moments he had been invested with a new dignity, and I felt that I was in the presence of a superior, for he now knew all, concerning which we had so much doubted. Alone, yet not alone, for those dark passionless forms, which we in our insular pride so despise, those beings, with whom we have so little, save mortality, in common, who worship not the gods which we worship, who know not the consolation to which we look at the last,—they stood abashed and weeping, as the master, to whom they had so lately bowed abjectly down, lay mouldering before them. Think not that their tears were insincere, but rather that they flowed from the common fount of humanity, distinction of creed and race in this hour having vanished.

Alone—yet not alone:—as the bright light of the sun played in at the now opened windows—as I heard the

birds cawing in the trees, the patter of the goats on the gravel, the lowing of the kine in the enclosure, the voices and busy hum of men in the highway :—as I looked on the boats floating down the river, the white houses shining among the dewy trees on the opposite bank, the many-coloured groups of bathers standing in the stream ; as the voice of the ploughman, calling to his oxen and his fellows, while he turned up the new autumnal furrow, came floating cheerily over to me, softened musically by the distance, every thing so full of gladness and vitality, I thought of life, its duties and its pains—all those absorbing interests which enchain and subdue us :—but, when I turned back, and my eye fell on the white stiffened form, no more restless rolling on the couch, no parched lips craving for water, no waving fan to cool the heated atmosphere, no more noiseless treadings, or subdued voices in the chamber, no friends with anxiety-stricken countenances, no spirit struggling with eternity :—I felt that I was in the presence of a greater monarch than the world—that I stood face to face with the last enemy to be triumphed over—Death.

But there is no time for mourning here. Necessity and law will not brook delay. Short interval of sorrow and seclusion to accustom us to the face of the dead, ere we see it no longer ! At the earliest dawn of the morrow he is laid in his last abode. The same goodly company, in the same garb, with the same feeling of fellowship, that would have welcomed him at his glad espousals, follow him to the grave. *There* are those, who have seen Death in many a form, that have looked it steadily in the face in the day of battle, that have assisted in many such a ceremony both in Peace and in War : they look on with cold solemn face, if not hardened heart. What do they care for Death ? *There* are the flaxen-haired, light-hearted lads just hurried from their native hills over the waves of the ocean, to fill perhaps after a few short days an early grave :—thoughtless and careless, with good dispositions, and memory of parental warning still waging unequal fight against temptation and example, what do they know of Death ? *There* are the few pensive and sincere hearts, who in simple affection mourn their lost companion, and talking lowly to each other, shed tears for the bright youth that has been snatched away.

No bells sound in mournful dirge—the shadow of no Gothic tower falls on the consecrated ground. Religious discord has found a field of contention even at the grave. We enter no church, we kneel in no house set apart to pray, but the

corpse is met by the Minister of God at the gate of an enclosed field, choked with tasteless and unwieldy memorials of the forgotten Dead. As the solemn exordium sounds, the head of the most irreverent is uncovered,—perhaps by God's grace some heart is touched, and the motley crowd follow in, and gather under the canopy of Heaven in confused groups round the narrow bed of their companion.

The last time that I had heard these words, was many years ago, many a hundred league hence, where the flower of British India stood panting and exhausted on the banks of the Sutlej :—it was in the dead of night, while the guns, which the enemy were sullenly firing, still rung in our ears, amidst the rattling of musquetry, that the body of one of the bravest of his accomplished Service was laid in the dust : nor in his glory was he left alone, for in the fight in which he fell, many had fallen, some to share the narrow chamber of his grave, some to sleep beside him : below us were those that fell at Moodkee and Ferozshuhr, and standing among us were some, who a few days after fell bravely at Sobraon : and months afterward, when those poor bones had been turned to dust, when their spirits had appeared trembling before the judgment seat to receive their last and great award, when their places in the council, and the field, were filled by others, England rang with their praises—History still boasts of their achievements.

How different was the scene now acting? No laurels were entwined round this youthful brow :—he had added no new lustre to a great and honored name :—no wisdom in council—no great excellence among men will remain to be told of him : he had not met Death in the field, when, the blood warmed by excitement, the spirit roused by patriotism, the brave man scorns danger, and with rash, oh too fearless ! daring rushes an unrepenting sinner into the presence of the the Almighty : he had met Death in the silent chamber, where there is nothing grand to mortal eye, where in a fever, there is no romance : yet let us trust that in the Book of Life will his name be recorded, and in the last day his good deeds be remembered.

As I stood on the grave of one who had preceded my friend but a few months—perhaps a little week, I looked round upon the crowd : all were there, the friends of his youth and the companions of his joy, to render the last tribute to his memory : there also were his dark heathen attendants, led by some feeling of sympathy, but unconscious of a country beyond the grave : there were the thoughtless faces of the pas-

sers-by arrested to see the show, some too in their heart rejoicing that there was a Power which could lay low and avenge their invincible oppressors. The solemn silence of the scene was ever and anon interrupted by the rattle of the wheels of some tardy arriver ; but the mockery of woe blackening all the way, the sable mutes, the feathered hearse, the pomp and circumstance of grief, are unknown in a clime where Death is always busy, and grief but short-lived. Yes, all were there—they would have accounted it as a shame to be absent, and, as the earth dropped from many a hand on the coffin, as the measured words of the Minister fell upon their hearing, as, the maimed rites completed, they departed, some to their business, some to their pleasures, I thought within myself who will be the next borne through that portal, for it is but a few weeks, since he, whom we have now left here, wandered with me among these tombs, talking thoughtfully and wonderingly about the dead. With cheerfulness of heart let us leave him to sleep there, as one not without hope, whose happiness has been achieved:—but for myself and those who stood around me, forgetting already the cause of their being there, what place is there for ought but doubtfulness and gloom ? Will ye miss your friend who was so lately among you, the sharer of your joy and your pleasures ? Will the memory of his blameless life inspire you ? Will the thoughts of his sudden death be a warning to you ? Will you think of him in your homes and in your gatherings ? Will you regret his absence at the festive board and the dance ? Will ye sorrowfully mark his vacant place at the Church ? Surely he has left some footsteps on the sand of time for your heeding ; and do ye return to your vices and follies without one better impression, without one deeply-set warning ? Hereafter, when Fever lays you low, when your turn arrives, you will regret the opportunity lost, and example thrown away.—What more do you expect ?—Do you not hear ? I trowed ye would not, as the distant sound of the last wheel, bearing away its light-thoughted master to his occupations and his pleasures, fell on my ears, even if one should rise from the dead ! But a few days ago he was the friend of many ; it will soon be forgotten that he even existed.

But my task was not yet done:—not mine to give vent to secret grief in my chamber, or to drown it in the cares of the world. He, that had died, was a stranger without kin in the land, and the law stepped in to guard the interests of the inheritance. Before twenty hours had elapsed, I found myself mechanically assisting in what to me seem-

ed sacrilege, though still a duty, in searching his desk, and most secret depositories, for some memorial of his wishes : There were books and tokens of love and affection from absent friends to be set aside : there were his papers and letters to be sealed up. Round us lay strewed the tokens of his innocent pleasures, his more laborious hours and his thoughtful devotions : poor boy ! his bats, and his note books ; his journal recording his simple life ;—his Bible marked with references to which his eye will never again turn ; his watch, which had run down, and was still, even as the lifetide of its master,—one had to him marked the flight of Time, the other had shewn him, not in vain, how those hours were to be spent ; of both now was the use gone to him, for the great Book of Life was unfolded before his eyes, and Time had ceased to be. There also was the letter written, but not despatched, to some dear friend, full of hope and glee : how can we now send this lying messenger ? There were his clothes—his favorite books : on the table lay papers with unfinished sentences, the ink scarcely dry in his pen. Round us flitted the shadow of the departed : his home seemed a temple robbed of its divinity.

I turned sickened away, but the last act was to be played ere the curtain fell on the scene. All came to have a share in the spoil. I heard the half-suppressed joke, the giddy laugh, as his favorite horse was sold at the outcry ; the dogs, which had been fondly caressed by him, and fed from his hands, passed away to strangers. I dared not call to them, poor hounds, for they knew my voice too well.

The whole item of little humanity, represented by that one name, has now resolved itself into an idea, sooner even than the form divine has returned to its original dust ! It will soon be forgotten what year, what month he died : soon, very soon,—before even the sad news reaches a sequestered village, a distant nook of wild Caledonia, where an aged bosom will swell with that agony which parents only know, and soft womanly hearts will mourn the cherished boy, whom they so lately sent forth with pride and hopefulness to his destiny ; whom, though they had no hopes of again meeting, they rejoiced to hear well of,—that in a distant land he thought and cared for them, and prospered.

Is there yet no nearer, and no dearer tie—one twined with the bright garlands of youthful fancy,—that has been broken ? Have no visions of future homes, of kindly welcomes hereafter, of cheerful hearths, of children climbing

on the knee, been rudely dashed to the ground? Is there no broken heart mourning in unacknowledged affliction?

Ask it not: probe not the secret of the heart, nor try to unravel the mystery of the tomb. Go, kneel by the grave—his is the happiest lot. No pain, no passionate grief, no hot burning anger, no disappointed ambition, no unrequited love, will vex him more. He is gone to that silent shore, where grief *is not*, where the good are rewarded, and the weary are at rest. And in humble example of our greatest living Poet, who has poured a tuneful sonnet to the memory of his youthful friend, let this be my weak imperfect offering: let me scatter over the turf these few purple flowers, these unavailing tears, telling mournfully *how he lived, and how he died.*

Benares.

C. N. R.

SONNET.

Τὸ πνεῦμα συναντιλαμβάνεται ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν.

Fountain of grace and Paraclete of earth,

Who workest in us that we ABBA cry;

Revealer of that "glorious liberty,"

The noblest guerdon of our second birth;—

Comfort us, when, in other comforts' dearth,

Upon our beds of death we palsied lie;

Uplift our feeble hands,—our agony

Commend to that blest Lord, whose triumph's worth

Hath to believers opened Heaven:—with Thine

Unutterable intercessions aid

Our *misereres* when the close is near.

So, of the last dread hour no more afraid.

Light from above the cold dark vale shall cheer,

And Angels us as washed and whitened sign.

VIII.

NATIVE EDUCATION IN THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.*

THE story of the English Ambassador's Christmas Pudding at Constantinople is well enough known. It was determined to treat His Excellency to a good honest English plum pudding. How to make it was the question, till a clever *attaché* produced a cookery book from his port-manteau, and there sure enough was the recipe. Plums, eggs, sugar, spice, flour, suet, all in just proportion, were duly catalogued by the *chef de cuisine* (whether he was a Turk or a Frenchman we forget) and the pudding in due course came to table. A slight uneasy twinge passed round when the guests observed that a soup tureen had been selected wherein to serve up the well-remembered dish. This was increased to utter dismay when the cover was taken off and instead of the "chieftain of the pudding race,"† a steamy unctuous mess, a sort of cross between caudle and frumenty, was revealed. How came this about? The sugar had been weighed, the *attaché* had with his own hands poured in the brandy, the cook was famous for his punctual observance of orders. At last some body suggested that the pudding bag had been forgotten.

Now what plum pudding is without the bag, statistical information about education or any thing else is without due order and classification.

One reason why people will hardly look at anything concerning Native Education with patience, is owing to the lumps of rude and undigested information with which, in the shape of 'Reports,' year after year they have been pelted. Dip into any one of these messes and the chances are you come, like the Ambassador's guests, upon some trash or other unfit for adult human digestion.

Such being our own recollections of Indian educational treatises, it was with some misgiving that we took up Mr. Reid's "Report on Indigenous Education." We have met with agreeable surprise. If we have any complaint to make of our fare with Mr. Reid, it is certainly not that he has for-

* REPORT ON INDIGENOUS EDUCATION AND VILLAGE SCHOOLS in *Agra, Aligarh, Bareilly, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Mynpoorie, Mathura, Shahjahanpur*, for 1850-51. By HENRY STEWART REID, B. C. S., Visitor General of Schools, N.W.P.

† We ask pardon of our Scotch readers for appropriating this term which of right belongs to the 'Haggis' of our own national pudding.

gotten the pudding bag but that he has given us too much of it. There is the material for a magnificent feast, matter fresh and good in abundance, but served up, if we may pursue our simile without offence to a host who has laid us under serious obligations, *in dumplings*. Mr. Reid has modestly concluded that his readers would prefer selecting a bit of his Report here and there to devouring the whole at a sitting; and instead of putting his table of contents at the end of his volume, has placed them piece meal at the head of each sentence, in Italics. This is at once perplexing to the reader and unjust to the author; for the eye and the mind sympathize so closely that when the one is offended the other seldom fails to be irritated. A writer with one-half of Mr. Reid's information, earnestness, and ability, and with more of the '*savoir faire*' or trick of the author, could have produced a more readable book. However, putting the artistical deficiencies aside, we have seldom taken up a more interesting educational treatise, and since Mr. Adam's work on the Bengalee schools we have seen nothing on the subject at all equal to Mr. Reid's Report in the substantial points of valuable and varied information. The diction is good, and there is a minuteness and closeness of statistical detail which will be despised only by those who are too ignorant to appreciate the importance as well as the labor of such researches.

Let us take a ramble then with Mr. Reid amongst the villages of the North-West, and watch the career of those amongst whom he is so earnestly working. And first, we will make acquaintance with this singular little specimen of Moslem humanity, who squats cross-legged at his School-master's knees bowing and jabbering out the *Gulistan* as if his life depended on the suppleness of his back, and the glibness of his tongue. His name is Rujub Alee: his father a Syed in easy circumstances. When Rujub Alee attained the age of four years four months and four days, his parents bathed him in due form, put on him a new suit of green silk, and carried him to the family tutor, old Peer Alee. Mr. Reid thus describes the ceremony:—

"The relatives and friends of the family are invited to attend on the occasion. Sweetmeats are laid out before the company on wooden platters. The Fatihah is then read over the sweetmeats by the teacher, who next thrice repeats, 'In the name of God Most Merciful, oh God make easy (the book) and enable me to complete it without let or hindrance.' The pupil repeats word by word after the teacher.

Then both go through the Alphabet. The sweetmeats are next distributed among the company, the boy taking the first morsel or mouthful, or else an odd number, as 3, 5 or 7. Whatever is left over is considered the perquisite of the teacher, who receives, in addition, presents in money, clothes &c., the value of the gift varying according to the means and liberality of the donor."—pp. 50-51. See Note IX.

Had our young friend Rujub been a Nowab Zadeh, (i. e. Son of a Nowab), he would have repeated his letters for the first time from an Alphabet written on a silver plate, and then have presented the plate to his future tutor. But to proceed with his history. Rujub's first lesson was to sit by Peer Alec and repeat short Persian words. When he was seven years old his tutor would write out letters on a smooth blackened board, and Rujub would trace over them as steadily as he could, and call out the names until he knew them perfectly. After some two months at the Alphabet he began to learn the *Khálíkbári*, a rhyming dictionary of Persian and Hindee synonymes. After three or four months, during which he learned some pages of the dictionary, which he used to scream out at the top of his voice until he gasped for breath, he was set to work at the *Karíma* or *Pundnamah* of Sádi, a collection of moral precepts. Hitherto he had learned like a parrot, but entering upon his eighth year little Rujub began the *Gulistán* or Rose Garden of Sádi, which he read in the morning, and the *Bostán* in the afternoon. These books were little by little explained to him, and it was on the *Gulistán* he was engaged when we first met him this morning. He is fond of his book, to which, as well as to his tutor, he makes a salaam every morning when he comes to lessons; and is on the whole a good boy. When he is inclined to be naughty, and "Mean jee," as he calls his master, inclined to be cross, Rujub gets the punishment of *goshmálee*, literally "ear rubbing," which is much milder than the caping of an English pedagogue. The other boys, his school-fellows, sons of his father's friends and acquaintances, who are allowed to come and learn with Rujub, are not so civilly treated. If they pinch one another or make a disturbance, two of their mates are called to seize their ears, and to make them sit down and rise again "with great rapidity." We may observe here that the ears seem generally to be selected for all the varied scholastic punishments reserved in England for the inferior members, there being no less than six kinds of *goshmáli*. Add to this a seventh and extreme measure of discipline, when the teacher takes a

rough pebble and pinches the soft part of his disciple's ear therewith.

Notwithstanding all this attention paid to the ears as the "seat of punishment," it would seem the "seat of honor" is not entirely neglected; at all events we read of the appropriate implements, "peach-tree switches." One of the district visitors, however, assures Mr. Reid that the most incorrigible boy seldom comes in for more than "slapping and soft flogging." No doubt boys are treated much less severely here than in our own country, where not half a century back, schoolmasters used to enact the part of ruffians, and learning and misery were synonymous terms. Your Indian teacher is more mild, humble, and patient, than his European fellow-labourer, and, it must be added, more apathetic.*

Both alike are too often afflicted with poverty and social disregard, but the mind of the European is cultivated and he feels the inequality of his position, whilst the head of the Asiatic is the only part on which as yet any impression has been made or attempted. So we believe that the Indian schoolmaster, half starved though he be, is happier than his European brother who has the sense to see and the sensibility to feel his too frequent indignities.† Let us here remark that it is because he is straining every nerve to put the native teachers into the way of thinking as well as teaching mechanically that we expect so much from the labours of Mr. Reid. He feels keenly, perhaps too keenly, the absurdity of the

* The parents generally "cocker" their children, and are offended with the master if any rough usage is adopted; but we have known some who made their unruly boys over to the pedagogue, giving the discretionary power implied in the following sentence, "chumree toomhare", *hudee humharee*, "I give you the skin, but the bones are mine. Now and then the severest schoolmaster catches a Tartar. There was a lad at Blaurtpoor whose parents could do nothing with him, and who had tired out all the schoolmasters in the place. At last, in despair, his father sent him to a sort of Indian Busby, who went by the name of "Julad" or "the Executioner." The first day the young truant came to his school Julad gave him a sound thrashing. The next day the youth, vowing vengeance, went out early into the jungles, and picking a number of babool thorns, stuck them into his hair with the points upwards, which he carefully concealed under his skull-cap. He came late to school, and going up to the master bowed his head low, and said, "forgive me, Huzrutt, for being so late." Julad gave him a violent slap on his head, and the thorns went into his hand; off scampered young graceless, and Julad gave up thumping boys' heads for the future.

† That the Indian schoolmaster does not escape the pangs of jealousy is to be gathered from the proverb "Meanjee koota a'or Fuqeer dekh nuheen sukhen apne tir," and as for harsh treatment, it is proverbial that the village barber will scarce condescend to cut the hair of an unfortunate who never has a penny to spare or to give away.

oriental method of instruction, and labors hard to give a new direction to the schoolmaster's exertions. Should Mr. Reid succeed in this attempt, and he is going the right way to work,* he will have won a noble victory. It will be the triumph of mind over memory, of thought over mere head-knowledge and quackery.

But we are forgetting Rujub Alee. On Thursday he has a half and on Friday a whole holiday. On the great festivals of his religion the little boy† carries a copy of verses drawn up by Peer Alee to his father, who gives him a small silver coin to take back to the old man in return. Here is a translation of one of Peer Alee's significant effusions composed on the holiday *Eed ool fatr*.

"The feast Ramzan has arrived, infusing joy and gladness. May blessings be showered on all friends. Dear father! make over to me the holiday gift that I may present it to my teacher."—p. 38.

And so Rujub Alee will go on. When he is twelve or thirteen years old he will read books of history such as the *Sikundurnamah*, and a treatise or two on the art of polite letter-writing. Eventually he will struggle through a little Arabic, and when he is twenty will go forth into the world in quest of employment. He will then have a sort of a classical knowledge of Persian, and for his private reading will have a collection of amorous tales fit only to relax the morals, and of history fit only to enslave the mind. In arithmetic he will be grossly deficient; as for geography, science, or philosophy, he will neither know nor care to know any thing about them. Such will be Rujub Alee's career,—that is to say unless Mr. Reid gets hold of him. If he fall into the clutches of the Visitor-General, notwithstanding Peer Alee's secret hatred of a printed book, and of the new-fangled ways of the Feringee schoolmasters, there is some hope for our young friend. He may at the present day, with the help of Mr. Reid's books, get abundance of sound elementary instruction, and before he has finished his education we sincerely hope and believe that a very fair course of Literature in good

* Especially in the vernacular treatises published since his Report was written.

† There is another graceful custom in some families. When a son is born to the Head of the house, the family tutor goes in procession with all his scholars to the door of his patron's house and recites a poem evoking blessings on the family. At the end of each verse the boys call out '*Amen*' at the top of their voices. On such occasions the tutor gets a good round sum, and a suit of clothes.

Oordoo prose will have been opened to him. What he will want, and what we hope to see supplied, are some good treatises on domestic and political economy, geography, history, moral and natural philosophy, written in his own genuine vernacular. For if the Mahometan youth is to get knowledge, why not get it in Oordoo, with technical terms grafted where absolutely necessary from Arabic or from the languages of the Western world? The Oordoo books at present issuing from our presses at Agra have naturally enough a somewhat utilitarian character. We must walk before we can run, but the time has now fully come for attempting to create a more varied and extensive vernacular literature.*

Let us pass on now to take a glimpse at the sort of education to which the vast mass of our Hindoo population have access. The Persian student we have already observed is often brought up by a private tutor, who indeed, as did the domestic chaplain with us a century back, forms a characteristic part of the *menage* of a Mahometan gentleman. The Kayeth Hindoos form a race of the aptest scribes in the world, who seem always as if they had come into existence with a pen behind their ears. Separate for ages as professional writers and accountants, they mostly affect what may be called a commercial education, which they obtain at the regular village schools, engrafted on the quasi-classical course common to them and the Mahometans. In ordinary accounts these young sons of the pen would beat most lads of their age in any other country; and they multiply by 17 or by $2\frac{1}{2}$ as fast as a young disciple of Cocker could by 3 or by 6. They have also very sufficient rules for performing the ordinary processes of land measurement in a simple and rapid manner. Your Kayeth surveyor can walk into a village, and make a reticulation of the fields with a degree of speed and accuracy, which would astonish Abraham Crocker, (that great-grandfather of surveyors,) and still puzzles all his descendants. The Brahmins too are very generally sensible of the advantages to be attained by a good business-like education, and are gradually shelving the shasters in favor of the "ready reckoners," or other practical treatises of modern date.

* Mr. H. C. Tucker has well remarked—"If every one would cause one school book or vernacular work to be prepared and printed, we should soon have a goodly library of vernacular literature."—No man has a better right to make this appeal than Mr. Tucker, who has done more than most of us to supply the very want we are describing.

We now descend to the humble classes. The simple instruction which the son of the village tradesman can command is given by a poor half-starved teacher, who uses no book, but teaches only the multiplication table by word of mouth. These men, the hedge-schoolmasters of India, are often unable to read; those who can are brought up short by any thing longer than a monosyllable. Your *Nao Pandey*, or barber schoolmaster, is a humbler Professor than was the barber surgeon of our forefathers. He sets up, we are told, on a stock in trade of knowledge "infinitesimal" in amount, and we need not ask what are the accomplishments of his pupils. His emoluments are on a par with his literary acquirements.* As however these worthies can satisfy their stomachs on "twelve annas per mensem" in cheap seasons, they are able to luxuriate with a pipe of tobacco, which is about the only consolation they have.†

There are of course amongst the Hindoos both teachers and scholars of a more ambitious character than those we have been describing. Your Sanscrit Pundit and grammarian is often a man of a subtle and, in a certain sense, a highly exercised intellect. The grammar alone demands

* Out of 2,514 such teachers in Mr. Reid's beat, 1,213 receive less pay than a grass-cutter.

† Boys will be boys all the world round. Whilst our friend "Gooroo Jee," or "Panree Jee," is regaling himself with a pipe, his scholars amuse themselves occasionally by tagging rhymes rather personal than complimentary to the master.

The usual Sanscrit invocation of "Oong numus siddhung" with which lessons begin, and which means we believe "Oh God I adore thee, fulfil Thou my purpose," runs according to popular phrase thus—

"Ona Māsi dūng"

Hence the chorus :

Ona Māsi dūng
Panree ne khyee bhūng
Chulta tootēe tūng.

Or again—

Panree ke oopur chak
Mein panree ka bap.

Or in Persian Schools—

Tuktee pur tuktee
Mean jee ki kum-buktee.

Or the ceremony described in page 4 is ridiculed thus,—

Tuktee pur butasa
Mean jee kuree tumāsha.

When the pipe is over, Pandey Jee takes a nap, the boys fanning him *en amore* by turns, to prolong his slumbers.

no slight exertion of the mental powers, and the full course of reading, for an embryo Pundit, embraces Law, Logic, Medicine, Poetry, and the Drama, in addition to the sacred volumes of his Religion. But the study of the Law and of the six Schools of Philosophy is declining, and the Brahmin is fast losing his Druidical character and assuming the functions of the Bard. Divinity, Philosophy, and Law are rejected for Poetry, Literature, and Rhetoric. Let us hope it may be with the Eastern Druid as it has been with his Western congener, that as both "from misapplying that undeniable truth of God's being in every thing, made every thing to be their God—trees, rivers, hills and mountains,"* so Brahmin may, as Briton has done before him, fling away his idols to the owls and bats, and bend the knee before the true God.†

After referring our readers for details of all sorts connected with Hindoo and Mahometan schools to the mine of statistical wealth opened up in Mr. Reid's volume, it is now time to notice the machinery which is at work under his vigorous hand for visiting and inspecting these seminaries.‡

The Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. Provinces recommended, as we understand, some years back to the Court of Directors, that a portion of land in each village, or in many villages, (we know not the exact proposition made) should be set apart for the support of a village schoolmaster. The Court preferred making a money grant, and it is not neces-

* Fuller's *Church History*.

† Although beyond our present enquiry, we may observe how obviously it is demanded that some of our Christian Missionaries should, in an especial manner, devote themselves to acquire the learning of the Brahmins, and to master the intricacies of the Sanscrit language. This is the least that is required of them if they would enter fully armed into the conflict which they stand pledged to sustain. As yet the necessity for mastering the positions and resources of their adversaries, whether heathen or Mahometan, has not sufficiently engaged the attention of our warriors of the Cross. There are bright exceptions to this general indifference to Oriental learning (real learning we mean;) but only enough to prove the rule. Moses, that great first human liberator, was "mighty in words and deeds;" but he was also "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."—Paul, too, the Apostolic Reformer, had sat no unapt scholar at the feet of Gamaliel. But this is not the occasion to pursue these speculations.

‡ Mr. H. S. Reid's system of supervision has been as yet extended to only the Districts specified below. As this officer has been accused—(as we think most unreasonably)—of putting forth statistics in a crude manner, we subjoin, as a specimen, two out of some fifty tables given by him. We have added one column to the form B. from the printed Statistical Returns of 1848 to show the population of the several Districts enumerated. And of Mr Reid's labors we can only say, that, judging from this Report, they have been well

sary for us now to question the wisdom of this choice—anyhow we rejoice that something has been done to acknowledge the responsibility of the rulers of the people in a matter full of such importance to the future welfare of both. Early in 1851,* a notification of the intentions of the Government was made, and Mr. Reid, as a sort of Minister of Education, was instructed to appoint qualified persons to officiate as Visitors in certain districts; these Visitors again had subordinate Pergunnah Visitors under their charge.

directed and most heartily and earnestly persevered in. Would that we had throughout India such able and enlightened pioneers at work in the great cause of Native Education.

Appendix A. Showing the number of Schools of all descriptions.

District.	Arabic.	Kuran.	Arabic and Persian.	Persian.	Urdu.	Urdu and Hindi.	Hindi.	Hindi and Sanskrit.	Sanskrit.	English and Vernacular.	Total.
Agra, ...	1	4	19	76	0	10	110	52	15	11	298
Aligarh, ...	2	15	5	213	0	3	203	63	17	3	554
Bareilly, ...	3	54	17	318	0	7	104	5	38	0	546
Etawah, ...	1	9	0	65	0	6	135	17	20	2	255
Faruckabad, ...	0	18	95	208	0	14	195	35	39	2	606
Mainpuri, ...	2	0	1	93	2	7	90	15	12	0†	222
Mathura, ...	1	0	6	64	3	3	126	40	30	1	274
Shajahanpur, ...	1	9	12	220	0	5	156	6	34	1	444
Total,	11	109	155	1258	5	53	1119	233	205	20	3169

Appendix B. Showing the number of Scholars of all descriptions.

District,	Arabic.	Kuran.	Arabic and Persian.	Persian.	Urdu.	Urdu and Hindi.	Hindi.	Hindi and Sanskrit.	Sanskrit.	English and Vernacular.	Total.	District Population.
Agra, ...	39	50	243	763	0	369	1263	678	119	601	4121	826,220
Aligarh, ...	13	94	51	1677	0	176	1515	703	95	21	4345	739,356
Bareilly, ...	13	455	106	1961	0	228	815	79	286	0	3943	1,143,657
Etawah, ...	1	63	0	421	0	79	1213	0	134	7	1918	481,224
Faruckabad, ...	0	79	746	1154	0	317	1625	452	382	246	5001	854,799
Mainpuri, ...	19	0	4	638	16	299	952	198	90	0	2216	619,809
Mathura, ...	8	0	68	535	33	211	1712	689	267	40	3573	791,688
Shajahanpur, ...	1	80	66	1354	0	102	995	35	188	38	2859	812,588
Total,	87	821	1284	8503	49	1761	10,090	2845	1561	956	27,976	6,201,341

* See Agra Government Gazette, 19th Feb, 1851

† We have been requested to say that at Mynpoorie there are two or three of these schools with some three hundred scholars.

The following extracts from Mr. Reid's directions to Zillah Visitors will explain the scope of his views, so far as this part of his duty is concerned:—

Para. 3—"Your closest attention and most strenuous endeavours should be directed towards the four following most important objects:—

First.—The improvement and increase of indigenous schools.

Second.—The encouragement of a desire for knowledge, and for the benefit arising from education among all classes.

Third.—The collection of full and correct statistical information regarding the condition of the Schools, state of education, and of learning in general, in your district.

Fourth.—A close and conscientious superintendence of the Pargana Visitors and Teachers subordinate to you."

Para. 5—"In short, strive to introduce measures for increasing the efficiency of the Teacher, that the time and labor expended in the Schools may not prove 'time and labor lost,' but that the efforts made, however humble they be, may produce good fruit."

Para. 6—"Neglect no opportunity of saying a word in season to Zamindars and others. Do not keep aloof from such; do not imagine that your field of labor lies only among Schoolmasters, but let the Zamindar and the Cultivator see that you are anxious to promote their interests, that they may, without hesitation, apply to you, when they want assistance in establishing a School, or procuring a Teacher."

Para. 7—"Adapt your measures to the circumstances amid which you are called upon to act. Where the Village papers are filed by the Patwari in Urdu, and the population is chiefly Musalman, endeavor to establish Urdu Schools. In the midst of a Hindi population, settle a good Hindi Teacher. If no School exist, and the Patwari writes his accounts, &c., in Kayasthi; or where no Hind' Teacher conversant with Nagri is procurable, locate a Kayasthi Teacher. You must not expect to find competent Teachers ready made to your hand. A great point is gained in the very establishment of the School—you may hope to improve and educate the Teacher hereafter."

Para. 8—"As the value of water is only appreciated by him who suffers thirst, so, as long as a desire and thirst for knowledge is not felt, the benefits arising from it will not be appreciated. Proceeding on this principle, impress on those with whom you are thrown into contact, the evils which arise from ignorance, taking special care to bring the subject home to their own door. Here you will derive great assistance from the books which have been issued, and a store of which you should keep by you. Read extracts from such as affect particularly your audience. To the Zamindar and Cultivator show the story of Dharm Singh, the upright Lumbardar, or ask them to listen, while you read aloud the narrative of the dishonest Patwari's machinations, and the measures by which the Zamindars who could read, defeated his designs, while the ignorant Cultivator was cheated, and in addition imprisoned for non-payment of his rent, which he had in fact previously paid in. To the Banya or Mahajan explain the objects of the Banker's and Mahajan's Manual."

Para. 9—"Endeavor to instil into the mind of your audience laudable curiosity regarding familiar subjects which may prove of interest. This may be done by judicious questions and suggestions. Should you happily succeed in exciting a desire to know something more of the subject in hand, strike while the iron is hot, and read from some work

the solution of their doubts and surmises. 'This course you will find more useful than even clear verbal explanation. The knowledge existing in your own mind is not so accessible to all as a tangible book.'

Para. 10—"You should cultivate the acquaintance of the men of rank and influence in your District, while you should maintain friendly relations with the Tahsildars and other servants of Government. Your power and opportunities of doing good, and of fulfilling your own particular duties, will be vastly increased, if you gain the support of those who have influence with the people. If, on the other hand, you treat them with neglect, they will, if not openly, at any rate clandestinely and effectually, thwart your most earnest endeavors."

Again, the subordinate or Pergunnah Visitors are reminded:—

Para. 5—"You should go among the Teachers as a friend, and show that the purport of your visit is not simply to make an entry of the School, &c., in your papers, but that you come in the light of an helper, a fellow-labourer. Do not dictate to the Teacher, nor do wanton violence to his prejudices by too hasty a condemnation of his system, but point out, as a friend, his errors, and suggest remedies."

Para. 6—"If any Teacher is unwilling that you should visit his School, do not insist on the point, but endeavor to ascertain the condition of the School, Scholars, and Teachers from other sources."

Para. 7—"Those Schoolmasters who consent to receive your visits, treat with courtesy, and encourage them to record in your papers any wishes they may entertain in connection with their Schools. Conciliation and persuasion, not force and threats, should be the means employed by you to open a way among the people."

Para. 18—"Do not confine your visits to those Villages alone in which Schools exist, but visit every Village in your circle, and wherever you may not find a School, do your best to persuade the people to establish one, by pointing out to them the many advantages resulting from Education. Explain to them how, by a reference to the Settlement and Nikasi Papers, they may be enabled to defend their rights, and how a total ignorance of reading and writing places them at the mercy of the Patwari, who may be their bitter enemy."

Para. 19—"In addition to thus explaining the benefits of Education, endeavor to create a thirst for knowledge and for books by reading to them such stories as may interest, amuse and instruct them."

Para. 20—"Impress upon the Zamindar the obligation he is under of giving to his children the advantages of Education, which will profit not only the children, but the parent. 'The mother is an enemy, the father is a foe, by whom a child is not instructed; a boy is not learnt merely by being born.* Those who cannot read and write are debarred from employment, which they might easily obtain, had they been sent to school and properly instructed in their youth.'

Para. 21—"Explain to the people that Government intends not to take upon itself the whole burden of education, but rather to afford that aid which may most effectually assist the exertions of the people themselves,"—pp. 148-51.

* It must be borne in mind that these directions were issued in Urdu and Hindi. The passages marked * are quotations from the *Hitopdesh* (Sanskrit.)

An important part of the scheme before us is the founding at the principal towns within Mr. Reid's beat Government Village Schools. These institutions were thus shadowed forth in the words of the Government Resolution of the 9th February, 1850 :—

"There will be a Government Village School at the head-quarters of every Tahsildar, which will be conducted by a Schoolmaster who will receive from 10 to 20 Rupees per mensem, besides such fees as he may collect from his scholars. The course of instruction will consist of reading and writing the Vernacular languages, both Urdu and Hindi, accounts, and the mensuration of land according to the native system. To these will be added such instruction in Geography, History, Geometry, or other general subjects conveyed through the medium of the Vernacular language, as the people may be willing to receive. Care will be taken to prevent these schools from becoming rivals of the Indigenous Schools maintained by the natives themselves; this will be effected by making the terms of admission higher than are usually demanded in Village Schools, and by allowing free admissions only on recommendations given by the Village Schoolmaster who may be on the Visitor's list."

Para. 232—"This general outline of the course of study is laid down with due attention to the wants and requirements of those for whose benefit the Tahsili schools were designed, viz., of the agricultural classes who make up the mass of the inhabitants of these Provinces."

Para. 233—"The object aimed at in the establishment of these schools is not to turn out some few accomplished scholars, but to place within the reach and means of all a sound elementary education, to enable the landholder and the cultivator to protect themselves from fraud on the part of the Patwari, by teaching them to read and write, and, to comprehend the system under which their rights are recorded, their payments entered, and arrears specified in the Patwari's books. The child of the shop-keeper or village banker receives such instruction as his duties in after life demand."—p. 85.

In the choice of Teachers for the Schools, popular men, of some local reputation as Teachers, were, when procurable, very wisely preferred to the more accomplished, but less practical *Alumni* fresh from the Colleges of Agra or Delhi.

At first every effort was met with suspicion and dislike by the people. But gradually a more enlightened and just appreciation of the objects of the Government is springing up. Superstitious objections have been given up. The old women no longer insist that the children are being prepared for sacrifices, or to be be-deviled or enchanted by the wand of the Feringee Schoolmaster. Attempts at religious conversion are no longer suspected.* Even Mr. Reid is beginning

* One worthy teacher lately, on coming to the word Peloponnesus in the Hindi version of the "Brief Survey of History," shut up the book, and warned his pupils against religious novelties; but suspicion of this sort is gradually wearing away.

to lose his *soubriquet* of *Padre*, and in connection with his efforts, arguments *pro* and *con* are to be heard at the Village councils. Fear of the Government educational Missionary is fast turning, amongst the more stupid into contempt,* amongst the better informed into respectful attention.

As an index to the present state of the feelings of the people, we retail a conversation nearly as related to us by an intelligent Pergunnah Visitor educated if we mistake not at the Agra College. The *Dramatis Personæ* are the Visitor, two Rajpût Zemindars, a Putwarrie or Village Accountant, and a Kachi or Cultivator. The effect of the dialogue would be better if we could convey into the English the *patois* of the original.

SCENE.—*A Village Chourpal. Under a shady Neem Tree.*

1st *Zemindar*.—What I want to know, Master Visitor, is who is to plough our fields for us? If all the world is reading and writing, how is the cultivation of the land to go on?

Visitor.—You need not work the less, because you give a little time to learning. But please yourselves, I only tell you what is for your good. The Company Buhadoor wishes for your good.

1st *Zemindar*.—Our good indeed! It is Brahmin lads like you that go about the country plaguing honest folk. It is no fault (dosh) of the Sirkar Kumpancee Buhadoor, but you young College lads go and persuade the Sirkar to pay you to wander about the country like so many jogees. The Kumpancee is good, is she? Pray what has the Kumpancee done for me! She just puts our money into carts, and carries it to Calcutta. Other Kings used to spend their money in the country, but as for the Kumpancee, she takes it all off to her ships. And now she wants to teach us to read, and to make

* We are reminded of the old woman and the London City Missionary—"Come be off, we've 'ad five of you fellers in here this blessed morning," by the following anecdote supplied by a Zillah Visitor. One of the fraternity was jogging along in his palanquin with two chuprassies running after him. The bearers coming into a country town, were making a great grunting and kicking up a dust, causing, in short, quite a sensation in the place, when they were suddenly stopped by the Zillah Visitor within. He had noticed a sweetmeat dealer teaching his little boy to write. "Alas!" said the hulwaiee, "here's an Ameen come to attach my property." A profusion of salaams awaited the Zillah Visitor, and the best "*morah*" was set for his Honor to rest upon. But, no sooner was the real character of the unexpected guest understood, than the honest vender exclaimed—"Hoh-hoh, this is the man that goes about humbugging people, (*bykâwut phyrut*!) The Visitor got prompt notice to quit, and it served him right, as he had no business to go about with so much ceremony.

fools of us all, so that she and rogues like you may just get our lands and hold them '*amanee*' (under her own management,) whilst we are reading and writing like so many Kayethis. Catch me reading in a hurry!

2nd *Zemindar*.—Who cares whether you read or not?—But if the Kumpanee wants to send all our money away, why does she pay so much to all these School Visitors?

Putwarrie.—Wah! what do you know about the Kumpanee? Its *teekah* (lease) is nearly expired. The Queen is coming herself to see how the Kumpanee has behaved, and that's why there's all this stuff and fuss about reading, and dressing up the police, and making canals. Yes. The Queen is coming herself from London to give back the Rajes and Zemindaries to the old owners. The Kumpanee is expecting punishment, mark you, and that's the reason of all this cleaning up.—The Kumpanee has grown old, and won't last long.

2nd *Zemindar*.—Hoooh, Hoooh, Mr. Putwarrie, the Kumpanee is beginning to look a little too sharp after you and your cheating ways. That is why you abuse the Kumpanee though you eat her salt. The more's the shame. The Kumpanee, please God, will last long enough to serve out such rogues as you.

1st *Zemindar*.—There are other reasons for the Kumpanee's teaching people to read. She wishes that all may become equal, and so that the glory of our religion may pass away. As for counting the scholars, that's just to bring bad luck.

Ginna ginnawee tota panwee.

Count your stores, and you will have to reckon your loss.

Kachi.—I read—Master Visitor?—No—It's no good your teasing me about reading. Every body knows how it is your Master, (like all the Feringees) looks so white and so red.—It is by eating molasses, ah! one *chelee* daily of five seers. And pray where would he get *methayee* from, if we did not work for him day and night in the sugar cane-fields. Take my pair of bullocks *purehee ke ewuz* (in lieu of reading fees,) and I'll go to the new country,—to Lahore,—where I hear there's land in plenty, and no reading, I hope.—Our fathers never learned to read, nor shall our sons learn either.

2nd *Zemindar*.—Come, Budloo, you are talking like an ass. The Sirkar wants to teach you to read, and to save you from the *jál* and trickery of the Putwaree, and you say you'll run off to Lahore. The sooner we get rid of such unlucky

fellows as you the better, say I. I think the best thing that can happen to us, whether *Zemindars* or *Assamies*, is for the Sirkar to teach our sons to read.—As it is now, we have all the hard work, and the Toorks (Mahometan Amlah) all the fat places. But when we can read and write, the Toorks will be kicked out, and we shall get their places.

1st *Zemindar*.—You're a Toork, with all your flattery and nonsense.—Didn't they make Chundun Singh go to school, and didn't his father die the month after? Go, Mr. Visitor, you've eaten up Chundun Singh's father, and now you want to eat me up too. Yes. You may go, I wish you farewell. *Jao, bhai, hum dandwat karut*—(Exit 1st *Zemindar* in a rage.)

Visitor.—Friends—I did not wish to make you angry.—Budloo says because his father did not read, his sons shall not read—This reminds me of a story I have heard—(Here the Visitor sings out in *recitativo* a Sanscrit sloke, which produces a sensation.)—

“Once upon a time there was a man who would not drink sweet water out of a new well, because his father drank brackish water out of an old one.”

Come, Budloo, if you will only read and write for half an hour a day, you'll be able to sign your name and to catch the Putwarrie tripping.

Kachi.—I catch the Putwarrie tripping! I might as well try to catch an antelope. He's a great scholar. He's ruining me. How can I catch him?

Visitor.—Appoint a schoolmaster. There are forty *Kachi* houses in Pagulpoor. If fifteen of you will save one pinch of flour daily, there will be food for Panre-jee in plenty. And Néknám Singh (2nd *Zemindar*) will let your boys read at his gateway, I know. You'll soon be able to tackle the Putwarrie.

Kachi.—Well, well; if you'll get others to join I am ready. I should like to be able to catch Putwarrie-jee tripping, certainly. Our biggest boy, too, might learn as fast as that ugly whelp of his. If others will join, I am ready.

Such then is the educational machinery in work at this moment in our North-West Provinces. Simple and inexpensive, it is well calculated to secure the object proposed. That object, the improvement of the people and of their habits of thought, must recommend itself to the good will of every man who loves his fellow-creatures. Men may differ and will differ as to the precise method of giving instruction and even as to the precise nature of the instruction to be

given : but, no man, worthy of the name and dignity of humanity, will deny that some sort of moral education is wanted. The question then arises, what should that moral education be? We can easily say what it should not be. Oriental love-stories should not form the staple of the scholastic course. The youthful Hindoo or Mahometan should not, at an age when the imagination overpowers the reasoning faculties, be seduced by the flowing numbers of Persian poets to admire and approve the most atrocious impurity. Yet beyond love stories of the vilest kind, commentaries on the Virgilian text—

“ Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin,”—

and historical bombast, full of that one arch-lie, that mankind is made for slavery, and Kings made to trample over them, what does the best instructed Indian youth learn?

A better day is dawning. The books now so freely distributed by the Government School Visitors will put within the reach of all classes useful information and moral truth, both alike expressed in a pleasant and intelligible style. So far as books of this sort come into use, the foundation will be laid for a better exercise of the mind, and a healthier range of the imagination. When a good sound literature displaces, (as these our early pioneers are displacing,) such obscenity as the loves of *Shahud** and *Azeez*, such historical trash as the *Shah-namah* and such mythical dreams as the *Shighra-bodh* one step in the right direction, and perhaps not the easiest, will have been secured.

The quick mind of our Indian youth, once habituated to sound diet, will crave for healthy food. Translations, or if need be, original works in the language of the country, will ere long give to the native learners what Magnall, Keith, Butler, Marcett, Watts, Markham, Keightley and many more have long given to the youth of England. And when lessons on History, Geography and the Philosophy of Mind and Matter have been supplied, books of Travel and Biogra-

* These are the heroes of the poem called *Guneemut Musnuvee*. The *Bahar Danish* is said to be one of the most licentious and obscene books in the world, but the *Guneemut Musnuvee* as much excels the *Bahar Danish* in impurity as the *Bahar Danish* excels all other books. So we are assured by a native friend, who informs us further, that these two books are considered a most needful part of a polite education. In Mr. Reid's list we observe the *Guneemut Musnuvee* is read in 124 schools, and the *Bahar-i-danish* in 292 ; whereas prose works, moral and religious, find acceptance only in nineteen schools. Of these two works our informant observes, they ought to be burned ; and then adds, so ought the authors and readers, especially of the *Guneemut Musnuvee*.

phy will come into demand. Nay, why should we despair of hearing the voice of Poetry in Hindustan? Who knows but that amongst these very urchins now assembled at our Village or Tehseely Schools sits some future rhymers who shall be to the rough Jats and Thakoors what Spenser, Burns, and Scott have been to the gentles and yeomen of our rural population?

No man who can intelligently contrast the existing political and social condition of our North-Western population, with the anarchy of the past century, will be afraid to look forward thus hopefully to the future. A deep, and, let us believe, a lasting change has come over the habits of the people. Look at the country once wasted with war and tyranny fast growing into one wide corn-field. Each village a granary, each high road one stream of commerce, the whole nation absorbed in the peaceful arts of husbandry or trade. If within the last fifty years so great a change has come over the material state of affairs, may we not hope for the equal march of moral improvement? Anxiously as every true Englishman desires the physical progress of this subject Indian race, there is a still higher and nobler way open to his desires. He looks wistfully to the day when, side by side with a more prosperous internal condition, a healthier inner mind shall grow up; when midst outward peace and plenty the heathen heart shall turn gratefully to the true God. And as the growth and development of the present day, in the direction of frugality, not of luxury, belong to the infancy of a national reform, rather than to the decrepitude of an over-refined polity, such hopes are reasonable, and consistent with the experience of other ages and other States. What is to prevent the feudality, or Vandalism, or whatever it be of our Indian soldier-agriculturists from softening into Christianity, as has so often happened in other nations under parallel conditions?

Such are our hopes. Such should be our prayers. It is not for the sake of any intrinsic charm that we call upon our countrymen to seek the Village Schools, or to mix themselves in the homely concerns of the Indian peasant.

But looking around, we see the Press, the Steam Engine, the Telegraph, whirling on the destinies of our own nation. We see these monster energies preparing to work upon India. A vast future of progress opens before us, and our aspiration is that religious and moral advancement may keep equal pace with material progress in the land.

IX.

BURMAH.

WE design the following pages to be introductory to some future articles on our relations with Burmah, both past and present, and on the measures which seem to recommend themselves, on a comprehensive survey of our respective positions. Though that empire has again become the focus of interest, both in India and at home ;—though, while the illustrated newspapers were attracting all eyes towards them by engravings of its ports and its pagodas, Professor Wilson was occupied in re-editing and annotating his *Narrative of the War in 1824-26* ;—there has not been hitherto, as far as we have seen, any sufficiently large attempt* to embrace within a moderate compass the leading features of a mass of information scattered through the works of Crawford, Sangermano, and others, on the physical characteristics, the ethnology, the history, institutions and the superstitions of the Burmese people. In attempting to supply this deficiency, it will not be necessary that we occupy our pages with authorities for every statement we make, if we commence with disclaiming all pretension to original investigation, and refer generally to the authors above referred to, as the sources from which we glean the information which we design to popularize.

The Burmese Empire is combined of three nations, differing essentially in language, manners, and customs. The others, Pegu and Aracan, each formerly of independent importance, have been absorbed into the Kingdom of Ava after a series of struggles in which each had in turn the ascendancy. From Negrais northward, stretches one of a series of hilly ranges, branches of the mighty chain of the Himalayah, which distribute the surface of the Indo-Chinese nations into broad valleys of extreme fertility, each watered by a noble river, descending from the great longitudinal belt of Asia. In the particular range which we are alluding to, dwells a people distinct from the Burmese, the Peguers, and the Aracanese ;—the Chien ; among whom there prevails a singular custom of tattooing the face of their females† with

* We should mention, however, that an able, though rather brief paper on "Burmah and the Burmese" has appeared in a recent number of the *Bombay Quarterly Magazine and Review*.

† In Burmah and Pegu, the custom of tattooing is confined to the male population. It is practised on the lower limbs of the body from the hips downwards, which at various periods between the ages of seven and forty,

black, which is said to have been devised in order to prevent the repeated rapes of the most beautiful of their daughters by the princes of Burmah. Towards the North is a variety of the Chien, called Jò, who, though they have adopted Burmese customs, and speak a corrupt dialect of the Court language, are regarded as a tribe of necromancers and sorcerers, and therefore held in especial fear and detestation. The tract Eastward of the 97th meridian, as far as the Chinese frontier, and between the 20th and the 25th parallels, is peopled by a numerous race called Sciam, Shans, or Laos. This is parcelled into principalities, and ruled by petty governors called Zaboa, once the subjects and tributaries of the Burmese; but when the wild ambitions of Padun-mang, the fifth son of Alompra, to achieve the conquest of Siam, China, and India, was commuted to the most shameless poltroonery, incapacitating him for meeting the inroads of his Siamese neighbours, the Zaboa, wearied by the oppression and exactions of the Burmese Mandarins, made common cause with the enemy who involved the Kingdom of Ava in a war of the old heroic duration. The Laos have since adopted to a great extent the language, manners and customs of the Siamese.

Without more particular reference to some less important families, of whom but little is known, except that they differ from their neighbours both in their language and their usages, we pass to the Karien* tribes, a simple and peaceable

are liberally garnished with figures of both extant and fabulous animals, and occasionally, with cabalistic devices. These being first sketched upon the skin, are set with a very long gold stylus pointed with a pigment made from the soot of sesamum oil, suspended in the gall of an alligator, a guana, a flying fox, or a species of fish, the *mirga* of India. In some instances, the arms and upper portion of the body are tattooed; but more sparingly, and in a vermilion tint. Occasionally, too, the body is marked with Pali spells, which, if set with the pigment and needle in a *Thien*, or idol temple, are supposed to render their wearer invulnerable. Neither the Siamese, nor the Karien tribes practise tattooing, but look upon it as barbarous;—perhaps to distinguish themselves from the Burmese. The Laos and the Aracanese have, in a degree, adopted the custom.

* An intelligent contributor to the *Maulmein Chronicle* of March 3rd, 1841, writes,—“One of the most remarkable facts connected with the progress of missionary labour, is the increasing effect which it has on the Karen population in this and the adjacent regions. If we except the people of some of the South Sea Islands, in no instances during the period of modern missions, have the conversions from heathenism to Christianity been so extensive as among this singular, and, till within a few years past, unknown, portion of the human race. The tribes of Karens scattered over these provinces, Burmah, and Arrakan, are very numerous, and constitute a population differing entirely from the Burmese in their religion, and many of their habits and customs. Boodhism has made no impression on them. They have had no written language; and although living in

race, originally, perhaps, the denizens of the valleys formed by a belt of hills parallel with those occupied by the Chien, and forming the Eastern frontier of the Burmese Empire. Very jealous of their independence, these tribes avoid, as far as possible, all communion with the races among which they have now become widely dispersed. For a curious superstition, that the Evil Spirit takes possession of that settlement in which a death occurs, has tended to break up their continuity, and render them little else than a nomadic race. The presumed necessity of migrating to a different scene, as often as one of their community dies, as the only method of exorcism, is met in practice by their separation into very small villages, one of which seldom consists of more than four or five huts, with a trifle of rice cultivation around them. Their religion is reserved for occasions of sickness or apprehension, when they propitiate a malignant *genius* by oblations of grain and other goods. Their migrations are principally conducted on foot, with occasional recourse to their buffaloes, when creek or ravine is to be forded. Their diet consists to a great extent of animal food, but they will use neither ghi nor butter, and are very sparing in their consumption of milk. They distil an arrack from rice, but appear to use it with much moderation, and considerably diluted. Individually they are reckoned bold and brave; but unsettled habits and dispersive superstition hinders their efficiency for purposes of warfare.

Of the two great divisions of the inhabitants of the Indo-Chinese continent, there is strong ground for supposing that

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- the same country for centuries with a people who have had one, they have abstained from adopting it as a language of general use among themselves, remaining content with their oral mode of communication. Some of them, it is true, have learnt the Burmese, and recently their own language has been given to them in a written form by the American Baptist Missionaries. By these means, connected with preaching, Christianity has been introduced among them, and in all places, multitudes have been found ready to receive the truth, and admit its obligations. * * * * * The fact of the facility with which these people listen to the instructions of the Missionaries and embrace Christianity, is singular, and worthy of observation in the history of Missions. While the disciples of Brahma and Boodh, constituting a very large portion of the population of Asia, having made some progress in civilization and the arts, possessing a national literature, capable of holding the scales of evidence, and of discriminating between truth and falsehood, appear inaccessible to the force of Christian Truth, and unconvinced by the proofs of its Divine originality, this obscure race, knowing but little or nothing of the world, unacquainted with any arts beyond those of providing themselves with food and clothing sufficient only for their necessities,—with no records of their origin or ancient circumstances, with no language but oral—appear to yield in great numbers, comparatively with little difficulty, to the claims of Christianity as presented to them by the Missionaries."

the mountain races were by far the earlier settled,—indeed that they are, comparatively, aboriginal. Ethnographers are agreed that these may have formerly occupied the more fertile and level tracts, from which they seem to have taken refuge in their present abodes, on the incursions of a mighty people, originally occupants of High Asia, who brought the Lamaite priesthood, and the worship of Buddha, or Fo (as is his monosyllabic name) into all the great and fertile valleys from Tonquin to Aracan. For not merely in religion, but in their habits, their tastes, their industrial and finer arts, and their dialectic peculiarities, both lingual and structural, they have much in common with the pure Chinese stock, originally emigrants, according to their own historians, from the bases of the mountain borders of Thibet. The whole group of races, from Aracan to the extreme East of the Indo-Chinese continent, are of an average height of about five feet three inches. In complexion they are paler than the Intra-gangetic Indians, being mostly of a yellow-brown tint, which the superior ranks heighten with cosmetics, until their bodies assume a rich golden hue. The texture of their skin is remarkably glossy, soft and flexible. The whole of the families, with one remarkable exception,* display an unusual tendency to obesity. The muscles are often voluminous, but do not acquire that compactness and elasticity which is the effect of labour and exercise on the European frame. The face is broad and flat, the eyes and nose small, the cheek bones, though large and prominent, are but slightly rounded;—peculiarities which, added to the unusual length of the lower jaw, and a certain flabbiness of flesh, and a distended mouth, with soft thick lips, impart a square appearance to the countenance. This development is rendered more conspicuous, by masses of thick coarse straight hair, which fall over a capacious, though somewhat narrow forehead; and by a corresponding squareness of the trunk, almost of a uniform breadth from the shoulders to the loins. The limbs are massive; and short—except the arms;—which are of above the average length, relatively to the rest of the body. So the hand, too, is disproportionably long, compared with the foot, which is small and elegantly modelled. There is a singular deficiency of beard in all the races throughout this vast continent. But this is hardly so conspicuous in the Burmese as in their Eastern neighbours.

* The Cochin-Chinese.

To pass more particularly to the Burmese, they, in common with a large number of Oriental people, lay claim to a transcendental antiquity. Their name, in fact, conveys that idea;—which is not, in their original tongue, *Burmese*,—(a Portuguese corruption—) but *Biamma*, the designation of those *Rupa*,* or ungenerated beings, who, having once existed some ten, some twenty, others thirty or more millions of miles above the sun and planets, allured by the savoury odour of the crust of butter which at first, they feign, encased this lower world, descended from their high abodes to regale upon it, in human forms of great agility and exquisite splendour. At length, the legend proceeds, the thirst of avarice sprung up among them, and they bartered and disputed, and, for their sin, the refreshing crust disappeared, and their bodies grew sallow and opaque. And instead of a perpetual noontide glow, there came alternate light and darkness, so that they must daily lament in terror and in sorrow how soon the luminary which rose to bless them disappeared. When lo! to meet their longing, the moon and stars shone forth, and they exclaimed exultingly—This is a welcome sight!

Reclaimed to goodness by these favours of the Deity, their repentance was rewarded by a substitute for the crust of butter, in the form of a tree whose leaves had a similar flavour. But soon they fell anew, and the tree disappeared, and, in its place, they had only rice to live on. The grain, however, was huskless, and of excellent quality; and a quantity of cooking pots being miraculously extemporized, and spontaneous fire appearing, there was still a chance of their doing well enough. But whereas the crust and butter-flavoured leaves had been perfectly nutritious, and were assimilated into the body the very instant they were eaten, the coarser rice needed the digestive process, and the various alimentary and excretory channels.

• Hence the human organization, and the passionate emotions, and the sexual development, and the matrimonial state. But the men of purest life still preserving their virginity, were exercised in sublime ministries of oblations and almsgiving, and distinguished as *Biamma*. At length, their race being near extinction by the common law of morta-

* In the Burmese Cosmogony, there are reckoned to be three classes of beings:—*Chama*, or Generating;—*Rupa*, Corporeal, but ungenerated;—*Arupa*, Incorporeal. Each of these classes comprehends several species, or states of existence, to some of which we may by and by refer.

lity, the survivors contracted marriages in order to continue it, and became the fathers of the Burmese nation. In time, as has been found to be the invariable rule of progress, the necessity of a single ruler was developed, who should dispense justice and reward or punish according to desert. They chose one like Saul, a choice young man, and than whom was no goodlier; higher from his shoulders upwards than any of the people; and called him Lord and Judge of the earth. His progeny constitute the royal race, the tenth in descent from him being Gautama.

Upon this myth the Burmese Doctors account for the development of the great group of Buddhistical nations. All, they say, are lineal offspring of the Rupa, who of old came down from Heaven to Earth. The character of their annals may be easily conceived. There is no probability of there being a single syllable of historical truth in them, till they reach the epoch of Anjana, the grandfather of Gautama, which has been found to correspond with B. C. 691.

In the sixty-eighth year of this epoch Gautama is said to have been born. At sixteen he ascended the throne of Magaddha, the modern Berar; at twenty-nine he abdicated and retired to the forests; at thirty-five obtained deification as a Buddha, and continued in this state until his eightieth year, when he disappeared, his alleged apotheosis occurring B. C. 543.* With him his dynasty ended, and was followed by six kings in seventy-two years, each of whom was a patricide. The last of them fell by the hand of his prime minister, a descendant of Gautama in the female line; who usurped his crown, and transferred the seat of government from Magaddha to a petty state named Jaintya, bordering on Sylhet. There being no "Scripture" up to the hundredth year after Gautama's death, the son of this usurping monarch,

* The annals of the Jaina sect in South Behar correspond with the Burmese traditions on the period to be assigned to Gautama, the last of the Buddhas—or Jinas, as they are called in Behar, the scene of Gautama's death and apotheosis. For whereas the Buddhists assign the translation of Gautama to the date above given, the Jains ascribe the deification of his tutor, Mahāvira, to about B. C. 600; and, as Mr. Colebrooke has written, "the lapse of little more than half a century is scarcely too great for the interval between the death of a preceptor and his pupil; or not so much too great as to amount to an anachronism." Gautama's gentile name was Sācya Sinha; he is still best known in China and Japan as Sācya. The appellation Gautama, in the opinion of the authority already referred to, is unquestionably a patronymic from Gotama, whether Sācya Sinha may have come by it as a descendant of that lineage, or for whatever other cause. See *Miss : Essays*, vol. ii, p. 315-18.

in the tenth year of his reign, assembled the wise men of his dominions, and collected the traditions. Twelve princes followed, of the same dynasty, each of whom reigned in Jaintya, up to B. C. 289. The last of these was a very holy man. He destroyed his father's family, extended his dominions far and near, cleared the doctrines of religion from all difficulty, built of temples and monasteries eighty-four thousand each, and maintained sixty thousand priests.

His son permanently fixed the seat of Government at Prome, said to have been founded a hundred years after Gautama's apotheosis. This is the first historical fact which we possess respecting Burmah Proper, the annals of that country of a prior date touching only the localities of Magaddha and Jaintya. Twenty-four princes reigned at Prome in succession, during a period of three hundred and ninety-five years. That city then ceased to be the seat of Government, and Pagan became the royal city; which it continued for very nearly twelve centuries, or up to the year 1287 of our æra; during which period there were fifty-five successive monarchs. In the occupation of this dynasty several important changes appear to have been made in the religious system of the Empire, after the importation of sacred books from Ceylon, and the Southern part of the Indian Peninsula.* The present Epoch of the Burmese was also settled, which reckons from A. D. 639.

After the fall of Pagan, there were eight changes of dynasty, and several seats of royalty, within five hundred and twenty-eight years; the third of which seats was Ava, which continued to be the royal city, under twenty-nine princes, for three hundred and sixty-nine years; and it was during this period, or A. D. 1546, that the kingdom of Ava was first visited by Europeans. As at present, the Burmese Empire then embraced the kingdom of Pegu, though, as is well known, about a hundred and eighty years later, the Peguers rebelled, captured the Burman monarch, and obtained the ascendancy

* The precise period of the introduction of Buddhism into Burmah is not known: though in all probability it was nearly contemporaneous with the establishment of Prome as the seat of Government. In A. D. 386, nine hundred and thirty years after Gautama's apotheosis, one Buddha-gauta is said to have received from Heaven an iron pen, wherewith to transcribe the Scriptures; and the copy made by collection of the traditions, which had been in use in Magaddha, Jaintya and Prome, for above eight centuries, was then superseded. After several subsequent modifications, Buddhism was established through the Empire in its present form, by king Ananrat'ha-mon-sau, in the fifteen hundred and forty-first year after Gautama. A. D. 997.

over the whole territory. This movement was counteracted by Alompra, who advanced himself to the Government about the year 1753. He was originally the headman of the small village of Monchabo, about sixty miles North-West of Ava. On his first project of subduing the Peguers, only a few friends seconded the design; but by constant accessions to his standard, he soon found himself at the head of a powerful army, which speedily expelled its invaders from the kingdom of Ava. Peace having been proclaimed, he fortified his native village, and enlarged it greatly, and raised it to the dignity of the Capital, himself assuming the name by which he is currently known, "Alompra"—signifying, "One who expects to be a Buddha." Then, carrying the war into the kingdom of Pegu, he dispersed the hostile people over the neighbouring countries. Siriam, Bago, Tavoy and Martaban fell successively beneath his assaults, and were absorbed into the Burman Empire. He next marched against Siam, to revenge its king's refusal to him of the hand of his daughter; but sickening mortally upon the way, he returned to Pegu. Here he shortly after died, after a turbulent reign of six or eight years, appointing that his throne should descend to his seven sons in succession, a disposition which has been the source of much of that trouble and bloodshed which has since distressed the Burmese nation.

His next successor, Naong-tan-kri, "the royal elder brother," had to contend against two formidable rebellions in his short reign of three years; the one headed by one of his father's generals, the other by his own uncle. At last, in an advance on country N. E. of Rangoon, he was captured, and paid the forfeit of his head.

Next followed Sen-p'hyn-s'hen, "the Lord of the White Elephant," who reigned for twelve years. He avenged himself on the barbarians N. E. of Ava for their ancient inroads on the Burmese dominions. He abandoned the new city of Monchabo, and removed the Government to its former seat, Ava. He sacked Jodia, the city of the Siamese king, who refused to pay the tribute promised to Alompra. He attached Mergui, on the Tenasserim coast, to the dominions of his ancestors. He twice opposed with complete success the Chinese,* who poured down from Yunnan to put his territo-

* On this point, however, there is room for difference of opinion. The almost uninterrupted success of Sen-p'hyn-s'hen has induced us to prefer the story of his victories over the Chinese, as related by Symes. Crawford, however, when in Burmah, heard a very contrary account, that the Chinese ravaged the upper part of the country for three years, not retiring until the

ries to tribute. He supported one of the petty princes of Laos against the incursions of the Siamese, whose kingdom, with the exception of a single city, his armies had reduced, when they were recalled to mourn the death of their Emperor.

In the reign of this monarch the calamitous consequences of the rule of succession fixed by Alompra appeared. Flushed with victory and prosperity, he determined to continue the succession in his immediate family. His younger brother, thus cheated of his prospects of empire, conspired against Sen-p'hyu-s'hen's life. The plot being discovered, the conspirator was condemned to die; but at his mother's intercession, he was spared. The last great act of this monarch was to place its crown of massive gold on the great Pagoda of Rangoon,* in commemoration of the subdual of the mutinous Martabinese, and the decapitation of the last king of Pegu, a deed executed during the crowning of the Pagoda.

On the death of Sen-p'hyu-s'hen, the nobles of Burmah elevated his son, Sen-ku-sa, to the throne. His father's elder brother, to whom the succession by designation belonged, remained a quiet spectator of the transaction; but not so the younger, who attempted to deprive his nephew. He was sewn in a sack of red cloth, and thrown into the river, a fate which eighteen months later, and as the reward of similar rashness, befel his elder brother. Sen-ku-sa then banished all his remaining relatives. The accounts of his future career are very discrepant. To Crawford, he was represented as liberal, quiet and benevolent. Sangermano mentions him as "passing all his time in hunting and fishing, almost always intoxicated, and called by the opprobri-

Burmese general had submitted, and acknowledged vassalage on terms so humiliating, that Sen-p'hyu-s'hen satirically presented him with a woman's dress.

* So writes Sangermano; and that the weight thereof is eighty of our pound! We venture to believe, however, notwithstanding Cardinal Wiseman's high commendation, that the *missioner* occasionally indulged in the *legendary*. Sangermano arrived in Burmah in 1783, and returned to Rome in 1808. Thence he was transferred to the presidency of the College at Arpinum, and employed his leisure, till 1819, in preparing his "Description of the Burmese Empire, compiled chiefly from Native Documents." This work was published posthumously, in the original, and translated into English, at Rome, in 1833. But we do not elsewhere find mention of the golden crown of the Rangoon Pagoda. In Captain F. B. Doveton's spirited *Reminiscences of the first Burmese war*, published in *Allen's Asiatic Journal*, (Nov. 1841 *ad* Feb. 1843,) it is stated that "the celebrated temple of Shoe Dagon, for which Rangoon is famous, is nearly 400 feet high, and being richly gilded from its broad base to its tapering summit, is certainly one of the finest artificial objects that can well be conceived."

ous name of the drunkard or the fisher king." Be this as it may, his fall was soon accomplished. His cousin, Paong-ka-cha, the only son of Naong-tan-kri, one night, when its Lord was absent, made himself master of the Palace. The youth of Ava and its neighbourhood enlisted in his service, and in five days he was master of the kingdom and its captured monarch. He proved but a feeble prince, and served merely as a stepping-stone to raise his uncle Padun-mang, the fifth son of Alompra, to the throne, who began his reign in 1781. Scarcely, however, was he settled in his kingdom, before two great conspiracies revealed themselves, jeopardizing both it and his life. The first was led by a famous general, who, having been deprived of his command by Sen-ku-sa, had been restored by Padun-mang to the honours which he held under Sen-p'hyn-s'hen. But aspiring to still further eminence, he left his king's allegiance, in favour of an illegitimate child of Alompra, by whom he desired to open the way for his own ascendancy. The discovery of this treachery so alarmed Padun-mang, that he never afterwards ventured to occupy the same apartment two nights in succession.

The other plot was of a nature still more terrifying. It was headed by Paong-ka-cha, a scion of the *old* dynasty, who had been spared, in consideration of his tender years, when his father, the last monarch of his line, was taken prisoner, and drowned, by the Peguers. Having wandered in obscurity until the time of Sen-ku-sa, he then entertained designs upon the crown of his ancestors. Sen-ku-sa, gaining note of his intentions, dispatched a force to apprehend him; but he fled, and was heard no more of. But on the elevation of Padun-mang, an adherent of Paong-ka-cha, finding his expectations of advancement foiled, resolved on persuading the fugitive to renew his pretensions, and on abetting them with all his influence. The dissatisfied party, at first numbering only fifty men, set forward for Ava, and were joined by twenty more on the march. At midnight, on the fifth of December, 1782, the pretender and his party scaled the City and the Palace without assistance, and shouted,—“Behold the true Branch of the royal Stock!” Of the guards, some fled and concealed themselves; others feigned to be slumbering. The King and his household, aroused by the uproar, closed the doors, and guarded the avenues to the interior of the Palace. The insurgents were already masters of the Palace artillery and the powder-magazine;—but had no ball, or they had battered down the walls. These they determined on

assaulting with blank cartridge;—a step which proved their ruin, for the report brought the Maudarins and their guards together, who, lighting immense fires, encamped around the Palace. At day-break, the insignificant strength of the insurgents being discovered, they were seized by order of Padun-mang, and most of them put to a cruel death. Only the pretender escaped; but he was seized and beheaded on the evening of the same day.

Padun-mang now gave full vent to his inhumanity. He arrested all the inhabitants of the village where his rival had long resided, and notwithstanding the innocence of the large majority, he burned all—including, priests and old men, women and children—on one gigantic pyre. He then razed the village to the ground, burned and consumed its gardens, turned up all its cultivation, and set a stone on its site as a mark of perpetual malediction.

Though two of his brothers, sons of Alompra, still survived, Padun-mang's attention was next turned to securing the succession for the heirs of his own body; and judging that the most effective expedient for this end would be to obliterate, as far as possible, all memory of his predecessors, he resolved to found a new Capital, to which he might transfer the Government. On pretence, therefore, that the City and Palace of Ava had been defiled by the bloodshed within their precincts, the construction of a new imperial residence was decreed. Counsel was taken of the priests, and a site for the new City selected on a rising ground some ten miles North East of Ava, and on the right bank of the river. Such is the origin of the city of Amarapura, of whose Palace Padun-mang took solemn possession on the tenth of May, 1783. A month after, he had constrained all the citizens of Ava to migrate with him to a comparatively insalubrious site. The population of the new City, including extensive suburbs for Siamese, Moors, and Chinese, is said soon to have reached 200,000. Meantime Ava, the residence of so many kings, with its magnificent halls and porticos, its gilded pagodas, its palatial convents and noble bridges, was consigned to total destruction, by the hands of any who would care to rifle its treasures.

The seat of Government thus transferred, Padun-mang next aroused the jealousy of the younger and more ardent of his two surviving brothers, by proclaiming his eldest son as Crown-Prince of the Burmese Empire. The announcement was received under protest of the younger brother, who for his contrariety paid the usual penalty of the red cloth sack.

The elder of Padun-mang's brothers long survived him in extreme misery and obscurity.

The succession thus settled, Padun-mang resolved to consolidate his renown by some martial achievement. His first determination was to avail himself of intestine discord among the Arakanese as a pretence on which to invade and annex that kingdom under his crown. But from this he was diverted, for a time, by a great insurrection in Pegu. A leading Mandarin of that State had dreamed that ere long its dominion would be restored to it; on report of which about three hundred Peguers resolved to seize on Rangoon, and raise the dreamer to the throne. They marched upon the City, slaughtered the Governor, burned several of the edifices, and scared the Mandarins to the neighbouring forests. Then, dividing into two bodies, a part held the fortress, and the rest went to collect adherents from the neighbouring villages. Immense multitudes followed the insurgents' standard, anxious to regain their independence; but in the interval of their enlistment, the Burmese of Rangoon, who had fled in ignorance of their enemy's real strength, armed themselves and mounted their artillery; and they made cruel havock of the belligerents as their boats approached the town.

Next year, the projected expedition set out for Arakan; a part marching, the rest were conveyed by ship; but all under orders of the King's eldest son. The town, which was ill furnished and worse governed, yielded without a struggle. A report of strategy, however, gained some currency—that its Commander had declared that the expedition approached peacefully, and to worship a colossal bronze of Gautama, which was subsequently transferred to a stately Pagoda, near Amarapura.*

Padun-mang, now instigated by the glory which his son had achieved, projected the reduction of the affluent and important kingdom of Siam; which he would follow up, as

* This celebrated temple, distant about two miles from the City, is a work of great costliness. It is supported on two hundred and fifty-two wooden pilasters, all richly carved and gilt, as are the walls both within and without. The statue is in a sitting posture; and being reported to have been cast in Gautama's lifetime, is an object of excessive veneration. In height it is about twelve feet; its whole surface is of burnished gold, the physiognomy being somewhat more animated than in the ordinary monuments of Gautama. It is distinguished by the Pali title of Maha-Muni, the Great Saint. The temple enclosing it, a memorial of whose foundation is sculptured on a massive marble slab, was endowed by Padun-mang with the confiscated treasures of a hundred and twenty of the principal families of Arakan.

he foolishly imagined, and we have previously stated, by the conquest of China and of India. He advanced with an army of 100,000 men, attended by all the ladies of his Palace. But scared by the idlest rumour of approaching opposition, he fled helter-skelter against the advice of his generals, deserting all his elephants, arms, and munitions of war. He stayed not his precipitation until near Rangoon; where, notwithstanding, he commanded his proclamation as the *Conqueror of Siam*!* The smart revenge inflicted by his Eastern neighbours on the return of Padun-mang to his Capital, and the effective opposition which he incurred from the mutinous Zaboa of Laos, has been already referred to. Well was it for the Burmese, writes Sangermano, at this period resident in Ava, that a more pacific heir succeeded to the Crown of Siam, or the whole of Padun-mang's empire must have become tributary.

His inglorious reign,† however, was protracted to a period of thirty-eight years; in the course of which he appears to have lost the son who won laurels at Arakan; for in 1819, we read of the succession devolving on his grandson, Mya-dau-gyi, who occupied the Burmese Throne during the period of their first war with the British.

This monarch appeared to Crawford to be of lively and affable manners, but often ludicrously familiar. One of his

* By a similar euphemism, the Court Historiographer was directed by Padun-mang's successor to make the following entry in the public records regarding the first war with the British. "In the years 1186-87, the Kulapyn, or white strangers of the West, fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the King, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no efforts whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money in their enterprise; and by the time they reached Yandabo, their resources were exhausted, and they were in great distress. They petitioned the King, who, in his clemency and generosity, sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them out of the country."

† The reign of Padun-mang is, it may be hoped, unexampled in the annals of imperial atrocity and barbarity. "His very countenance," writes Sangermano, "is the index of a mind ferocious and inhuman in the highest degree." He would sacrifice, on the most trifling pretences, any who stood, however remotely, in the way of his ambition. It has been calculated that in his reign, the period of so many inter-national conflicts, more victims must have fallen by the hand of the executioner than by the sword of the enemy. His pride, too, was as insolent as was his cruelty abominable. His person was the object of repeated conspiracies, all of which he contrived to parry, by strategy, he thought, more than human. In furtherance of this conception, he set himself to prove that the five thousand years assigned for the observance of the Laws of Gautama were just lapsing, and that *he* was the Buddha who should promulgate the new code. As the College of Priests, however, would not countersign his calculations, he thought it most prudent to drop the subject.

favourite out-door pursuits was to ride on the shoulders of a man so broad and fleshy as to make his Majesty's seat perfectly safe and comfortable. In this way, and the ordinary athletic amusements,—horse-exercise, elephant-catching, &c., his time was principally occupied. In disposition, he was humane and benevolent; but in talents, greatly inferior to most of the princes of the house of Alompra. He was first married to his cousin, daughter of his uncle the Prince of Prome; but in early life, when he was still heir-apparent, a woman of low birth was introduced to his seraglio, who, by her superior finesse and abilities, acquired a complete ascendancy over him; thus causing, it has been said, the premature death of the lawful Queen, with whose son, the heir-apparent, to strengthen her hands, she proposed an alliance for her only daughter. To the connexion of King Mya-dau-gyi with this lady we must trace the cause of the Revolution by which, in 1837, he lost his Crown. Her influence secured for her brother, Meng-tha-gyi, the highest office next the Throne, much to the dissatisfaction of those whose birth and station sanctioned their aspiring to the superior State-preferments. The jealousy of these courtiers was further incensed by their rival's employment of his exalted functions to enrich and elevate his friends, without any over-scrupulousness as to the methods which he might resort to. Charges soon gained currency that he was diverting to his own purposes considerable portions of the royal revenues. The king's passion for light pursuits, and his, it was believed, frequent mental imbecility, corroborated the rumour of an extraordinary and unjustifiable amount of patronage assumed by the Queen and her brother, who were regarded as the actual administrators of public affairs. Withal, Meng-tha-gyi was unpopular; and this circumstance, and the disaffection of the upper ranks, may at length have instigated him to aim at the supreme dignity.

The great obstacle in his way was Tharawadi,* the King's only full brother, and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces

* Crawford uniformly writes him as "The Prince of Sarawadi," or, in Burmese, "Sarawati—men," adding that he takes his title from some celebrated teak forests in Pegu which were assigned him for revenue. He describes him as spare and light, but active, with features not handsome, but cheerful and pleasing; and affable and unassuming in manner, without any want of dignity. His subsequent transactions quite corroborate the opinion which the Envoy formed, that his talents were of a higher order than those of Mya-dau-gyi, by whom it is mentioned that he was much beloved. He

during the larger portion of the first Burmese War. He enlisted, and organized, bands of lawless forayers, who plundered, or placed under contribution, a considerable part of the territory. Whether, as some have said, these measures were forced upon him for his own protection, or whether he was a merely bold and unprincipled usurper, has not, so far as we know, been fully ascertained. Certain it is, that immense bodies of marauders, under the common designation of Tharawadi's men, committed frequent ravages on the more secluded villages, at the very time that the King's brother regarded all the Court arrangements with jealousy and disgust.

But early in 1837, it was reported in the Palace that arms and ammunition were in the course of collection in the house of Tharawadi's sister, the Princess of Pagan. The Minister naturally turned this to his advantage by representing that Tharawadi was plotting against the Government. A force, dispatched to the Princess's house, discovered a few stands of arms laid up there. She stated that they belonged to her Wun-gyi, who, having obtained some insight into the discipline of the Palace, desired to place her house in a position for defence. Still Meng-tha-gyi was implacable; seized the Princess, placed her in irons and in prison, and dispatched a strong force to Tharawadi's house, to search it, and summon him before the High Chancery (*Lwat-d'hau*) of the nation. Tharawadi, ignorant of what had previously occurred, and surmising that the Minister merely sought to press an advantage, barricaded his entrances and fired upon his summoners. A larger force was then ordered out to seize him. Unprepared, at that moment, for farther resistance, Tharawadi, with the few adherents about him, fled to the river, which they had crossed in boats just as their pursuers reached the banks. Thence he marched up to Monchabo, and there fixed the Head Quarters of his force, which had received considerable accessions on the march. Messengers were now dispatched in every direction, to collect all who were ready to espouse his cause; who, as they severally reached his encampment, were summoned into his presence, until in the course of a very few days, he found himself in force enough to hold the country in awe. Of the friends he had left at the Capital, some were confined and

did not signalize himself in the first Burmese War;—in fact, he never saw the enemy; it being a maxim of his country's military tactics that the chiefs keep at a respectable distance, out of harm's way.

put in irons, others beheaded. A considerable force was ordered to pursue him; but from disaffectedness to the duty, or an apprehension that the enemy was too strong for it, it halted, and sent to the Capital for reinforcements. These arrived—but still there was a want of zeal—the troops fell back for the defence of Ava, which it was whispered that Tharawadi was advancing to sack, that he might reward his allies with the spoil of the Capital. The King, witnessing the return of his troops, and knowing the unpopularity of his Minister with them, now became alarmed for his own safety, and the Court's. He requested an interview with the British Resident, whom he requested to ascertain Tharawadi's views, and suggest terms of conciliation. The Resident, in a spirit of wise accommodation, first requested the release of Tharawadi's relatives, which was conceded; and Col. Burney then advanced to Monchabo on his mission. Tharawadi consented to return to Ava, on condition that the Queen and the Minister were prohibited from any further interference in the affairs of Government, and urged, moreover, that *he* was by the will of his grandfather the heir to the crown on his brother's demise. He solemnly engaged to spare the lives of his adversaries, on condition of their so far submitting as to open the city gates to him.

Next day, one of the Princes of the Blood, with the chief P'hun-gyi or Priest, was deputed to Monchabo to complete the negotiations. Tharawadi refused any further accommodation, and declared his own intention not to evacuate Monchabo until Ava was beleaguered by his army, which he at once advanced, under the command of his second son, Tiek-ten-pyu, to take its position at Tsa-gaing on the Irrawadi, opposite to Ava, which was completely garrisoned by the royal troops. A conflict seemed impending, which desperation within the city, and the thirst for spoil without, must have rendered truly disastrous. The king himself, it is said, suggested to the British Resident his disposition to retire, with his family, upon Moulmein. But the Resident, foreseeing that such a step would be fatal to the city with its thousands of inhabitants of every age, implored the sovereign not to place his people at the mercy of the "Robber Chiefs" (Da-may-bos), but to keep within his Palace, and, relying on his brother's promises, to accept his conditions. Accordingly, on the arrival of Tiek-ten-pyu, with his force, at Tsa-gaing, thirteen of Mya-dau-gyi's Ministers and Generals, accompanied, at their own request, by the British Resident, crossed the Irrawadi, and made their submissions. "The mournful proces-

sion of these unfortunate individuals," writes one apparently an eye-witness of the scene, "was extremely interesting and affecting. The crowd through which they past, so far from showing any insult or violence, was perfectly silent and respectful. The Ministers and Officers were on foot. Men-tha-gyi manifested the utmost alarm, and seemed to have lost the faculties of hearing and speaking, but the demeanour of Prince Meng-myat-bo (a half brother of the king) excited the highest admiration. He led the party with a firm step, and a bold, upright carriage, grave and serious, but evidently suffering much from feelings of indignation and wounded pride. Some of the military officers, also, appeared justly to view the whole procession as an unworthy degradation. The young Prince received them with civility; but soon undeceived those who believed that they would be allowed to return to Ava, saying they must at least abide in durance until his father's arrival."

Before this event, and within twenty-four hours of the surrender, the Prime Minister and Consort's brother was thrown into irons. Tharawadi reached Tsa-gaing next day, and on the following, his son Tiek-ten-pyu, with two thousand men, marched upon Ava, entered by the Eastern gate, took formal possession of the Lwat-d'hau or Supreme Council Hall, separated the Queen and Princess Royal from Mya-daugyi, and restricted them to the inferior rooms of the Palace. Tharawadi then assumed the Government; which certainly, so far, the alleged audacity and ambition of the Prime Minister appear to have given him strong instigation to contend for; and perhaps few would have been inclined to condemn him, had he, as a King, been faithful to his promises made as a Prince.

However, although he did find a warm apologist in an evidently well-informed correspondent of the *Friend of India* (June 25, 1840), there can be little doubt, we think, of his having been as heartless and unscrupulous a tyrant as ever wore a treacherously achieved Crown. The very men who had tendered him their submission, and others of the highest estate in Burmah, with their wives and families, were incarcerated, and tortured with the most refined inhumanity. All of the Blood Royal who declined to tender instant homage to the usurper, were consigned to the lowest degradation and poverty. The ex-King himself, for all the ancient love and honour conferred by him upon his brother, was placed upon a bare pittance, and under the close espionage of Tiek-ten-pyu. The once powerful Prime Minister was loaded

with chains, and constantly assailed with gibes and taunts as he laboured like a menial in the royal domain. Finally, the British Resident, who had taken Tharawadi's declaration that he would spare the lives of his adversaries, on condition of their submission, was unceremoniously dismissed from the Court; and on pleading the stipulations of the treaty of Yandabo, was bidden to "go to the fools who made it." But notwithstanding the determination thus, and in other ways expressed to relieve himself of foreign oversight, there appears, upon the whole, to be no reason to conclude that he at this period designed to invite any direct hostility from the British arms.

Some time after, Tharawadi's throne was placed in jeopardy by insurrections North of the Capital, in which his second son, Tick-ten-pyu, was suspected to be so deeply implicated, that he was incarcerated, and spared from torture only on the security of his elder brother. It appears likely, from a placard which was discovered at Khyoukkaloung, some distance West of Ava, that the insurgent party were adherents of the deposed king. Alarmed at the threatened insecurity, Tharawadi's daughter, who was reputed a great astrologer, suggested that he remove the Government to Amarapura, and exact a formal transfer of it from his brother. Himself, incensed at the disloyalty evinced towards him, executed Meng-tha-gyi, the ex-Prime-Minister, and his sister,* together with three ladies and seventeen officers of the deposed Monarch's Court. Above seventy other persons of rank were cast in bondage, and subsequently slain.

Considerable excitement prevailed, towards the latter end of 1840, from reports of a new Water-Palace in course of construction for Tharawadi, at Rangoon. He arrived there, in a sumptuous state-barge, in October 1841, preceded by the ex-King and his daughter. A formidable army accompanied him, ten thousand men, it was supposed, being quartered at Rangoon, and fifty thousand at Sarawati, with a hundred pieces of field artillery well mounted and serviceable, and gun-boats ranging between thirty and seventy tons. His object in collecting this force was matter of various conjecture. Rangoon was strongly fortified, stockades erected in various parts of its vicinity; even the British power felt some apprehension, and troops were sent to garrison the Anglo-Burmese Provinces. Tharawadi hurried to Pegu and back—some hundred and fifty miles—within the twenty-four

* According to Burmese etiquette, the ex-Queen-Consort was trampled to death by an elephant!

hours:—still no one knew why any of this fatigue and labour and expense.

At length, towards the end of January, 1842, tired of fort and stockade-building, and having done nothing more than construct a bund round Rangoon, (in the course of whose erection he lost three thousand men) his Majesty retired to Amarapura; having accomplished one of the most curious and unaccountable military expeditions on record, of which none can conjecture the meaning to the present day.

The subsequent intrigues in the house of Alompra; the several aspirants for the royal dignity; the exhaustive imposts, and remorseless cruelties and abuses of power, for which Tharawadi, for a time sustained by them, was at length relieved of the cares of Government, and doomed to dwindle out his days in inglorious seclusion; have, in their details, but little variety, or interest for the general reader. And the extortions and confiscations and insults heaped upon our merchants at Rangoon, by the representatives of the reigning King of Burmah, until the interference of the Calcutta Cabinet was provoked, and the infatuated despot, unimpressed by just appeals, bade his maritime batteries open upon the *Hermes* on the tenth of January of the present year, belong to the history of the Second Burmese War. We therefore pass over them, at present, with this slight allusion; purposing, on a future occasion, to follow them to their consequences and events.

As to the Constitution of the Burmese dominions, the whole power is centred in the Emperor, probably the most despotic Monarch in the world. With the exception of the Thaubwas, or tributary Princes of the subjugated territories, (among whom an hereditary succession is permitted) he is absolute Lord of the persons and properties of all his subjects, not only whose services and possessions, but even their lives, are at his sole and arbitrary disposal. True, he has, nominally, two Councils, through which his authority is exercised and dispensed; but they have no controlling power whatever, but are the mere blind executors of his sovereign will. The Superior Council, or Lwat-d'hau, holds its sittings in a great hall of the Imperial Palace. It is composed of four Presidents, or Wun-gyis,* chosen by the Monarch from the great Mandarins; each has his Deputy, or Wun-dauk,† under whom, again, is a Bar of Secretaries,

* Bearers of the great Burthen.

† Fulcrum (of the Wun-gyi).

eight or ten in number, with the title of Saré-d'hau-gyi, or great royal Scribes. Through this tribunal all imperial grants and sentences must pass—but only for registration and issue—it has not the smallest liberty of modification, or even of suggestion. Its decrees are sent forth, written on palm leaves cut sabre-wise,—probably to symbolize the respect and dread with which its sentences should be received.

The second is a Privy Council, and like the other, is under four Presidents or Atweng-wuns,* with thirty Secretaries, or Than-d'hau-sens, to minute their proceedings. Avowedly, the business of this Court is to advise the Emperor in all causes, prior to their transmission to the Lwat-d'hau. How far it has access to his ear will of course depend altogether on the personal disposition of the Sovereign; whose decrees, being first settled in the inferior Council, are advanced to the executive department by ushers with the title of Na-kan-d'hau.

However, it has not been discovered that, in the eye of Royalty, either these, or any other of the great Officers of State—the Treasurer—the “Woods and Forests,” the Master of the Ordnance, the Controller of the Seraglio—enjoy the slightest precedence over the mere menials of his household,—his cook, his water-bearer, the purveyor of his pawn, or the keepers of his sword and umbrellas. All alike are Mandarins,—only because attached to the imperial Staff. All must do the same homage as the lowest subject to the royal Person,—must own themselves his born slaves,—must toil and moil without any settlement as to recompence—must fall prostrate before the “Presence,” with hands joined over their heads—must hold their substance, their service, their persons, and even their virgin daughters,† as his indefeasible right and peculiar. All possessions unhereditary in the direct line devolve upon him—and all the accumulations of deceased unmarried foreigners—and all the salvage from shipwrecks on the coasts of the Empire, which is regarded as attribute from the ocean. Both peace and war, and who shall serve in his armies, and who remain to occupy the land, is pronounced upon his sole decision.

The most splendid adjunct to the royal dignity is regarded in Burmah and other of the Indo-Chinese countries, to

* Burthen-Bearers of the Interior.

† Happily custom has established the rule that no married woman be appropriated by the Sovereign. The Burmese avail themselves of this privilege by betrothing their daughters at a very early age.

consist in the possession of White Elephants. Extravagant honour is paid to this indispensable part of the regalia^a; each beast has his Wun-gyi, his Wun-dauk, his Saré-gyi, and a vast establishment of inferior ministers; and one of the finest districts in the country is assigned as his estate and principedom. The White Elephant appears to be an animal of excessive rarity; there never was, we believe, more than one at any one recorded period, at the Court of Ava; but the King of Siam had six when Crawford was deputed to his Court. The first Burmese specimen of which we have any detailed account was taken in the forests of Pegu in 1805. Crowds of every age and sex flocked to the forests to behold it in its crimson caparison, protected from the mosquitos by a rich silk awning, and guarded day and night. A noble residence in the royal City being ready for its reception, Padun-mang ordered for it an elaborate floating castle roofed like his own Palace, and draped with cloth of gold; in which it was towed up to Amarapura by three gilded barges, attended by other vessels profusely provendered, or carrying Mandarins, bands of music, nautch-girls, and soldiery. Every station past upon the voyage was laid under contribution for its sustenance. Frequent messengers were dispatched from the Palace to enquire after, and bear tidings of the creature's health; and the King, with all his princes and courtiers, went out three days' march, to salute and to escort it, having ordered its progress through the City to be honoured with sumptuous festivities, which should be continued during other three days. It was assigned the title borne by a Prince of the Blood, bathed daily in an infusion of sandal water, served upon vessels of pure gold, shaded from the sun by gilded chhattars, and at night-fall, lulled by lute and song. In fact it was killed by kindness—just when Padun-mang was exulting most upon it, and fancying himself the great Emperor of the Nat* for the possession of it, it died of a

^a The Nat, in Burmese Cosmogony, are a species of generating beings (Chama,) superior to man, inhabiting the upper regions, at six several degrees of elevation, according to their purity of nature. Some are created, others the result of metempsychosis; for, say the Burmese, when *any* living creature dies, there is a complete dissolution, both of soul and body; but from this dissolved being another individual springs, which will be beast, or man, or Nat, according to the merit or demerit of its predecessor. Nats of the lowest condition are fourteen thousand cubits high, and live nine millions of our years. Those of the superior grade are seven thousand cubits taller, and live thirty-six million years. They are ruled by a Supreme Prince, with thirty-two subordinates, who keep their state upon an Elephant, having thirty-three heads, on each head seven teeth, in each tooth seven lakes, in each lake seven flowering trees, each of which has seven flowers, and each flower seven leaves; in

surfeit; and being burned with the ceremony and observance assigned to a Queen, the urn containing its ashes was laid up in the royal cemetery. By excess of divine favour, however, there were more in the forests; one of which, being taken after much anxious hunting, was alive and well at the period of Crawford's Mission in 1826.

The ladies and male children of the Palace have been often a considerable drain upon the Burmese exchequer. On comparing, however, the several accounts to which we have access, we are inclined to hope that the race of Alompra has in some instances resigned itself to a purer domesticity. Sangermano gives an alarming history of the licentiousness of Padun-mang, whose four principal wives took their titles from the four cardinal points, according to the quarter of the palace which they occupied; and each of whom, (as well as the Ing-she-men,* or Heir-apparent,) had her Wungyi and Atwung-wun, and attendant Mandarins; their establishments, together with allowances to above a hundred children, swallowing up all the riches of the land. But there is only slight allusion to such habits in Crawford's most valuable Journal of his Embassy; on whose reception at the Palace at Ava, the whole domestic arrangements appear to have been extremely decorous. The King entered the Hall of Audience to the sound of music, in a tunic of gold tissue; wearing a spiral crown studded with rubies and sapphires, and the four other emblems of royalty—the chowrie, the white chhattar, and the peculiar sword and shoes. Immediately afterwards the Queen presented herself, her crown jewelled with equal elaboration, but of a different shape. She took her seat on a throne at his Majesty's right hand. Their only child followed, a Princess of about five years of age, and seated herself between her parents. The King would seldom appear without his Consort; he ordered as their joint designation "the two Sovereign Lords. The complete rupture of Court punctilios which she thus brought about made her many enemies, especial in the royal house-

each leaf there are seven rooms, in each room seven beds, and in each bed seven female Nats dancing. Thirty-six millions of Nats, swifter than the wind, attend the State, and do the mandates of their Prince, who keeps his Court in a superb City, paved with gold and silver, and studded with gems. There blooms the Padesa-Trec, bearing, instead of fruit, precious garments and rich ornaments; and the Nanda, with its flowers large as a chariot, with which the Nats enwreath their brows when they join the dances in boats of precious metals, which sail upon the transparent lakes. This, though perhaps enough for a specimen, is but the merest fragment of this gorgeous fiction.

* Lord of the East House.

hold, who would speak of her familiarly under the name of "the Sorceress."

It is, however, observable that though this is the first instance of a Queen's having taken her place on the throne of Burmah, their females generally are much more nearly upon an equality with the men than is usual among Oriental nations. They go abroad, and to the Pagodas, dressed in a petticoat open in front, and, among the lower classes, generally of very scanty breadth, made of the striped cotton or silk of the country: the bust is clothed in a short jacket, reaching to the waist, and confined tightly over the bosom either by a simple knot, or by a girdle passing under the arms. They wear no head-dress, but the hair is tied with a fillet, and gathered into a knot at the back. The dress of the men consists of a cloth of striped silk or cotton, from five to eight or more yards in length, which they wrap loosely about the body. Its breadth is such as to reach from the waist—around which it is tucked fast—half way down the legs. Their jacket is longer than the women's,—reaching to the knees. Those of either sex are generally of long-cloth or nankeen; but on occasions of ceremony, of velvet, and sometimes of broad-cloth. The men wear their hair knotted on the crown of the head, and confined by a handkerchief folded turban-wise.

The etiquette of marriage is that the Bridegroom be the dowered party, and reside in the house of his Bride's parents for three years; after which, if he is dissatisfied, he may take his wife to other arrangements. In the very curious Burmese code entitled *Damasat*,* or *The Golden Rule*, the fair play conceded to the women is particularly noticeable;—for instance, in case of divorce, the family substance must be equally divided;—or if a man obtain his Bride by false representations of noble or ancient lineage, on discovery, he forfeits both Bride and dower;—or if a man unendowed marry an heiress, or *vice versa*, in case of separation, the unendowed party, whether male or female, takes one-third of the fortune, and the remaining two-thirds become the portion of its original possessor. Again, on the division of inheritances among three children, their portions are, respectively to age, and not to sex, as four, three, and two. We need not particularize fur-

* In the legend of the *Damasat's* origin, it is remarkable that the name *Menu* occurs. A hermit, it is said, was seduced to relax his sublime meditations by the beauty of a Nat; whom he married, and had by her two sons, Menu and Meno, famous for sanctity and learning. They acquired, by meditation, the faculty of transporting themselves through the air, by which gift they reached a great mountain chain, where they found the *Damasat* carved in capitals upon a rock.

ther—the same even-handedness characterizes the whole document.

The Burmese of both sexes have an inordinate passion for finery, and an excessive emulation of the habits of the superior ranks. Rings and chains, bracelets and anklets, are universally worn by unmarried girls, and by lads up to the age of seventeen. Afterwards all but the rings are discontinued. Of these the lowest classes commonly manage to have at least one jewelled, and a necklace and bracelet of gold—but the golden anklet is reserved as the mark of royalty, under pain of death. Other sumptuary laws, too, of the same nature, are rigidly enforced; particularly referring to the umbrella, which the king alone may use of a white fabric spangled with gold; the members of the royal family gilt, and in number one, two, or three, according to favour or to seniority; governors and judges, gilt, except in the royal presence or city; next honourable is the green chhattar—then the red—and each in several shades. Last comes the chhattar of plain varnished brown paper, which is permitted to all ranks.

Another article guarded by a rigid sumptuary edict is the betel-box. It is considered in the highest degree treasonable to possess a gold or gilt one, modelled on the *henthā*, (the हंस of the Hindus) that fabulous bird, which was the national emblem of Pegu, having been introduced by Alompra into the royal arms of Burmah. Only on the left of the throne may such a *pàn-dàn* be seen. All ages and classes use the betel most profusely;—to the time of marriage, occasionally with some respect to cleanliness, up to which period these will keep their teeth clean and white; but the greater number from childhood, and all from their nuptials, dye their teeth of a hideous black to conceal the pàn stains.

Gold plate is also prohibited, on pain of confiscation of the whole property, and even death, if the delinquent happen to be obnoxious. So too the chains on the left shoulder, the exclusive badge of nobility, the various ranks in which order are designated by the number worn. To decorate apartments in vermillion is deemed illegal,—an appointment which has led to much extortion, it being no uncommon thing for a grudge-bearer to redden his rival's panels during the night, and lay a complaint against him next morning. Rubies,* above a certain carat, are prohibited;—and trains,

* This ordinance may in a great measure account for the rarity of rubies of the higher carats. When such turn up, the first impulse of the miner (knowing them to be a royal perquisite) is to smuggle them. But as there

except to the ladies of the Court ; but the peasantry fold the upper part of their vestures in plaits upon the bosom, whereas the lady of fashion minces with the bust fully exposed. Brocades of gold and silver may be worn only by royal ladies and the wives of Mandarins, a concession which, as the king's cook is of that rank, may sometimes create emulations in the very purlieus of the Palace.

The hideous custom of boring the ears is universal. The operation, indeed, is regarded as a religious one, and is the initiatory sacrament of the Burmese ceremonial. At first the bore is small ; but as a spiral coil of gold is introduced, its tendency to expand is continually tearing the orifice. At last its size becomes unseemly in the extreme, and the coil drops out. The orifice is then frequently used as a reservoir for half-smoked segars, which persons of either sex use profusely from a very early age.

Sandals of wood, or of leather, are frequently worn : but neither stockings, shoes, or boots on any consideration. The consequent exposure of the lower limbs—for the skirt, or *Htamyn*, is always open in front, and, in the lower classes specially, of very scanty breadth,—gives an air of barbarity to the promenades.

The habit of the Priesthood (the P'hun-gyis, and Talapoins*) is more elaborate. It consists of three pieces of cotton, silk, or woollen stuff, invariably yellow, which is the sacred colour, and strictly forbidden to all other orders. The first piece is an oblong skirt, open in front, and fastened round the loins by a leathern girdle. The second is a loose cloak

is considerable difficulty in this, he often breaks them up into fragments, that so he may render of some personal account gems which would otherwise be seized for the caskets of the Palace. It would seem, however, from recent accounts, that the Burmese themselves are not discriminate in their valuation of gems. In Mr. Mason's valuable volume on the natural productions of Burmah, it is stated that the natives frequently confound the hexahedrical red sapphire, or true Oriental ruby, with the almandine, or precious garnet ; and both with the spinelle ruby, which is a regular octohedron. "It is no easy task," he adds, "to distinguish accurately the true character of the different stones offered for sale as rubies. Both Europeans and natives often make great mistakes. An English officer bought a 'ruby' in Maulmein, a few years ago, for fifteen rupees, his friend bought one for five rupees, and the rubies were thought to be of nearly equal value ; but on walking into a jeweller's shop in Calcutta, a year or two after, the jeweller offered four hundred and fifty rupees for the one, but refused to give two rupees for the other, characterizing it as a 'worthless garnet.'"—See the *Rev. Francis Mason's Fauna, Flora, and Minerals of the Tenasserim Provinces and Burman Empire*.—Moulmein Amer : Miss. Press, 1850.

* There appear to be two orders of men dedicated to Religion, of whom the P'hun-gyis are the Hierarchs, and the Talapoins their subordinate Monks.

covering the shoulders and the breast. The third is a rectangle of cloth, folded scarf-wise, and worn over the left shoulder. They wear no head-dress, and should be closely shorn; but when they go abroad, must carry the *Avana*, a fan of palmyra-leaf, to protect their heads from the sun. These Talapoints do not engage in public prayers, sacrifices or oblations,—these each of the people must render for him or herself, before the Pagodas;—but they attend the dead to their graves, and there recite the *Tara*, a sort of admonition on works and duties addressed to the survivors. The funeral solemnities should, by the way, be noticed. A hundred or more families unite in friendly association, to afford mutual aid on those occasions. At the moment of death, the body is washed, and enclosed in a white swath. The associated families then pay visits of condolence, a few of them undertaking all care of the funeral, in order that the immediate mourners may indulge their grief. By them a wooden coffin, (generally gilt, in houses of consideration,) is prepared,—and betel,—and various curries,—upon which all visitors are feasted. Musicians too are sent for—with drums and trumpets, and a species of castanet. Presents of all descriptions—money—rice—any thing which may be useful or acceptable to the bereaved family, are poured in by the fraternity in which it is enlisted. The Talapoints arrive soon after, to receive their presents of fruit and cloth and money. The corpse lies in state for one, two, or even three days, if the heat admit; except the death was sudden, when the funeral follows immediately;—or near the full moon—for it is strictly forbidden to defer the interment beyond midnight of that day.

When all is ready, the procession forms. First, alms for the Talapoints and the poor;—then a company of nuns or priestesses, called *Thi-la-shen*, bearing baskets full of betel. A number of Talapoints follow—more or less, according to the wealth of the party—but each does his utmost to celebrate his family obsequies with splendour—to such excess that there are instances of beggary therefrom resulting. Next is the bier;—gilt, if a Mandarin repose within—otherwise red,—borne on the shoulders of friends, and overlaid with the deceased's richest garments. In families of quality the coffin is ushered by the body servants of the deceased, bearing his insignia of office, pipe, sword, looking-glass, &c.; and attended by musicians. An immense gathering of people bring up the rear, often collected by scouts, who run in advance of the procession, and invite the occupants of every house *en route* to join it. On arriving at the place of interment, an

oration is pronounced by the senior Talapoin;—the *Tara*—recommending works and duties, and principally alms-deeds to the Talapoins. The advice is responded to with more or less liberality, and betel plentifully distributed, as the body is set upon the pyre. Three days after, the relations, attired in white, return to the place of burning to collect the remains into an urn, and bury them. For six or seven subsequent nights, assemblies meet in the bereft house, to read and chaunt for the consolation of the mourners. The whole ceremony then concludes with a feast to the Talapoins.

The obsequies of the sacred orders, however, are much more elaborate, and in them is particularly displayed the veneration of the Burmese for their Priests. A rite of this kind was witnessed by Mr. Charles Terry (a traveller of great experience and observation, who may be remembered by many of our Calcutta readers,) in 1848,* and his description argues for the accuracy of Sangermano in a degree which we did not expect. We shall render the account of this ceremonial, with some slight abbreviation, in Mr. Terry's own words.

“The body, after embalming, is carefully enveloped in wax, except the head; and a worked crimson silk coverlet is thrown over it, while the face is gilded. It is placed on an ornamental frame-work of wood ten feet high, the shape of which reminded me of some of the fine old monuments which adorn the Christian Churches of the Middle Ages; but covered with gaudy colouring, glittering glass, and tinselling. At its base, at each corner, are figures, as angel-like as Burmese artists can make them. The whole is surmounted by a canopy resembling that which is borne over the Priests, who carry the Host in Roman Catholic processions.

“Close by, was a coloured picture on cotton cloth, representing a strange horrible medley of the future punishments of the damned, forming, altogether, a hellish panorama. And near the enclosure where the body of the P'hun-gyi lay, were several pagodas, the work of some devotee.

“As the ceremonial of the burning presented a rare opportunity, I was anxious to witness it. The P'hun-gyi had been dead many months, and considerable preparation had been going on for some time past.

“The place selected was an open plain, where there had been some paduy cultivation. A gaily-ornamented tinselled car, with the bust of a woman at the head, and the tail of a dragon at the foot, contained the body, and was placed in the centre. People by thousands came in all directions, and formed a large semicircle around the car.

“The ceremony of burning is the very opposite to any thing which an European imagination would depict. No grief for the dead is either felt or exhibited; but, on the contrary, the whole affair is looked forward to as a joyous holiday, a time for fire-works, dancing, and music.

* SCENES AND THOUGHTS IN FOREIGN LANDS. By CHARLES TERRY. London. Pickering. 1848.

Men wear their best garments, and women their gayest dresses, many hoping, probably, to make conquests among the living while attending the ceremony for the dead.

"There were several hundred dancers. They form sets of about fifty, and go through their dances in three rows. Each has a leader, who recites some of their native poetry, accompanying it with some gesticulation of body, which the rest imitate, making the most grotesque scene, and uttering the most strange and wild, but unmusical, chorus imaginable. We saw one party go through a drinking song and scene which it would be difficult to describe.

"While amusements went on among the crowd, the preparations for firing the car were proceeding; and at three o'clock all was in readiness. This was announced by a few booming reports from a brass gun. All was now excitement among the large assemblage.

"The great desideratum was to strike the car with rockets, and set it on fire. This is considered a lucky omen with regard to this world and the next for those to whom the rocket belongs. It is customary for all the neighbouring districts and villages to send one, and even some of the Europeans had rockets.

"These rockets are a foot and a half to two feet and a half in length, and with the wood-work are about a foot and a half in circumference, so that they are rather formidable missiles. They are attached to ropes, which are made fast to the bamboo scaffolding round the car. There were fifteen of these ropes suspended on poles in a semicircle, a hundred and fifty yards from the car; the rockets are raised about fifteen feet from the ground, and, as usual, fired with a fusee.

"The first went off, then a second, and a third, when the car took fire; but it was too soon; so water was procured, and the fire put out. Afterwards, for a couple of hours, rockets were fired off one after another; some missed, but generally, they belched away like a high-pressure steam-engine to the car. The parties to whom they severally belonged went after them, whooping, jumping, and tumbling like bedlamites, to bring back the wood-work of their exploded rockets. About thirty-five were fired, one of the last battered the car greatly; and when these were over, the pyre was in a blaze, and the whole burnt furiously.

"The burning closed the fête, one of the most extraordinary I ever witnessed. We estimated that there were as many as from ten to twelve thousand people assembled."

Sangermano adds that the ornamented frame-work in which the body of a Talapoin is deposited, is often of most elaborate manufacture. The Phun-gyis usually keep it, by them several years, that its costliness and beauty may attract general curiosity. Besides flowers executed in mosaic, it is sometimes enriched with precious gems. The honour of dragging the car to the place of burning is contested with extraordinary earnestness, as a work of the greatest merit. Unhappily these exciting scenes seldom end otherwise than very painfully. Besides the rockets used for firing the pyre, themselves often fatal to some of the spectators, it appears that, on occasions, other fireworks, of vaster calibre, are attached to heavy wooden rollers, and fired; and the ponder-

ous masses thus whirled through the air prove most destructive missiles.*

The Members of the Sacred Order, who are very numerous, enjoy various privileges and immunities. They reside in convents (Báos) of the most superb architecture, according to Burmese notions, some of the richest of them being cased with fine gold within and without; in one of which each society of Talapoins is supposed to observe a holy celibacy, under its P'hun-gyi, or Superior. All the Báos in each Province are governed by a Provincial Master, and again these are subject to the government of the Zarado, or Vicar General of the Empire. The whole ecclesiastical body is maintained by the voluntary contributions of the other classes, it being unlawful for the Priesthood to engage in any secular avocation, or to take any thought for the morrow. Their code, indeed, exacts a very different *regime* from that under which they live—that they must not touch gold or silver—must be content with the bare necessities of life—must wear only bits of rag picked up in the streets, or among the tombs—whereas, in reality, they are among the most ravenous and extortionate of men. They carry their scrupulosities, or at any rate profess to do so, to a pitch of which St. Senanus himself might have been emulous, eschewing all contact with a female animal of any description. Whoever of them knowingly violates this law, is expelled, and often stoned, from his Báó, stript of his sacred habit, and subjected to public punishment. Their *Constitutions* are written in the *Vini*, which they are enjoined to read constantly, until they have committed it to memory. These enjoin the exactest rigour in self-abnegation; in the avoiding of sin, and its confession, when incurred; and in abstinence from all touch of woman—even an own mother—though she be dying in a ditch; except her son can fancy her a log of wood, in which case he may offer her his staff to hold to, and drag her out. To kill animals, to steal, to lie, to drink wine, to eat after noon, to dance or sing or play, to perfume with sandal wood, and to aspire to elevated stations are all forbidden to the Sacred Orders. They are the constituted guardians and educators of the youth of the Empire, the most of whom, up to a certain age, are invested with the priestly habit, and secluded in the Báos, as accessary to their intellectual progress. This investiture is conducted

* A ceremony of the same nature, with the addition of numerous grotesque images, was witnessed by Mr. Felix Carey, son of the late Dr. Carey of Serampore, an account of which may be found in the Twelfth Volume of the *Asiatic Researches*.

with much ceremony—the youths being richly arrayed, mounted on chargers, and escorted to their future school by gorgeous processions. A superstitious reverence is paid to all the religious, and the chief Officers of the order are bowed to and adored as Gods.

According to the system entertained by these religious orders, there have been already four Deities, at different periods, conversant among men,* the last of whom was Gautama, whose laws are obligatory on the present age. Having obtained the rank of a Buddha at the age of thirty-five, he prophesied on earth for forty-five years after, and was then translated to the state of *Niban* or impassive extacy, having decreed that the obligations of his code continue for five thousand years, during which his relics should be obsequiously adored.

Each of these Deities, the P'hun-gyis teach, has been what Gautama now is, and will continue, until the lapse of the five thousand years for which he has willed to preserve his law and his disciples;—Supreme God in heaven and over earth. But as the period approached for the succession of Gautama to the universal heirdom, six false aspirants started up, and promulgated various heretical doctrines. One ascribed all the good and evil in the world to a certain Nat of the woods; another controverted that peculiar phase of the doctrine of transmigration which is entertained by the Buddhists;† a third asserted the entire annihilation of creatures after death; a fourth held the doctrine of fortuity in its most unlimited extent, and affirmed all living beings to be without beginning, and without end; a fifth promulgated the merit of certain works forbidden by the true law; and the last taught the existence of a Supreme Being, Creator of the world, and all that is therein, Who alone is worthy of adoration. These, say the Talapoins, are the six *Deitti*, or false Gods, who contested the honour of dominion with Gautama; for which offence they shall be impaled on red-hot spits, and roasted in the greatest of the hells.

The laws of Gautama enjoin the observance of five commandments:—not to kill even the smallest insect, nor

* They maintain, moreover, that nineteen Gods have appeared in worlds anterior to the present; and that five are still in reserve for future worlds; thus making the total number of Gods that will ever appear to be twenty-eight.

† Namely that, after death, soul and body perish together, and that from this complete dissolution another being springs—either beast, or man, or Nat, according to the merits or demerits of its predecessor.

to steal,—nor to commit adultery,—nor to bear false witness,—nor to be drunken:—and the avoidance of anger, hatred, wrathful words, idle conversation, covetousness, envy, and malevolence. They assert the merit of alms-giving, and of meditation on certain three words, the first of which is presumed to instil the consideration that the present is a state of misfortune,—the second, that it is chequered with many sorrows,—the third, that it is beyond the power of man to free himself from either. Whoever dies without the merit of good works, they inculcate, is like a man journeying without provisions, venturing on a perilous road unarmed, or trusting himself to the tempests and the whirlpools on a frail and shattered bark:—he is like a moth sporting round the flame which will consume it, to a man licking honey from the edge of a sharp sword, to a bird regaling beneath the toils of the fowler, to a stag blandished by his hind, though the hunters be pursuing. Such men will assuredly pass, according to their deserts, into one of those innumerable states of punishment, which are described in the Burmese sacred books with repulsive minuteness.

Gautama himself, say the legends, having passed through five hundred and fifty transmigrations, was again born for the last time, and proclaimed himself at the instant of his birth the noblest and the greatest of men, who should never again be conceived in the womb. These pretensions he established by causing water and fire to issue simultaneously from his eyes. He always appeared elevated above the ground, with his garments floating at a palm's distance from his body; his height was nine cubits, his ears dangled to his shoulders, his protruded tongue would reach to his nose, and his arms, as he stood erect, dropped to the level of his knees. His biography ends badly—he died of dysentery, caused by a surfeit of pork.

The discourses of Gautama, with much impure and disgusting detail, contain, it must be acknowledged, some principles of an exact morality. The most esteemed of them is reputed to have been handed down to posterity by his first disciple, Ananda; it having been delivered in the splendid convent of Sautti to a certain Nat of radiant brightness, who entered where the “Divine Wisdom” sate, and desired of the “great and omnipotent God” that He would reveal the way to the perfect repose of the Niban. Gautama, says the *Sottan*, or Volume of the Rules of Life, replied as follows:*

* We avail ourselves of the version from Sangermano, Englished by Dr. Tandy.

“O Nat! know that, to keep far from the company of the ignorant; to be always in the society of the learned, and to give respect and honour to whom they are due, are three means of overcoming any inordinate affection, O Nat! by the choice of a place of abode proper to one's station, and adapted for satisfying all the common wants of life; by having always in store some merit acquired in a former life, and by ever maintaining in one's own person a prudent carriage; by these three precepts likewise may a man be preserved from evil doing. O Nat! the vastness of learning; the comprehension of all things that are not evil; the perfect knowledge of the duties of one's state of life, and the observance of piety and modesty in words;—these are four most excellent means whereby we may renounce all wicked actions. O Nat! by ministering to one's father and mother the proper sustenance; by providing for the wants of one's wife and children; by the purity and honesty of every action; by alms-deeds; by the observance of the divine precepts; by succouring in their necessities those who are united to us by the ties of kindred; finally by every thing else in which there is no sin; by all these means may we be preserved from evil deeds. O Nat! by such a freedom from all faults, that not even the inferior part of the soul manifests any affection for them; by the abstinence from all intoxicating drink; by the never-failing practice of all the works of piety; by shewing respect to all; by being humble to all; by sobriety; by gratitude to our benefactors;—and, finally, by listening from time to time to the preaching of the word of God; by these means also may we overcome our evil inclinations, and keep ourselves from sin. O Nat! the virtue of patience; docility in receiving the admonitions of good men; frequent visits to priests; spiritual conferences in the divine laws; frugality and modesty in our exterior; the perfect observance, that is, the observance to the letter, of the law; having ever before our eyes the four states* which living creatures will pass after death, and finally, the meditation on the happy state of the Niban, these are all distinguished precepts for preserving man from wickedness. O Nat! that intrepidity and serenity of mind, which good men preserve amid the eight calamities of life, in abundance and want, in censure and praise, in joy and distress, in popularity and abandonment; the absence of all fear and inquietude of heart; the freedom from the dark mists of concupiscence; finally insensibility to suffering, these are four rare gifts, which remove man far away from all affection to evil. Wherefore, O Nat! imprint well upon your heart the thirty-eight precepts I have just delivered; let them be deeply rooted there, and see to put them in execution.”

The above discourse is interesting, as being the document committed to memory by all children entering the Burmese Bâos as disciples. It is the most complete extant summary of Bhuddistical morality.

* That is, the four unhappy, or penal states. The Burmese Books allege eleven states, altogether, for corporeal beings, seven of which are happy. The lowest of the happy states is that of manhood; and superior in felicity are the six gradations of Nats. The four penal states are, first, the state of animal being; second, the state of *Preitta*, a species of imp doomed to a loathsome existence in deserts and forests, sewers and cisterns; third, the state of *Assuriche*, creatures dwelling on the remotest sea-shores, with eyes projecting like crabs, and mouths small as a needle's eye, and so lean and squalid that they resemble skeletons; fourth, the state of *Niria*, or abode in one of the hells.

The Burmese traditions, moreover, venture to penetrate the distant future. The reign of Gautama as Supreme Deity has already lasted, they consider, about 2475 years, and therefore has 2525 years yet to run. Then ages will elapse before the next Buddha is incarnated; for between the appearance of each God, the earth must increase 28,000 cubits in diameter, and the deposit of a single year only adds to its surface the thickness of a tamarind leaf. But a habitation for him in time prepared, by the accumulation of these deposits, a successor to Gautama shall appear, the Lord Arimiteya, whose stature shall be eighty cubits, and his whole physiological development, even to the hairs of his head, of dimensions correspondingly gigantic. With him all of the present race who pass the whole of the intervening period in the regions of men and of Nats, without once descending to the states of penal existence, may hope to attain the extatic state of Niban.

There is, perhaps, no other people on the earth so stupidly credulous as the Burmese. The merest accidents in the fabrication of the tenements where they dwell, are tortured by them into omens of the most portentous issue. They possess a large volume whose only object is to interpret the lapa which will occur in a dwelling, from the proportions of its beams, and the knots in its stair-cases. Many will not adventure in a boat, or a carriage, without a previous scrutiny whether the marks upon the timbers augur good or ill. All involuntary motions of the eyes, the head, the forehead, are considered as indications of the lot of those in whom they are observed. There are no such heralds of ill as the planets approaching the disk of the moon, or the sun rising either bright or louring. The fate of a battle is considered to be certainly prognosticated by the selection which the crows make from effigies of a lion, an ox, and an elephant, moulded in cooked rice. Not merely are the more universal delusions of oneiromanty, and palmistry, and planetary conjunctions, entertained, but omens are drawn from the cawing of crows, the burrows of mice, the ovation of poultry, and the building of bees. As one of the oldest missionaries to Burmah has observed, so numerous are the follies of the prevailing superstition, that were a man to be entirely guided by it, he would have neither house to live in, nor road to walk on, nor clothes to cover him, not even rice for his food.

The Burmese have many games and sports, both athletic and domiciliary. Many of them are highly scientific chess-players:—a complete treatise on the peculiarities of their

play (which is singular and skillfully devised) may be found in one of the earlier volumes of the *Asiatic Resarches*. They have also cards of ivory, introduced from Siam ; and "the Royal Game of Goose." The fighting-cocks of the young men are the objects of their proudest exultation. Music, dancing and theatricals are all favourite amusements. Mr. Terry, from whose work we have before quoted, gives an animated description of a scene which he himself witnessed.

"The dancing was Oriental, and far from fascinating ; the acting created lots of merriment in the audience, and we regretted not understanding the language so as to join them. The music most attracted our attention. A drummer was squatted within a circular cage of wicker work, containing eighteen drums of different sizes and tones, throwing his fingers marvellously over them ; another performer was posted before a wooden frame-work, within which were eighteen gongs of different sizes, and he struck them into bell-music. To these were added a kind of oboe ; two wild, shrill clarionets ; a big drum ; cymbals, and bamboo clappers. A chorus of voices at times joined this wonderful orchestra. The effect of the whole may be more easily imagined than described. I am sure such an exhibition in London would leave no chance for Ethiopian or Pyrenean Serenaders."

Pony, boat and foot-races, hunting, wrestling and foot-ball, are the chief of their out-door diversions.

Happily the systematic abstemiousness of the people renders disease of comparatively rare occurrence ; for the practice of the healing arts, surgical and medical, is absolutely empirical. With the former class, indeed, they are professedly unacquainted, and eagerly have recourse to European practitioners. But in the physician's art they are more adventurous, and do not scruple to undertake even critical cases, which they treat with a profusion of the most drastic and stimulating drugs, producing generally, as might be expected, a fatal termination. When the disorder proves unyielding, their physicians seek to save their reputation by declaring the disease to be the work of Nats, or of incantations ; for among their superstitions, the belief in witches is not the least prominent. And then they call in the assistance of some counteractive, in the shape of a nautch girl, who is supposed to have a remedial efficacy ; or of roast meats and fruits, in their own nature, they consider, good ; with what success may be easily imagined. Even in *accouchements* they resort to the most torturous and cruel practice. The mother is exposed to the heat of a fire large enough to roast her, and treated with the hottest medicines. And because of the frequent fatality of such cases, they regard it

as a special arrangement of Providence that the women are much more numerous than the men.

Though there are but few among the Burmese who cannot read and write, yet, if we except their codal books, and the discourses of Gautama, their literature is almost a perfect blank. Of ratiocination, even the learned among them seem to have no faculty; the great object of their erudition is the cultivation of the memory. They possess, however, a tolerably suggestive romance, illustrating the sciences of government, and of warfare; and a rather pithy brochure on the art of living pleasantly. From this latter work, the following is a characteristic extract:—

- “In the world, he who speaks sweetly, and with affability, will have many friends; but he whose words are bitter will have few or none. This we may learn from the sun and the moon. The sun, by reason of its dazzling light, drives away every star and planet from the heavens, while it is above the horizon, and is thus obliged to run its course solitary and unattended;—but the moon, shedding only a soft and tender light, moves on in the midst of stars and constellations, escorted by a numerous company.”

Gorgeous though their greater edifices appear superficially, they have made but small real advancement in the economical or the fine arts. Their houses are generally mere frameworks of bamboo; their principal structures are built of teak wood, which though they carve with moderate elaboration and skill, yet in painting, they are quite uninitiated in the effects of shadow and perspective. Their silk and cotton fabrics, though of considerably brilliant dye, are inferior in texture to those of China and of India: their lacquered ware, though curious, is not of much original merit, the varnish employed upon it being almost entirely imported: their bells, which are rung by means of a hammer of stag's horn, are often large and of good tone: they cast their household implements of iron and of brass with considerable success; but their jewelry is for the most part ponderous and inelegant. Their pottery often runs to an immense size, the capacity of a single jar being occasionally as much as two hundred gallons; but though they glaze this with some effect, they are entirely unacquainted with the manufacture of porcelain. They make a paper, of the fibres of the bamboo, which they cover with a hard varnish, and use as a slate. Their matchlocks and cutting-instruments are very coarsely fabricated,—their boats, mere hollowed trunks of trees,—and though their wheel-carriages are simple and durable, they are but roughly put together with pegs instead of nails.

The interior of Burmah is represented by various travellers as picturesque in the extreme, with "views and patches of scenery, green fields and green lanes, which lead back the mind to one's own loved land." Even the coast outlines, of long undulating masses of mountain limestone, covered with foliage and tree-jungle, or shooting up in precipitous crags, are luxuriant and romantic; but it is among the mountains that the most splendid effects may be discovered. The streams among them may be seen, here, falling in cascades of from fifty to a hundred feet, there expanding into placid lakes, which, when the breeze freshens in the moonlight, vividly recall the scenery of Cumberland and Westmoreland. The clear water discloses a beautiful variety of the earthy minerals—milky quartz, and prase, and citrine—the yellow jasper, and the white chacedony—as it ripples over its beds of granite, breccia, or greenstone. On the banks, or at the surface, grow plants of exquisite beauty,—the noble *Amherstia*, with its yard-long tassels of wavy red and yellow—the faintly-blushing pannicles of the *Nodding Clerodendron*—the scarlet bunches of the *Barringtonia* drooping to the water—the delicately-scented *Crinum*s—the lotus-leaved *Arums*. At times the hills, crested with the gigantic bamboos, emulate in richness the vine-clad heights upon the Rhone, or slope down upon cultivated valleys, rivalling the undulations of a Sicilian landscape. There are, again, huge mountain masses, four and five thousand feet high, with the sweep of an amphitheatre;—and vast alluvial plains, like the prairie-lands of Illinois and Missouri, in the midst of which start up fantastic masses of carboniferous limestone, fringed with ferns and lichens, and resembling, in the distance, the Gothic spires of a cathedral.

The Geology of the Delta of the Irawadi, and of the Mountains North of Sakaing, has been examined by Professor Buckland in great detail, from a series of specimens collected by Crawfurd. That learned Naturalist has recognized all the following formations, with considerable certainty :—

I. *Alluvium*.—From Prome downward to the sea, and in a number of islands continually forming and shifting along the whole extent of the actual bed of the Irawadi.

II. *Diluvium*.—In the ossiferous sand and gravel-beds between Prome and Ava, rising sixty feet above the highest floods of the river. The fossil bones, which are mineralized with iron, occur principally near the centre of this district, and present specimens of various species of *Pachydermata* (the extinct *Mastodon* being most frequent), and *Rumi-*

nantia; with the addition of the Gavial, the Alligator, and two genera of fresh-water tortoises. It is remarkable that neither elephant, tiger, or hyena have been found fossilized in this formation. To these bones are often attached masses of stone affording specimens of the matrix in which they were imbedded. This is a conglomerate composed of small round grains and pebbles of milky quartz, and other quartzose and jasper pebbles, cemented by carbonate of lime, and sometimes by hydrate of iron. This conglomerate contains no specimen of any kind of shell. The Diluvial sand and gravel-beds contain also large quantities of silicified and calcareous fossil wood, the flinty specimens being all from monocotyledonous plants, the calcareous generally dycotyledons. In the neighbourhood of these fossils are the celebrated Petroleum Wells, said to be more than five hundred in number, and of an average depth of somewhat more than 200 feet. The oil, when first drawn, is limpid, and of a temperature of about 90°; but thickens by keeping, and in the cold season, coagulates. Its colour is dirty green; its odour of an offensive pungency; it is used for burning in lamps, and for protecting timber from insects; and is universally consumed wherever there is water carriage to convey it.

III. *Fresh-water Blue Marl*.—A little north of the Petroleum Wells, and at an elevation of 150 feet above the river's edge. It contains abundant examples of a single shell, belonging to the *Cyrenæ*, thick and heavy, nearly three inches in diameter, and of a similar type to those found in other tertiary strata, as the London clay.

IV. *Calcaire Grossiere*.—Scarcely distinguishable from that of Paris, near Prome; but higher up the river, darker and more bituminous. Its peculiar shells and fossils most remarkably resemble those of the London Clay, and afford one of many data for the belief that the tertiary strata are widely distributed over the surface of the globe.

V. *Plastic Clay*.—Occurring near Prome and Pagan, and containing brown coal, large selenites, and soft green and yellow sandstone.

VI. *Transition Limestone*.—But without organic remains; resting on the Tertiary formation, but without the intervening coal-measures of Europe.

VII. *Grauwacke*.—Occurring a little above Ava, in the mountains of the Sakaing Chain, and containing the fine granular marble so extensively employed in the Burmese statuary, equal, Sir F. Chantrey thought, from the specimens

he saw, to the marble of Carrara. On the Grauwacke, near Pukangyi, rests a reddish sandstone, and a limestone resembling the magnesian limestone of Europe. But Dr. Buckland, though considering that these specimens more nearly resemble the new red sandstone than any other known formation, hesitated about classifying them as decided examples of secondary rocks.

VIII. *Primitive Rocks, Marble, Mica-Slate.*—In these, white, and, more rarely, black Mica have been discovered; and Felspar is abundant in the Granite.

The adjacent British Provinces are well supplied with thermal springs, carbonated, sulphureous, and saline; but these have not been minutely analysed; and although there can be hardly a doubt that there are also similar spas in Burmah Proper, the geological features of which precisely correspond with those of the Provinces, we find no record of them.

Burmah is rich in mineral products; furnishing lime exceedingly white and pure; nitre, natron, salt, and alum; particularly fine serpentine; small quantities of gold; mercury, perhaps,—and its sulphuret, vermilion; lead richly impregnated with silver; copper, with its blue carbonate and sulphate, and perhaps its green carbonate, malachite; iron and its several sulphurets, sulphates, and oxides; tin, and many of the other metals. Of the combustible minerals, the diamond is not found; nor sulphur, disengaged; nor coal:—but amber, lignite, and petroleum exist to a very valuable extent. Except rubies and sapphires, which, when of high carat, are considered to be royal perquisites, its gems are not of much price; being principally of the agate and jasper families. The red tourmaline, however, is said sometimes to realize large sums.

Of its vegetable productions, the teak tree is, unquestionably, the most important. The export trade in its timber, in 1848, is said to have amounted to nearly ten lacs of rupees. Soondry, too, is a valuable produce, considerably prized in India. The Bamboo reaches an extraordinary size, sometimes as much as twenty-four inches in girth, and answers all the purposes of timber, for home consumption. The *Acacia Catechu* furnishes the *Cutch* (*Terra japonica* of commerce) which, besides being largely consumed by the natives with their betel, is exported in considerable quantities. The Flora is exceedingly rich in medicinal and economical plants; the cereals are numerous, and give good returns; of rice there are above forty varieties, of all shades,

from black to the purest white; and wheat thrives extremely well on the river banks, or wherever the tillage can be well irrigated. Table fruits are in immense variety, but generally much inferior to those of temperate climates: the best, perhaps, is the mangosteen, but it does not occur North of Tavoy; the mango is seldom attainable in perfection. The pine grows well, and wild, in the Southern Provinces; oranges, though prolific, are of inferior quality; and the same may be said of all the other varieties, which agree pretty much with the fruits of Bengal, but are far less palatable, for want of proper cultivation. But in ornamental trees and shrubs, herbaceous flowering-plants, and *orchidæ*, perhaps Burmah is the richest region in the world.

We do not find very much which is peculiar in the Mammals. Of the *Quadrumana*, there are several of the *Simia* tribe, and the *Lemur*, or common Bengal Sloth. The Bats are numerous, but hitherto almost completely unclassified. Among the *Carnivora* are several Bears, the Weasel, and the Otter, which is often domesticated. Tigers abound, and Leopards, both spotted and black, all of which prove frequently destructive to human life. There are also several varieties of the smaller wild feline races. The *Rodentia* are represented by several beautiful Squirrels, the Hare, and the Rabbit, with Mice, Rats, and Porcupines. Of the *Pachydermata* there are Elephants, Hogs and Tapirs, and three species of Rhinoceros, a specimen of one of which, the single-horned, was purchased some time since by the Zoological Society of London for a thousand pounds. The *Solidungula* contribute the Ponies so well known in India, and, though rarely, the Ass. Of the *Ruminantia* there are eleven recognized species, including several of the Deer family, the Gaur and the Goat-Antelope, three varieties of Ox, the Buffalo, and in the neighbourhood of Ava, a few sheep and goats, which, however, from their rarity, and generally ill-favoured condition, may probably not be indigenous.

Birds are very numerous, in most of the families. Among the *Rasores*, is perhaps the finest Peacock in the world, which inhabits the forests in immense flocks. There are also pheasants, partridges, and quail, with multitudes of wild fowl, and pigeons in almost endless variety. The water fowl, too, are extremely numerous, and, some of them, delicious food. Perhaps the most valuable of the birds of Burmah is the Edible-nest-Swallow, very frequent on the caves and islands of the coast, where their *habitat* is farmed out by the Government, and realizes a considerable revenue. These edible nests

are of various qualities; the best are those taken before eggs have been in them; and these sell in China for about forty-five rupees per pound. According to Thunberg, they are constructed of mosses and lichens, held together by a certain gelatinous substance.

The large majority of the fishes are common to all the coasts bordering on the Bay of Bengal. The two most remarkable, perhaps, are the Climbing Perch, a small variety which has the property of making its way inland, the Karens say, a quarter of a mile; and a species of Barbel of extraordinary splendour, whose burnished scales, when it has been recently taken, glisten in the sunshine like brilliants.

Mr. Mason, to whose talents and zeal we are indebted for most of what is known of the Fauna of Burmah, has not yet published his Catalogue of Reptiles, Insects, and Shells. On these we have at present only very imperfect means of information. In the rivers are numerous, and very mischievous alligators; the lizard tribe is in great variety; serpents abound, and are eaten by the natives.* Sangermano has a curious story of one of these creatures, which he describes as very formidable; for advancing with crest erect—in which position it was taller than a man—it would strike its fangs in the head of the passer-by. “A reward,” he adds, “was offered to any one who would kill it; but no one dared undertake it, till an old woman presented herself for that purpose. She placed upon her head a vessel full of melted pitch, and advanced towards the serpent. It made its usual strike, but stuck fast in the pitch, and was soon suffocated.” He also mentions a hard, scaly reptile, of about four fingers’ breadth, with ten legs, each armed with crooked claws, and two black hooked fangs, the greatest enemy to the serpents, which almost invariably perish from its poisonous bite. Of the scorpions some are described as very dangerous, others of the size of lobsters. The centipedes are everywhere most annoying. The fresh and sea-water turtles are valuable both for their flesh and eggs. The latter produce is collected and distributed throughout the kingdom, being a delicacy so well appreciated that the revenue accruing from them has been appropriated

* They are very unclean feeders. The greatest delicacy of the country is considered to be a worm found in the heart of a shrub, large quantities of which are sent to Ava for the imperial table. One of their most esteemed dishes is composed of fried red ants; and the “Ngapi,” or condiment of fetid fish—their only one, without which they cannot relish a meal—is in universal use.

to the royal exchequer. Leeches, of immense size, and most obstinate in their bite, swarm in the meadow lands and the waters. The country is not behind any in the East, either in the splendour or the profusion of its insects, or the annoyances which they occasion.

The Burmese divide the day into sixty *Naris*, which they measure by a kind of Clepsydra; the standard one being kept in the Palace under charge of a Brahmin. On a large vase full of water, graduated, is placed a perforated copper cup, which sinks to a particular mark at the completion of each *Nari*, when a bell is struck, which regulates the time throughout the city. Their week is of seven days; their month alternately of twenty-nine and thirty; their year therefore, of three hundred and fifty-four days, is a lunar one. To make this accord with the solar time, they double the fourth month every third year, and intercalate the additional day and hours in the third month of each year, by royal edict. They consider that each year has its tutelary Nat, the descent of which they announce by the firing of cannon. Four days in each month, regulated by the changings of the moon, are observed as festivals, and on these every one ceases from labour, and goes to the Pagodas to worship and make oblations. Their Calendar, and astrological arrangements generally, are regulated, on the Hindu system, by Brahmins from Bengal, the Coromandel Coast, and Ceylon. The climate of the country between Prome and Ava appears to be salubrious, but extremely hot from May to August. Pegu is more temperate, but very damp and injurious to the European constitution during the South-Western Monsoon, that is, from the end of April to the end of October.

Silver is the standard circulating medium for large payments, but gold also is current. Smaller transactions are settled in lead. There is no coinage—the scales are brought into use whenever money changes hands, and very often, the assaying process, at a commission of two and a half per cent. The common rate of interest upon loans, in Ava, is two per cent. with security, and five per cent without, *per mensem*. Business is not done, without an average profit of twenty-five per cent; and even fifty per cent is considered no exorbitant remuneration, on small transactions. In Pegu, almost the whole internal traffic is effected by water-communication; but North of Prome, where there is a more restricted navigation, the merchants travel in caravans. A considerable traffic with China is thus conducted; a quantity of raw cotton, feather ornaments, ivory and horn,

gems and swallows' nests, serpentine, and some British woollens, being exchanged for a variety of the standard produce of that country, which thus not unfrequently finds its way to the markets of Western Asia, and of Europe. Seaward, the Burmese export besides timber, cotton to Dacca, horses, gems and precious metals, catechu and orpiment, lac and bees-wax; and receive in exchange, piece-goods cotton and woollen; manufactures of iron, steel, copper, glass and porcelain; cordage; gunpowder and its constituents (except nitre); tobacco and opium; spirits and sugar.

As a people, the Burmese have scarcely a single amiable characteristic. To superiors, they are abject and dastardly; to inferiors, ridiculously haughty and overbearing; the smallest shew of approbation or encouragement is sufficient to instigate them to the most contemptible assumptions. Of real repute or honour or principle they know nothing, but will traduce and injure and defraud at the bidding of any one whose countenance may ensure them a momentary applause. The prestige of rank, therefore, is only too frequently the designation of accomplished villany, and the universal result of elevation in the social scale is the abandonment of all modesty, courtesy and affability. They are slothful to an excess—what their rich and finely irrigated pastures do produce is almost spontaneous; and with facilities for becoming among the greatest exporters of the staffs of life in the whole world, they content themselves with a bare sufficiency for a scanty, and, in the vast majority of cases, a disgusting maintenance. Hypocrisy is their rule of life—they can dissemble a cordiality while nursing the most revengeful and malicious passions. Their cruelty is unexampled, except among the most savage tribes;—they will flog, and flay, and mutilate, and disembowel, and drown in sacks, and bury alive on the merest show of aggrivance to the powers which be. Any little progress which they may have made in the useful and ornamental arts is attributable to their love of ostentation; and even thus, the greater portion of their fabricating industry is imposed upon their women. Beyond the arts of reading and writing, of which comparatively few are ignorant, they have not the most limited amount of knowledge, being dependant on extrinsic aid for the crude and whimsical astrology upon which they are credulous to a degree. Though a considerable skill in the harder athletics, such as wrestling, boxing and rowing, and in the sports of the field, have inured many of the best of them to great corporeal prowess and endurance, they almost universally shun an open

field, assaulting from behind stockades, and cowering and retreating at the first breach of their embankments. It has been remarked that they are the least bigoted of any heathen people—that one may go where one pleases among their sacred things—that even those whose guard the recesses of their temples reserve no sanctuary into which the stranger may not penetrate. How far this may be the effect of indifference and scepticism, or to what extent it may indicate a sympathy with enlightened enquiry, cannot be determined until they have become more accessible to the humanizing influences of Christian enlightenment.

TIME.

BY SCHILLER.

Three-fold the steps of Time appear ;
 Slow creeps the lagging Future near ;
 The arrowy 'Now' is fleeting fast ;
 Eternally stands still the Past.

Impatience has no power to wing
 The footsteps of his tardy pace ;
 No prayers, no tears, avail to fling
 A rein upon his headlong race :
 No penitence or charmed spell
 Can e'er disturb the Immoveable.

If, wise and happy, thou would'st see
 The end of thy life's destiny,
Work to-day ; but, ponder well
 What *to-morrow's thoughts* will tell ;
 Chuse not thy friends among the hours that fly ;
 Make not the unchanging Past thy enemy.

X.

WEITBRECHT'S SERMONS.*

THE melancholy loss which the Church Missionary Society has sustained in the removal of the Rev. John James Weitbrecht to a better world is too recent to require more than a passing allusion. On Sunday, February 22nd, 1852, —(by some oversight, the date is wrongly stated in the Memoir) he preached, in English and Bengali, a most remarkable Sermon in his Mission Church at Burdwan, from the Text, Revel. ii. 10. *Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life*,—communicating on the same occasion that it was the discourse he intended addressing to his Missionary Brethren in the coming week. Accordingly, it was again delivered before the Church Missionary Conference in Calcutta, on the following Wednesday. On the last Sabbath of his mortal life, he again preached for his friend Mr. Boswell at the Evening Service in St. James's Church Calcutta, from Revel. xxii. 20. *He which testifieth these things, saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so; come Lord Jesus.* He afterwards discoursed cheerfully in the vestry, referring to some projected tours of evangelization. But on his return to the house of the friends* with whom he sojourned, he was seized with cholera, and at an early hour on the following morning, was translated to his reward in Heaven.

We owe this posthumous volume to the pious respect of his widow, whom we congratulate on the success with which she has edited her lamented husband's Sermons. The fact that, before the ink of our preceding article was dry, we took up the book, and, with only few and unavoidable intermissions, read it through, from the first page to the last, with uninterrupted enjoyment, is, to our mind, worth whole sheets of commendation. Especially as we shall not pretend that these sermons enunciate so distinctly as we would have them brought before our congregations what may be termed the distinctive doctrines of the Church as a corporation. On Baptism, we observe one most explicit and orthodox testimony; but Holy Communion, Orders, Confirmation, Absolution, and whatever other sacred rites and privileges we of the Anglican Body regard as attached to our organized Ministry, are either

* SERMONS by the late Rev. JOHN JAMES WEITBRECHT, *Missionary of the C. M. S. at Burdwan. With a short Memoir of the Author prefixed.* CALCUTTA. 1852.

wholly past over, or else alluded to only in a manner which might be adopted by a pious Independent, and, with the one exception we have referred to, by a pious Baptist. We are no lovers of polemical preaching; and yet we do believe that in days when the Ministerial Office and functions are often so untenable, and occasionally so blasphemously arrogated, (as a recent encounter with Mr. Willis, the ignorant and presumptuous Mormon teacher of Calcutta, brings vividly to our recollection,) a more didactic assertion of the privileges of an apostolically ordained Priesthood than we find in Mr. Weitbrecht's discourses, may occasionally be made with advantage; and also, that the value and dignity which we attach to administrations and fellowship *in* the Church, as distinguished from the holy, but, we consider, less exact, labours of our Dissenting brethren, should be throughout rendered more transparent. But, as might have been expected from the deep and eminently practical tone of their author's piety, a sweet simplicity, a holy fervour, and a singular persuasiveness pervades these discourses, calculated to render those of them which are on general subjects eminently useful to the laity in the too numerous stations of India, which are still destitute of the offices of the Ministry.

Its elucidation of Weitbrecht's singularly manly and efficient Missionary career, (continued with incessant energy for upwards of twenty-one years, about three of which were devoted in England and in Germany, to the advocacy of the claims of India on Christian liberality, with untiring ardour and most persuasive address,) we refer to the well-arranged memoir which prefaces his sermons. Certainly we can for ourselves say that we have rarely met a man, of whose qualifications for the peculiar sphere in which he moved we have been so strongly impressed by a very brief intercourse. His conversation was cheerful and vivacious, but most agreeably solemnized with the diversions of religious thoughtfulness. Well do we recollect a day past with him, in February, 1846, when we were on the eve of departure to England by the route overland, which he had lately travelled. The kindest communications on the most various points of interest, (including the fine agates of the Desert, a small collection of which we made upon his suggestion,) were blandly interspersed with allusions to the Coptic Church, and the state and prospects of Lieder's Mission, which he was anxious that we should visit. His joy and gratitude, as we reviewed the several branches of evangelization under his own direction and discipline, and the not distant con-

summation of his fondest hopes, the beautiful Mission Church which is now the ornament of Burdwan, struck us as peculiarly delightful,—and not less so were the respect and duty with which he was greeted by all classes of those subject to him.

We may add, too,—what the memoir does not advert to,—that Weitbrecht was, to our own knowledge, appreciated by several of the most eminent of his colleagues as “*primus inter pares*” of the Church Missionary Priesthood of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces. On occasions of conversation on the importance of a Missionary Bishop and Ordinary, in the present extended, but too incompact spheres of evangelical operation among the heathen, we have on more than one occasion had it responded, “would that such an office could be instituted, and its first tenant could be Weitbrecht !”

So honoured by his brethren was the excellent friend, to some passages from whose discourses we will now introduce our readers ;—the practice of whose life may be tersely described as having been the “*una virtus non solum maxima, sed etiam mater virtutum omnium reliquarum,*”—“*et gratum esse, et videri.*” We believe he never made an enemy, even among the heathen,—his people loved him as a father, his comrades as a dear and gifted elder brother.

We find very early in the volume, (pp. 71-3) the following most important witness to the expectations formed by the educated class of Hindustan on the almost immediate triumph of the Gospel over their, by many of them already discarded, superstitions :—

“Many intelligent Hindoos have acknowledged to me, that it was the hand of God, which delivered their country to the English nation. But *this* is not all; many of them are aware,—the conviction is forcibly coming home to their minds,—that the end and object of this great change is nothing less, than the establishment of Christianity upon the ruins of their idolatry; and distasteful as this acknowledgment is to their feelings, they are brought to this conclusion by the impression which the preaching of the gospel has already produced upon the natives of the country, and by the conversions which have taken place among them. Bigots as these Hindoos are, they yet perceive, that a great change is ere long to take place; and they dread it, while they feel convinced of it. “Our children will all be Christians,” said a merchant at Burdwan to me, after hearing my Missionary address; “we are too old, and cannot change our religion.” Oh that Christians in this highly-favoured country understood and took to heart, the great events that are passing before us! When the Lord manifests *his arm*; when He says so clearly, so evidently, that one who runs may read it—*The ends of the earth shall see my salvation*;—should we not respond to the announcement, and do His work, and

think it the highest privilege to become instrumental in communicating the knowledge of salvation through JESUS, to the perishing heathen ?

"But in order to help effectually in this great work, we must ourselves live in the enjoyment of the blessings of the gospel. We must first be concerned, that God should reveal his power in our own hearts, and set us free from sin. Without this no one can be a true, active and faithful friend of Missions."

Again, in a pleasing exhortatory discourse further on in the volume, on St. James v. 7—8, we find a striking exemplification of his strict realization of the *habits* of Faith and Hope on this delightful prospect :—

"We hear it said, that it will require generations to pass, before India can be Christianized. There is too much harping about impossibilities. People calculate from present appearances ; and from the results which have hitherto attended the efforts of God's servants ; and these are scarcely known to them. It reminds me of the courtier of the king of Israel, in the siege and famine of Samaria ; who, when the prophet Elisha foretold, that there should be plenty and abundance in the city on the following day,—declared ;—'*If the Lord made windows in heaven, might this thing be ?*' And Elisha answered him ; *Behold ! thou shalt see it with thine eyes :—but shalt not eat thereof.*' And so it was. The Syrians heard a noise, and fled ; and left their camp standing, with abundance of stores and provisions ; and that man who doubted, was crushed in the gate by the crowd. That it is an easy thing for the Lord to cause among nations, a great moral or political change, within a short period, we have seen in the late political convulsions in Europe. I feel assured, it will be as easy to Him to cause an equally great moral and religious change among the nations of India, when His hour is come. He needs but to touch one of his secret springs in providence, and the work will be done."

The *rewards* of Faith were evidently a favourite subject of Weitbrecht's contemplation and discourse. Here are sermons on Noah's Faith ; Abraham's Faith ; on the Faith of Moses ; on the Passover and the Passage of the Red Sea by Faith ; on the Faith of Bartimæus ; on the Fathers who died in Faith ; on the Cloud of Witnesses ; besides the solemn and remarkable exhortation preached to the Missionary Conference on the Wednesday previous to his demise ;—all well arranged and effective, and, in certain sense, learned discourses ; displaying a considerable grasp of minute Scriptural exposition, conveyed with unpretending simplicity, in language so transparent that it is impossible to detect the smallest ambiguity of expression, and yet with a mastery of idiom only rarely attained by a foreigner. Take, for instance, the following passage, suggested by Hebrews, xi. 7 :—

"One of the characteristic features of Noah's faith in acting up to the command of God, is mentioned in the text : it was exercised with regard to things *not yet seen* ; he was to provide against an event very

far off; more than a hundred and twenty years; and the accomplishment of which in human estimation appeared impossible. He was to give all his time and attention to preparation for it. He *might* have reasoned thus,—‘How is it possible for a flood to cover the whole earth? If rain should descend for a whole year incessantly, it is not likely that the higher parts will be flooded.’ But the man who walked before God had learned to bow in humble submission, and to act up to the letter of His command; he knew that this was the safest and the most becoming course for him. And he firmly believed that what Jehovah foretold would come to pass. Happy is the believer who thus believes and acts upon the word of God, who has like Noah, the fear of the Lord before his eyes! It is because there is so little fear of God in the world, it is because so few parents do bring up their children in this fear and nurture, and agreeably to the divine principle that “the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom,”—that you find so little real active faith in the world.”

Or again, some admirably compressed reflections on the arrest of Abraham’s hand stretched out for the sacrifice.

“The act of faith was over. The sacrifice was, in the sight of God, as good as accomplished. This was enough. More was not required for the trial of his faith. *And the angel of the Lord called unto him out of heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham, lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him: for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me.* And thus the day of death and sorrow was turned into a day of deliverance and life and joy. Now it was that Abraham could understand the reason why he was thus tried. Now he saw that there was unspeakable mercy mingled with judgment. Now light sprang up in his soul, with comfort and joy, which made him forget the bitterness of the trial; for it had produced the peaceable fruit of righteousness.”

The typical significance of the offering up of Isaac appears to us to be very beautifully put in the same discourse.

“Abraham’s posterity, the true Israelites, who were looking in hope for the promised Deliverer, possessed a striking type of the sacrifice of the only begotten Son of God, in Abraham offering up his son Isaac. It was a most apt emblem of that great sacrifice. Isaac was the only son of his father: so was Christ. Isaac bore the wood to the brow of the hill, on which he was to suffer death: so did Jesus bear his cross to Calvary. Isaac voluntarily went to death, and suffered himself to be bound: and, *as a lamb led to the slaughter is dumb, so Messiah opened not his mouth.* Isaac’s deliverance was equal to a resurrection: and as Abraham rejoiced when loosing Isaac’s bonds of death, so there was joy in heaven and in the Church below, when, on the morning of the resurrection, the Lord was loosed from the bands of death, and stood conqueror over the open grave! And, once more, when the beloved son of the patriarch was restored, God gave him a fuller and more distinct promise of great abundant blessings, than he had received before; the greatest of all being this,—*In thy Seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thou hast obeyed my voice.*—The promise of this universal blessing rested upon the typical death and

resurrection of his son ! And oh ! how gloriously has this been realised in CHRIST ! *Because he hath poured out his soul unto death, and because he bare the sins of many, therefore the blessing of Abraham is come through Him upon the nations. He shall see his seed ; he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand. He shall see of the t-avail of his soul and shall be satisfied.*"

Not less graciously designed, and perhaps in a higher style of pulpit composition, are the reflections on the concluding words of Hebrews, xi. 26.

"He saw that present suffering would lead to future glory. This was Moses's hope, *he had respect unto the recompense of the reward ;* and in the following verse it is said, 'he endured as seeing Him who is invisible !' That he did not look for a reward in this world, is clear. Had he done so, he would have been sadly disappointed ; for, from the day he made his choice, his life was one of very great troubles. But he looked by faith beyond these terrestrial scenes : faith imparted to his desires and hope a right direction : he looked for his reward where Abraham did, in the city with solid foundations ; and where Paul did, in 'the house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.' It was a long journey he had to accomplish, a dreary pilgrimage through desert scenes and stormy days, before he reached the city of rest, and the place of reward : but, though long and wearisome, his God helped him through : he did reach it at last. And when he stood on the top of mount Pisgah, when the Lord showed him the land promised to the fathers, at the end of his long pilgrimage, methinks He opened his inward eye, and he was permitted to see more than the earthly Canaan. He saw the original, the heavenly inheritance, the land of pure delight, where a great reward is reserved to the faithful pilgrim. But more than this, he was immediately permitted to lay aside his pilgrim garment, and forthwith to enter the promised place of rest ; which was far better than crossing the Jordan, and entering on that which Israel was about to occupy.

"My brethren, this glorious change took place probably upwards of eighty years after Moses had made his important decision : and amidst all the variety of trials and conflicts, he had kept on his course, with unshaken firmness and consistency. What was it that enabled him to keep up and persevere so faithful to the last ?

"My reply is : he was a man of faith, he lived near to his God, he felt he was under Jehovah's guidance, and he desired no other. His presence was what he desired, and sought above all things—'If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence.' And then he was a man of much prayer. Whenever any case of trial and emergency arose, he sought counsel from the Lord. Often do we read, 'Moses enquired of the Lord,' and sometimes, 'Moses cried unto the Lord.'

"Such a consistent holy course gives a man a sure step, an iron firmness, a good conscience, a peaceful state of mind, and a clear prospect forwards to a happy end. The idea of a glorious immortality was not foreign to his mind. He knew that Jehovah was a God of the living, and not of the dead ; and the last scene on Mount Pisgah bore witness, that his was a hope that maketh not ashamed."

We must add one more extract from this series of sermons—(we wish they had been all—as many of them are—

placed in classified succession)—which is a good example of what was Weitbrecht's pointed and almost epigrammatic method of instruction. It is from the sermon on Blind Bartimæus.

"*Go thy way; thy faith hath made thee whole.*" This was indeed being dismissed by the Son of David in a royal manner—with a gracious, princely gift. Think of the joy and satisfaction it must have produced in the poor beggar's mind. As the words were uttered, the power of sight was restored to him. It was the work of a moment, and without the application of human remedies. No ointment,—no further medical treatment was required,—no gradual cure,—but, with that word of command, the deadened nerves began to resume their operation in the most delicate and wonderful member of the human frame. The dark curtain was removed. Bartimæus saw the creation, perhaps for the first time, in all its beauty and variety, laid open before him. Who can understand and explain this act? It was through the same Almighty agency which in the morning of the creation said, 'Let there be light: and there was light.'

"And very much like this act is the process of conversion to God; when grace, mercy and peace first shine into a sinner's heart; and the new creation is effected, where before all was confusion and gloomy darkness. How beautifully is it described by the Apostle: (2 Cor. iv. 6.) 'For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ!' Such a time will be remembered for life. The happy recipient of it is too certain of the fact, to allow any captious disputer to reason the conviction out of his mind: —'This I know,' he says, 'that, whereas I was blind, now I see.' He will tell others what God has done for his soul. He will pray that the heavenly light may spread far and wide, and dispel all darkness brooding over heathen lands.

'Thou who didst come to bring
On thy protecting wing
Healing and sight,—
Health to the sick in mind,
Sight to the inward blind,—
Oh, now to all mankind,
Let there be light!'"

Mr. Lacroix, a dear and admiring friend of Weitbrecht's, has remarked that a distinguishing characteristic of his mind was a predilection for meditation and converse on the realities of eternity. The labours of a hardly contested field with his heathen antagonists were not enough to blunt the edge of his interest for such alluring table-talk on return to his quiet tent, with the companions of his toil, at night-fall. For long hours, on frequent occasions, was the topic discussed; not from a mere fancy for speculation, we are told, but with the view of better preparation for the world to come. So might we judge from numerous portions of the volume under acknowledgement; these reflections,

for instance, on Creation groaning after deliverance; and those which follow them on the Desire of the Fathers.

"Nature from the beginning, has shared with man in his good and evil days,—in his paradisaical happiness; and in his fallen, low and captive state;—yea in his very destruction, when the wickedness of man was so great as to cry to heaven. How peaceful and serene, how harmonious and lovely was the scene, in which we find the human family in Eden! What a beautiful creation it was! Man loving and praising his Maker,—every thought and wish in unison with the will and mind of his God. Man walked before Him; and in Him enjoyed His visible works. Every rivulet, every flower of the field, every portion of the animate creation, seemed to share in man's feelings of joy and praise. 'The morning stars did sing; and the sons of God shouted for joy.' What a striking contrast to this we see in the following ages, when all flesh had corrupted His way, and God, in consequence, destroyed man with the earth! So, when the wickedness of the people of Sodom was great, and not ten righteous men were found; the cities of the plain with their inhabitants, were overwhelmed in one common overthrow; and one of the loveliest regions was converted into a dreary desert and a dead sea. And because man is depraved, and has forsaken the path of righteousness, the creation to this day is in a suffering condition. How strikingly is this described by the Apostle in the 22nd verse; 'The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now.' When the dark waves of the deluge were rising, and growing bigger every hour, lashing the sides of the hills and overwhelming the dwellings of fallen man; was not the earth with the fulness thereof, the very picture of this statement of the Apostle? When, too, the earth opened and swallowed up the rebellious band of Korah, Dathan and Abiram; and when the ground heaved in the valley of Sittim, and bituminous streams gushed forth from its bowels: and when the clouds poured forth a shower of fire and brimstone upon the devoted city of Sodom;—was it not like a groaning of the creation under the curse! When large armies are marshalled in battle-array, man against his fellow, each bent upon slaying his adversary; when thousands of the engines of war are vomiting forth their deadly missiles; and when, on the sanguinary slaughter being over, the shout of victory is intermingled with the cries and groans of the dying and wounded, lying on the ground in agonies;—is there not then literally fulfilled, what the Apostle says in my text, 'The creation groaneth and travaileth in pain?' Ah! the world is indeed in pangs and pains, like a woman in child-birth. This is a very expressive simile; because it is altogether applicable to the present suffering state of the whole creation, and it points forward to a day of deliverance and joy which is at hand. The creation groaning and agonizing at it is in labour, clearly shows,—that eventually, with the last struggle, a birth, worth all the anguish, shall take place. Yes! *A new heaven and a new earth* shall be born; and again the sons of God shout for joy. The heaven and earth that now are, must pass away; but a perfect heaven and earth shall come forth out of the great conflagration. This is what we must look forward to.

"What a happy place must that be, where suffering and pain shall be no more!—from which all that untold variety of ills, which sin has brought into the world, will be removed for ever! What a happy society will that be in which all are pure and good,—from which all

the wicked are excluded! What a happy home will that be, in which we shall be re-united to beloved friends who have gone before us, never to be separated again! What a glorious place will that be, where we shall meet with our fathers in the faith, Abraham, David and the Prophets; and where, above all, we shall behold the Son of Man, with our own eyes; and see, like Thomas, the print of the nails in his hand and feet, and his pierced side,—see in reality that Jesus, our Lord and our God, to whom, in the weariness of this pilgrimage, our humble prayers were addressed, and by whose grace we were enabled to conquer and persevere to the end! Then indeed it will be seen, that it was worth while to become a pilgrim. One day in his heavenly courts will amply indemnify us for all the trials of the way."

To turn, for a moment, to those disclosures which Weitbrecht has left us on his opinions touching the Sacraments, we regard, as we have before mentioned, the following enunciation on the doctrine of baptism as very ably and judiciously conceived.

"In 1 Cor. x. 1, the Apostle states,—'All our fathers were under the cloud and passed through the sea, and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea.' The cloudy pillar and the passage through the Red Sea are therefore types of baptism. By the two events we have been considering," (the Passover, and the Passage of the Red Sea) "the Israelites were consecrated to the Lord as his own adopted people—'Israel is my first-born son.' 'Thus in the baptismal water, believers are consecrated to Christ—adopted into the blessed family of the redeemed. I look upon baptism as a blessing unspeakably great. Even though our little ones cannot enter *with consciousness* into the spiritual part of the ordinance, they are thereby brought into a covenant with Christ: baptism is a seal of their adoption into this covenant. It entitles them to a more precious possession than earthly parent ever bestowed on his first-born. But remember, brethren, faith in Christ is the *main condition* upon which the inheritance of the promised possession depends. As their being bedewed by the cloud, and their miraculous passage through the sea, profited the Israelites nothing, because the mercies vouchsafed touched not their hearts; so baptism and Christ himself will not profit—will not *save that person, who goes to the world*; and devotes not that heart and life to Him, which He has redeemed."

It bears a close affinity to the doctrine elucidated from the same passage by one of the most eloquent of the Greek Saints; "Moses baptized, but with water; and previously, in the cloud and in the sea;—but still *typically*—as Paul too signifies the sea to be a *type* of the water—the cloud of the spirit, the manna of the bread of life, the drink of that drink which is Divine. And John, too, baptized, but no longer Judaically; for *that* was no longer by mere water, but "*to repentance*;" and not yet *spiritual*, for there is not added "*with the Spirit*." And Jesus baptized, but *with the Spirit*. Here is its perfection.

But, in the expression of the blessings conveyed to the faithful in the other Sacrament, we think the Catholic doctrine of the Body and Blood of Christ verily and indeed taken and received, is less boldly set forth. It seems to us to be past dispute, that on a subject of such mysterious importance, and fruitful of such fruitless discussion, the nearer the Ministers of the Church of England approach the language of their formularies, the safer is their ground; and we confess that when we consider the plain repudiation of the fictions of the Church of Rome in our Twenty-Eighth Article, and its vindication of our giving, taking, and eating the Body of Christ *only after a heavenly and spiritual manner*; we see no reason why the teaching of various passages in our Communion Office—for instance, the second post-Communion thanksgiving) should be lowered, as it certainly appears to us to be in the passage on which we are commenting. We do not mean to say that such is not the truth;—on the contrary;—but then it is only one side, and, catholically speaking, the less distinctive side of the truth; and therefore we would advocate, in the manner of all our great divines antecedent to modern rationalistic controversies, a more distinct expression of the mysterious element in the sacred act.

“Behold, I come quickly!” This is a word in season for us all. Let us give a sober and thoughtful consideration to it at this return of Advent. There is much in this announcement to animate Christ’s Church; and to fill the hearts of his followers with joy.

Have you seen much trouble, much disappointment in your day and life-time? Is the heart sometimes burdened with care? Do you feel a weariness of this world coming over you? and is a deep sigh in the hour of calm reflection heaving from the depth of the heart, to testify that your spirit longs for liberty—for rest, for freedom from sin—for a better state? Lift up your eyes, weary pilgrim! for your redemption is drawing nigh. Ah! it is a cheering word, ‘Behold, I come quickly!’ Your toils and your crosses are dealt out with a wise and gracious hand! Let them be the means of weaning you from the creature, and developing your desire for heaven. A little while;—and all will be changed from suffering to glory:—‘A little while, and ye shall see me, and your heart shall rejoice.’

“And then, how sweetly harmonious is this subject with the celebration of the Lord’s Supper, which we are favoured to commemorate once more this morning! Thereby we proclaim, as the Apostle says, the Lord’s death until He come. We express, in receiving the visible emblems of his body and blood, our faith, our hope in Him. We eat the bread and drink from the cup, with grateful remembrance that in the fulness of time He came to suffer and die for our sins;—that by shedding his blood and expiring on the cross, he paid a full ransom for us;—that to his death we owe our life, our comfort, our hope of glory. And here at his table we remember, to our joy and comfort, that ere

long the Lord will come again; and we shall sit, drinking of the fruit of the heavenly vine, with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob,—yea with the whole Church glorified—in the kingdom of heaven.

Oh glorious hours, oh blest abode!
I shall be near and like my God:
And flesh and sin no more control
The sacred pleasures of my soul."

And now, and in conclusion, we advert to Weitbrecht's habitually solemn contemplations on the hour of death, as often manifest in these discourses;—and especially to the evidences which his last writings contain of his yearnings for the general assembly and Church of the first-born. And first we will introduce the peroration of a sermon from which we have already quoted, on James v. 7. 8.

"Where is the man that does not at times feel weary of the world, and long for freedom from sin, sorrow and pain?—Who is there, that does not, at seasons of depression and toil, join in the pious ejaculation of the Psalmist, '*Oh, that I had the wings of a dove! then would I flee away, and be at rest!*' Depend upon it, my brethren, that the believer who has followed the Apostolic advice,—*Establish your hearts*;—who had placed before this mental vision in clear, well-defined, scriptural outlines, the glorious fact of the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ,—who longs for it, like the watchman for the breaking of day,—who never loses sight of it,—but returns to it again and again,—who prays for it—with the mind and ardent desire and love of the beloved disciple, when he concluded the sacred volume—'*Come soon, Lord Jesus!*'—I say, that believer is in the right place: he possesses a source of comfort and joy, which will never fail him in the trying hour; and he will stand his ground to the last; for when all the generations of the earth shall wail because of the Lord coming with clouds, he will have confidence and joy—and not be ashamed before him at his coming. That appearance, so longingly expected, so devoutly prayed for, will be the *turning of his captivity*. His mouth will then be filled with laughter, and his tongue with singing. He will join with the chorus of the blessed in singing '*The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.*' In tears he sowed the seed; but now, he will indeed reap in joy. Weeping and sad he often went forth, bearing the precious seed: but now,—oh! what a glorious change!—*he will come again, rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.*"

None who saw him, we have been told, will ever forget his beaming countenance, as he pronounced the concluding sentences of his address to his Missionary Brethren on the fourth evening prior to his departure.

"Soon we too shall have done with our labour and trials. Yes, dear brethren, I sometimes feel as if I should very soon have done with mine. I feel as on the very borders of the heavenly Canaan. The great thing is to end well. A faithful servant need not fear when his Master calleth him. He is ready to obey the summons. 'Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.'

Go, labour on ; thy hands are weak,
 Thy knees are faint, thy soul cast down ;—
 Yet falter not ;—the prize is near,
 The throne, the kingdom and the crown.
 Toil on, toil on ; thou soon shalt find,
 For labour, rest ; for exile, home ;
 Soon shalt thou hear the Bridegroom's voice,
 The midnight peal,—Behold I come."

His last words from the pulpit are in no respect less noteworthy :—

"I am fully aware, of the struggle and conflict it costs, to follow the better feeling, and to conquer the old carnal grovelling disposition that is within. But conquered it must be ; and forward we must go :—if we hope that Christ will own us as his people, in the day of His glorious appearance. There is enough for encouragement, if we are sincere and decided. There is a voice of truth within you. Listen to it : follow it. If you cannot walk along briskly at once, creep slowly ; at any rate, go forward :—only do not sit still. If you cannot pray in flowing effusions of the heart, use but few words, and follow the direction of my text in crying, 'Come, Lord Jesus.' If you call and call again, that internal desire will be developed. You will find an interest in His word ; and the time will soon come, when it will be your soul's delight to join the Church militant, with the fulness of your heart, in saying, 'Come soon, Lord Jesus.'

"May the Lord dispose us all so to do ; and may the Holy Spirit bless this feeble testimony to each here present,—to assist you in following his own injunction, given in infinite mercy,—to render us fit and worthy to share in Christ's glory, at the great day of His revelation."

Only thirteen hours after, the decree was issued that God had judged him one of those of whom the world is not worthy ; and he joined the blessed company of glorified spirits who have done their work on earth, at the comparatively early age of fifty years. "Is there any thing among us"—we apply his own language to his own removal—"that displeases the Lord, and leads Him to call away from our number those whom we least seem able to spare?"

Doubtless so it is ! When He is angry, all our days are gone, we bring our years to an end, as it were a tale that is told. Let each be more instant, more fervent, more abased, that He may more abound toward us, in the examples of His chosen !

THE
BENARES MAGAZINE.

VOL. VIII.—PART II.

I.

A DAY AT THE SUPREME COURT, CALCUTTA.

BY SYLVANUS SWANQUILL

READER, have you ever seen the Supreme Court at Calcutta? If you have not, come with me, and we shall have a peep together. When I went to the Magistrate's Court in the Mofussil, of which I have already given you an account, I labored under a great disadvantage. I was not known to any one there, and was very doubtful of my reception;—but at the Supreme Court—look here—I have an invitation from Royalty itself;—Sylvanus Swanquill, Esq. By virtue of her Majesty's Writ to me for that purpose directed, issuing out of and under the Seal of the Supreme Court of Judicature. &c. &c., &c.

"It is a Petty Jury summons. Sylvanus Swanquill is a Petty Juror,"—says some upstart Civilian;—"turn over to the next article—we'll have nothing to do with such low fellows. They are not on the Government House list. They do not move in society." "Depend upon it," says Ensign Jones at the Mess room, "his real name is not Swanquill—but Gomes."—"Or DeCruz," suggests Lieut. Smith, taking his cigar for just one minute from his lips to curl them up with a look of serene contempt.—"Or DeSouza," cries Captain Robinson—"I know as many DeSouzas as DeCruzes amongst these low-bred puppies." Good sirs—I admit all your charges. *I am* a petty Juror. *I am not* on the Government House list. *I do not* move in any society. My name indeed is not Gomes, nor DeCruz, nor DeSouza, but it belongs to that class. If you think me vulgar for these reasons—why, take warning betimes,—and pass over my paper.

Is it not a grand thing to move in high society? Is it not the ultimatum of happiness to have invitations to

Government House? I seriously think that the gentlemen who are always entertained at the private dinners of Sir William Deliberate, the Puisne Justice, and Mr. Calder, the Member of Council, belong to a superior class of beings. I cannot for a moment allow that the gentlemen who are invited to the select parties at the big house are made of the same flesh and blood as myself. I say *select* parties,—for at the Queen's Birth-night and New Year Balls, every one is admitted—even natives. I do not mean to say that I despise the honor of an invitation on the public occasions. Good Heavens! Not I! Mark you, gentle reader. There is an Editor of a paper who is invited on these public occasions, and how he twits his brethren because they are not! There is a native official who never misses the Birth-night affair,—and how he insults the Rajahs because they can only go to the Durbar! There is Goosequill—Goosequill who once got a lift from me when he was hardly better than a beggar in the streets,—who gets his card regularly for the New Year,—and how he mocks his unfortunate friends who see the old year out by their own hearths! “Are you going to the ball?—I am—sad bore—I'm sure to get a headache,—but his Lordship won't do without me!” Are all these men—shrewd, sensible, clever as we know them to be—proud for nothing? My dear sir, there is a great deal of honor in it,—and though disappointed ragamuffins like you and I may sneer and laugh—depend upon it we are on the wrong side of the wainscot.

When I came to the Court, the great hall was quite empty. A few chuprassies were sitting at the entrance,—two conversing with each other,—one in a doze,—one vacantly staring at the ceiling,—one engaged in the highly exciting and pleasant occupation of introducing the wrong end of a quill into his ear,—and the rest ruminating in an easy attitude of apathy and sloth, no doubt very agreeable. There were no barristers, no attornies, no spectators; and I sauntered up and down, examining the dock for prisoners, the witness-box, the jury-seats, the Bench, and the skylights above, with the glasses which can be pulled down and adjusted by ropes attached to them, during a shower of rain. Every thing had a faded and tarnished look. The chairs of the barristers, the perch of the crier, the very posts and railings to keep off the spectators, would be furniture for an old curiosity shop. The lace and red velvet on the small writing desks of the Judges must have been manufactured not later than the days

of the First George, and doubtless they are the identical articles on which the eyes of Nundcomar rested when he confronted Sir Elijah Impey. Why do not the authorities change these things occasionally? Are they parts of the sacred system of English Law?

A peon who had officiously dogged my heels from the moment of my entrance informed me that the Judges originally occupied the niche now reserved for the lower order of spectators,—a decidedly better arrangement than the present, as people entering the Court had then a full view of every thing. Observing that the information seemed to interest me, my companion was about to relate who made the change, and why,—when I told him I knew all about it, and to get rid of his company stepped into the verandah.

There were many people in the verandah; a number of East Indians with glossy black hair and smart alpacca coats; a number of native sircars in not very clean habiliments, whose dinginess, however, was here and there relieved by the tawdrier caparison of a gay Baboo; a number of police constables with moustachios and in uniforms; a number of chowkeedars who assiduously hung around them; and a number of low riff-rall who sat or stood at the very extremity of the balcony, overlooking the carriages that rattled to the door. There were several women among these last,—young women too, but evidently from the *cannille*—one was chewing pawn, and another had a small ridingwhip in her hand.

A barrister in his black silk robe, or a spruce attorney with his specs and his books, occasionally rustled through this motley throng, which respectfully made way for him;—but this was *only* occasionally. Of the very few gentlemen of the long robe (as Jenkins delights to call them) that had arrived, the most were congregated in a little room with a round table just above the staircase, and were busily engaged—with the newspapers of the day.

A large room to the north of the verandah, called the Grand Jury room, is decorated with some very fine pictures of the former Judges of the Court. Sir Elijah Impey painted by Chinnery; probably delivering his charge to the Jury in the case of Rajah Nundcomar; Sir William Oldham Russell, perhaps as he appeared at the trial of the three cadets of Baraset for arson; Sir Edward Ryan, with his face somewhat flushed, it may be passing that memorable sentence on Mr. Ogilvie, the Magistrate of Burdwan—"and let this be a warning to you and your class, &c."—and some

other Judges whose names I cannot now remember without the help of a Directory. There was a statute also in the room, of Sir Edward Hyde East, I think,—the great friend of native education. A few chuprassies were waiting at the hall doors, with spears in their hands, (one had a silver sword, and another a mace with a large silver crown at the top,) evidently expecting the Judge. A few native sircars were in the room, some of whom were idly conversing at the Grand Jury table, and others as idly sauntering about, gazing at the pictures.

As the day advanced, the number of people in the verandah began to increase, and several went into the Court and secured good seats betimes; for here, none says unto another "Give this man place," or "Friend go up higher." I went in amongst the rest, and had the luck to get a seat near the witness box. A good many of the officers had already taken their places. The crier was on his perch, the interpreter at his desk with his box and papers before him; the gaoler moving about from seat to seat, conversing in whispers with his myrmidons. At last there was quite a sensation, as two teak wood boxes were brought in, and a fat gentleman (he is Clerk of the Crown or Prothonotary), with a dignified and pompous look, came and sat beside the humble interpreter. The advent of this last official seemed a signal for all the people outside to rush into Court. The East Indian Jurymen with their glossy black hair, the sircars in their filthy coverings, the chowkeedars and constables in their uniforms, all made a simultaneous entry, and scrambled for places. A handsome East Indian, redolent of lavender, seated himself, much to my satisfaction, on my right,—but just as I had begun to congratulate myself on the savour of my companion, or rather of the perfume which he had lavished on his clothes,—a ragged dirty fellow, with tattered shoes and a hat which Sam Weller would have called, "ventilation Gossamer," came and sat on my left,—drowning all the bouquet with an abominable effluvium, and beautifully illustrating the rigor and majesty of the English Law, which makes no distinction between the great and the small, the rich and the poor. I was casting sundry rueful glances at my left hand companion, in the vain expectation of dislodging him, and enticing some less odoriferous spectator to his seat; when there was a discordant cry of *choop, choop*—silence, silence; and looking towards the door I beheld a procession so majestic, so solemn, so graceful, that I fell back in my seat overpowered by a

feeling of awe! The spearmen came first, stiff and stately; then the fat little man with the gray beard, that carried the mace and crown;—Oh! with what pomp and pride of dignity did he turn when he came to the steps which the Judge was to mount!—Then the man with the sword, or the scales, or whatever it is. Then the English gentleman, spruce, gay, and well dressed,—with the white wand in the hand;—he did not stop with the rest, but strode across the Bench to its very extremity. Last the Judge himself, with his pale pale cheeks, and ample forehead, and eye of serene thought.

“Oyez, Oyez, know all manner of men, &c.”—mumbled the crier from his seat. The confusion and noise gradually subsided, and the fat gentleman (I must really beg his pardon for calling him so again) rose up to call out the names of the Jurymen.

Antonio DeCruz—here—Simon Gomes—here—Richard Baxter—(*Constable in a very loud voice*)—Richard Baxter—Richard Baxter—(*no response*)—John Cool—John Cool—(a spectator thinks John Cool is taking it coolly, and there is a slight titter at the remark.) Matthew Robinson—here—Sylvanus Swanquill—here—&c., &c.

The Court is not content with twelve of her Majesty’s lieges;—twenty-four names are called out, as there are to be two separate sets of Jurymen,—one for the morning, and another for the afternoon. The name of the reader’s humble servant is placed amongst the latter.

“Stand up, gentlemen of the Jury, that you may be sworn.” The oaths are administered, but alas! not with the solemnity that is observed at home. The gentleman who administers, and they who take the oath, seem half asleep during the ceremony!

These preliminaries ended, business is commenced. As the afternoon set will not be required till the hour of one, several of us solicit permission to retire for a short time; but permission is refused. The Court informs us through the fat gentleman that we are on no account to leave the premises. We all accordingly remain, and I resume my old seat near the witness box, in not a very agreeable state of mind. “What!” whispers an indignant juror in my ear, “are we to remain here *all day*?—It’s very hard! the other set will get leave at one o’clock. Why can’t we go about our business until we’re called?”—“My good friend, we are serving our country,” I answer; and my fellow sufferer sits down with an air of resignation.

It *was* very hard. If I had not been the patriot which I hope I am, I would have made a noise about it. If I had not loved my country, I would have written *such* a letter to the Editor of the *Englishman* as would have made them tremble in their shoes for their injustice. If I had not been prepared to suffer for the public good, I would have exposed the Court as vehemently as ever my friend Mr. Cruise exposed the Mofussil Courts! Yes, I would! Why should one set of Jurymen remain three hours and another seven? Why should those that are willing to serve be harnessed to the cart, and those that are unwilling be let off, without so much as a hard word or a fine? No one ever took it into his head to enquire why Richard Baxter was absent, or why John Cool had taken his summons coolly, so long as there were other victims present. Such remissness in the Mofussil Courts would have been branded as infamous—But in the Supreme Court—nothing *can* be wrong of course.

No martyr in the cause of liberty,—not Sydney,—not Russell,—ever cast more scornful glances on their persecutors, than some of our set on the Judge and his officers. —As for me, to whom the scene was novel, I contented myself with simply looking on at every thing with a chiklish curiosity, and now and then demolishing the crier with a scowl.

The Court was now quite full. There were only two barristers. The rest of the seats usually reserved for their brethren were occupied by police officers, inspectors, sub-inspectors, and sub-deputy-inspectors. It appears that the gentlemen of the long robe do not much care to attend the criminal trials, where there is very little to get,—they reserve the light of their knowledge for the civil cases; —but if there was a lack of legal acumen, there was no lack of people to admire it. The gallery in front of the Judge was crowded with natives of the lower orders,—the space under it was filled with the witnesses and peons,—the passages had become blocked up with spectators of various colours and creeds,—the chairs, the benches, were all occupied,—there was hardly room to move about or to breathe with freedom. The effect of the scene was made more striking to my perceptions by an ingenious and novel process which I recommend to my reader if he should ever have occasion to go to the Supreme Court. I laid my head in an attitude of deep thought on my arm, and closed my eyes; then, after five or six minutes, suddenly raised myself and opened them

widely. The *coup d'œil* was magnificent. Heads—faces—Judge—Crier—Police officers—all in one chaos of grandeur,—like the figures in Hood's celebrated picture of the Dream!

The first case that was called on was a case of murder. It was one of painful interest. As I was near the witness box, I heard more than most of the spectators, and can give my reader all the details.

The prisoner was a tall, strong, muscular man. He was dressed in a colored *dhotie*, which did not reach his knees, and in a *chudder* or sheet which was loosely thrown around his person, and which, if it occasionally fell off, he calmly replaced and adjusted. He had a dirty skull cap placed on one side of his head with an air of negligence. The legs from the knees, or indeed from a little above the knees, were perfectly bare, very sinewy, and well proportioned;—and the arms, chest and hands, whenever they were exposed in the process of adjusting the sheet, appeared as manly and powerful. He had a look of dogged and brutal recklessness,—not the look of conscious innocence, nor the look of conscious guilt,—and he surveyed the Court with an eye as bold, and almost as indifferent, as that of the most callous spectator; certainly more indifferent than mine own.

When asked whether he pleaded guilty or not guilty to the charge of having murdered his own wife, he quietly answered, not guilty.

The first witness called was a *Jemadar* of *Mehlers*. He deposed that one evening, while he was sitting in his hut, he heard cries from the hut of the prisoner, which was contiguous; and on going to ascertain the cause of the disturbance, he saw the prisoner's wife on the ground, and the prisoner making thrusts at her with a drawn sword,—the same that was now produced in Court. He called upon the prisoner to desist, but the latter did not pay any attention to him. The unfortunate woman once caught hold of the murderous weapon, but the prisoner forced it out of her hands, fearfully cutting her fingers. He proceeded with his bloody work, inflicting several wounds on the neck, breast and arms, until the witness endeavoured to seize him, when he turned fiercely upon the intruder. The jemadar hereupon fell back, and the murderer ran out at the door. When the jemadar came out, he saw the prisoner madly whirling the blood-stained weapon, and followed by a mob of men and women, whom he joined. There was one clockedar among the crowd, but he had not the

courage to apprehend the armed and infuriated fugitive. He kept at a respectful distance, like the rest of the multitude. The murderer ran on till he came to a tank, into which he threw his sword. The tank was near a Bazar, from which fresh people joined the pursuers. They dogged his steps more boldly now, as he was weaponless. When he came to another tank, the prisoner rushed madly forward as if to drown himself; but stopped when he was up to his waist in water. The jemadar came forward and seized him. He made little or no resistance, and the chowkeedar and jemadar together bound his arms, and carried him first to his house, and then to the Thannah.

In reply to a question from the Judge, the witness stated he did not know the reason of the quarrel between the prisoner and his wife. The prisoner smelt of liquor when apprehended, but he was in his senses; and the witness therefore surmised it could not have been from simple intoxication that the prisoner murdered her. They quarrelled often; the prisoner generally beat his wife with a stick whenever they fell out—never with a sword. It was only a few days before the murder that the prisoner quarrelled with his wife's mother. He wanted to take his wife away to his own house, but her mother would not let him, till he had given her some clothes which he had promised her. That quarrel was settled by a *Punchayet*.

The prisoner, when asked whether he wanted to cross-examine the witness, replied in the negative; another witness was therefore called in immediately. The demeanour of the prisoner throughout the jemadar's deposition was calm and collected. At times, there were signs of uncertainty and trouble in his eye, and the perspiration stood thick on his forehead,—and I even fancied that once he trembled a little—but these manifestations of emotion vanished as quickly as they came. There he stood apparently as resolved and bold as ever.

The second witness was a woman. Like the first witness she had been attracted to the prisoner's hut by the cries of the deceased, but with a timidity very pardonable, she had fled the moment she saw the bloody work within. There hardly could have been any quarrel between the husband and wife, according to her account; for she was sitting on the open space or maidaun before her door when the prisoner reeled into his room, and he had not been five minutes inside before the uproar began." In all other respects she corroborated the statement of the first witness.

The chowkeedar, the father of the deceased, the inspector who fished out the sword from the tank the next morning, and the Police-surgeon, then gave their evidence successively. The first and second bore out the statements of the jemadar, as far as they went; the third stated that the prisoner was not drunk when brought to the station-house, and described the manner in which he found the weapon; and the last gave an account of the injuries on the person of the deceased.

It appeared that the unfortunate girl had received no less than thirty-nine wounds. The three most severe, and to which death might be attributed, were on the neck and breast. "A person making thrusts with a weapon like the one in Court *might* have inflicted those wounds,"—said the Doctor,—“but he must have pressed the sword hard; for the wounds were not exactly thrusts, but in several cases, deep and savage gashes.” The prisoner was now asked if he had any thing to state in his defence. His account was brief and simple. He was returning home from his work, when he fell in with some companions who induced him to go with them to a liquor-shop, where he drank wine to excess. When he came out into the open air with these friends, he was perfectly intoxicated, and in this wretched state he accompanied them into a toddy-shop. Toddy was a favorite beverage with him; and the persuasions and example of his friends made him drink it very largely on the present occasion. The wine and the toddy combined mounted to his brains, and he became quite senseless. He had a vague recollection of staggering home when his friends left him;—but he was sure he had not committed the murder,—he did not even know who had committed it. The first witness had had a quarrel with him and had given false evidence. The prisoner owed him a rupee which he had not the means of paying when called upon,—that was the occasion of the quarrel,—blows had been exchanged between them. He had no witnesses to call, and relied entirely on the justice of the Court.

There was a brief pause when the interpreter concluded his translation of the prisoner's statement—a brief pause and a dead silence. The Judge then delivered his charge to the Jury. He spoke in a low voice, but every word of it was heard by all who cared to hear him. I was all attention—but I could not help thinking, when he concluded, that much of his unnecessarily long charge was superfluous. There was very little need of recapitulating the evidence;—the Jury

had heard it all as well as the Judge. If he had simply made comments upon the evidence, it would have been quite enough. A general impression prevails that the charge of an English Judge to an English Jury in a case of murder is always worthy of being heard. I shared in this impression, and expected an analysis of the evidence, with an elaborate, perhaps an over-elaborate exposition of such points as were in favor of the prisoner;—but I was disappointed. The charge was little better than a recapitulation, and had very little of comment in it. It was an off-hand matter, however;—there was no time for preparation,—and one cannot, therefore, well be critical upon it.

When the Judge had concluded, every eye was turned anxiously to the Jury. The prisoner wiped the perspiration from his brow, and looked at them with a troubled and eager look. There was life or death before him by the turn of their opinion. He leaned forward from the Dock over the railings. The silence became perfectly appalling.

The suspense was not of long duration. The Jury did not even retire. In five minutes they had consulted with each other, and agreed about their verdict. The foreman stood up. "Well, gentlemen of the Jury, what is your verdict?" asked an officer of the Court. "*Guilty*," said the foreman. The unfortunate prisoner heard the word, and wiped the perspiration again from his forehead.

The Judge and many of the spectators seemed more moved than the prisoner, who, though he looked much troubled, was perfectly collected and firm.

Another five minutes passed away. The Judge, who had fallen back in his seat as if to gather his scattered thoughts, leant forward in his chair. A flush passed over his countenance, and was succeeded by a deadly paleness. Never had I seen features more expressively chiselled,—a tear trembled in his eye, but yet his compressed lips indicated an inflexible purpose. If God had commissioned one of the good angels to destroy a city for its sins, such might have been his aspect as he fulfilled the command!

The sentence was brief. The Judge simply stated that "the prisoner had been convicted on the clearest evidence of the murder of his wife, under circumstances the most brutal and aggravating, and that no hope of pardon or mercy could therefore be held out to him. The prisoner had been asked why the punishment of Death should not be inflicted on him according to the Law, and had not been able to give a satisfactory reply. It was now the prisoner's duty to dis-

solve all connection with the world, to fix his thoughts on Heaven, and to ask mercy where it still might be found. The order of the Court was, that he be taken from the dock to the place from whence he had been brought, and from thence, on that day week, to the place of execution, there to be hung by the neck till he was dead." A pious ejaculation, which found a ready response in the heart of every auditor, concluded the address—"So God have mercy on your soul."

When the interpreter literally explained the sentence to the prisoner, he manifested no emotion or surprise. He was prepared for it. "I have not committed the murder,—I have not—indeed, I have not"—he iterated;—but the gaoler who was in attendance directed one of the guards to take him away, and he was rudely and unceremoniously pushed towards the door of the Dock. He made one effort more. "Khodabund! If I am to be hung, give orders that my corpse may be touched only by men of my caste—let it not be polluted by the touch of the professional executioner. Deny me not. . . ."—He had more to say, but the guards laid hold of him, and dragged him from the presence. They fettered him heavily in the veranda, and I saw him no more.

There was now a short truce to business. The Judge left his seat and retired. Some of the spectators and Police officers also disappeared. For myself—I was too much moved by what I had seen and heard to continue idly looking about the Court as I had hitherto done—I fell insensibly into a reverie. The imploring cries of the unfortunate man rung in mine ears, and the wild and passionate gestures in which he delivered his last appeal floated constantly before my vision. "God of Heaven!" I cried to myself, "have mercy on that outcast!"

Presently the hall was full again. All trace of the recent tragedy was removed and forgotten. The sword, the bloody cloth, the witnesses, vanished. The Judge came back and resumed his seat, and business recommenced as if nothing had happened.

The farce that had been acted in the morning was now repeated. The names of the Jurymen were called once again—Peter Jones,—Samuel Smith,—Sylvanus Swanquill. The last name was called thrice over, before its owner could find heart to give a response. The first set of Jurymen were discharged. The second set were requested to stand up and be sworn. We stood up and were sworn accordingly; but there were two natives amongst us, one of whom declined

to be sworn on the Ganges water, as he did not consider it binding on his conscience. The Judge beckoned him forward and asked him what he did consider binding on his conscience. The Baboo replied in bad English that he had abjured Hinduism,—but that he believed in the existence of an Almighty God. The Judge seemed a little annoyed with him, and enquired if he would agree to be sworn on the Bible. The Baboo answered in the negative, and the fat gentleman was immediately told to look out for another Jurymen. The Judge said he would consult his colleagues on the subject of the oaths to be administered to enlightened Young Bengal, and in the mean time the specimen of the class who had presented himself should, though he would not be required to serve on the Jury, consider himself bound to attend from day to day according to the citation in the summons. The Baboo then made his salaam and disappeared, and another Jurymen, an unfortunate one from the set of the morning, was impanelled with us.

All ceremonies over, the next case was called on. Three persons,—a woman of suspicious character, dark and slender, with a rather intelligent countenance,—an up-country shop-keeper, with the air of a consummate rascal,—and a Baboo, not very handsome,—were arraigned at the bar, charged with having received stolen goods knowing them to be stolen. The Advocate-General appeared for the prosecution, and a sharp young Barrister for the defence of the Baboo and the woman;—the up-country shop-keeper relied on his own legal acumen for his exculpation. All the prisoners pleaded “not guilty” to the charge.

The first witness called was a vender of pearls and jewelry. He entered into various long details with which I shall not trouble my reader. The sum total of his evidence was, that he had been robbed one night, and that he believed the goods produced in Court were his property.

The next witness was an European inspector, who deposed that he had called at the houses of the Baboo and the woman, in consequence of some information he had received, and had asked them respectively whether they had any stolen property; and on their answering in the negative, had searched all their traps and boxes, and found two pearls and a ruby in the woman’s house, and a number of very small pearls at the Baboo’s, and that these were the same produced in Court, and identified by the first witness.

A number of native officials were next called, who corroborated the main facts stated by the inspector, but who dif-

ferred from each other most suspiciously in minor points—one said the pearls in the woman's house had been found in the secret drawer of a box,—another in a trunk; one said the woman *pointed* to a man in the house, when asked from whom she had received the pearls,—another that she *simply named* him, because he was not there at the time; one said that the very small pearls found in the Baboo's house had been secreted under his mattress,—another under his pillow,—and so on.

All these witnesses were minutely cross-examined by the Barrister for the two defendants. Some of them were considerably flustered during the process. How these Barristers can browbeat simple people!

A jemadar of Police deposed that he had called at the house of the up-country shop-keeper, on information he had received, just as the European inspector had done in the case of the Baboo and the woman. The shop-keeper was playing at cards with some of his countrymen, who rose and went away when the jemadar and his myrmidons entered. The shop-keeper was then asked whether he had any stolen property in the house. He replied in the negative,—and the efficient jemadar (a rare jewel by the way!) immediately commenced a search. This search was not successful,—but the good luck of the jemadar was in the ascendant; for just as he was about to leave the premises in despair, the shop-keeper, suddenly conscience-stricken, seized his hand, gave a start and a shudder—and the jemadar immediately concluded that the stolen articles were secreted—near about the entrance. The ground was dug up. . . . and, lo! there were the pearls!

The shop-keeper and the articles were then taken to the Thannah, and from thence to the Magistrate at the Police office.

A chowkeedar, who had accompanied the jemadar, gave evidence in many material points at variance with him, and the jury and spectators seemed to think there was hardly any evidence against the prisoner,—but unfortunately for him,—he had taken no Counsel, and relied on his own intelligence for a defence.

While the first and second prisoners, the Baboo and the woman, simply denied the charge brought against them, and endeavoured, by cross-examining the witnesses for the prosecution through their legal adviser, to weaken the weight of testimony against them, the shop-keeper thought nothing short of an elaborate defence, involving a counter

charge, sufficient for himself. He stated that the jemadar had called at his house and found him playing at cards; that he had instituted a rigorous search, and found no stolen articles; that in his disappointment and vexation he and his myrmidons had fallen upon the unfortunate prisoner, and beaten him until he fainted,—and that he had no knowledge of what happened afterwards, but had respectable witnesses to prove his case so far.

One of the respectable witnesses was immediately called. He was a tall lean man, in a coarse suit—very unclean. The forehead of the fellow was marked with paint, red and white and yellow. He had evidently been offering up his poojahs at Kali Ghaut before he came into Court. As he stepped into the witness-box, there was a jingle of pice, and immediately after a whole lot of them tumbled from his clothes on the floor. He knelt down to pick them up. There was a titter in Court. Some laughed at the awkwardness of his position; others at the nimble manner in which the coin rolled away from him; and a few, I think, at the anxiety which he betrayed to collect and conceal them. Were those pice the gift of the prisoner? It was an uncharitable suspicion and I endeavoured to divest myself of it.

The witness stated he was playing at cards with the prisoner when the jemadar and chowkeedars came to the house. He went outside when they entered, but came back again immediately after, to see what was going forward. They searched the house and found no stolen articles. They then took the prisoner into a room, the door of which they shut and there beat him. He knew they beat him from the cries he heard,—he did not see the blows they inflicted. When they brought the prisoner out again, he was in a swoon. The jemadar took some very small pearls from his own clothes, and, saying that he had found them inside, carried the prisoner away. The witness knew no further.

The Judge naïvely asked the witness whether the prisoner had recovered from his swoon, and was able to walk to the Thannah, or whether they had to bring a cart for him? The witness looked a little discomfited, for there was a laugh in Court at the question; but he quickly recovered his self-possession, and answered that the prisoner soon got well, and was able to walk along with his persecutors.

A second witness for the prisoner corroborated some features of the evidence of the first, but they differed materially in many important points; for instance, while the

first witness said the *native jemadar* had come to search the house, the second declared that it was *not* the native jemadar but the *European inspector*.

When the second witness had been examined, the Barrister for the male and female prisoners rose up to address the Jury on their behalf. He made a long—by far too long—a matter of it, and though his appearance was very prepossessing, and his name great, his speech was not good. He went over and over the same ground, until I almost set him down in my mind for a bore.

The male prisoner, his client, he contested, was a rich man, and the relation of a very rich man,—it was not likely that he should receive stolen articles;—the articles produced were his. They were not of a nature to be identified. A pearl is like a pearl, as an egg is like an egg, and he denied that any man, even a vender of pearls, could identify pearls which were so very small as his own property. As for the woman, he said, she was the favourite of a very large circle of acquaintances, and the two pearls which were found in her house might have been given to her by one of them. Where is the proof of her guilty knowledge? He appealed to the jury on these points again and again, and while he admitted, in passing, that there was good proof against the unfortunate wretch who had retained no Counsel, he denied that there was even the shadow of suspicion on his clients. I listened with great patience and equanimity to his long discourse, but some of us,—my next neighbour among the rest,—fell asleep during its delivery—though the learned Barrister's manner was any thing but dull—for he waved his arms, stamped his foot, and rolled his eyes terrifically as occasion required. Have you ever seen, gentle reader, two native women of the lower orders quarrelling in the streets? You have. Well, then, you can form some idea of the Barrister's manner. He did not indeed clap his hands, or spit, or yell,—but he cast the same scornful looks of contempt and indignation, when he commented on the evidence for the prosecution—he was as voluble and eloquent, and, at times, even as furious.

I thought in my simplicity there was nothing more to hear, when the Barrister had finished his pleading. I was mistaken. The Judge began as soon as the Barrister had ended. It was his duty to disinfect our ears of any prejudices we might have imbibed from the artful and one-sided oration of the learned Counsel for the prisoners. The Judge's speech, as in the murder case, was a mere recapitu-

lation of the evidence. I could not help thinking of the immortal little Judge in *Pickwick*, when he had done; for his speech, though of many words, amounted, I fear, only to this:—"If Mrs. Bardell was right, it was perfectly clear Mr. Pickwick was wrong; and if they thought the evidence of Mrs. Cluppins worthy of credence they would believe it, and if they didn't, why they wouldn't." At all events he gave no decided opinion on the evidence, or on the verdict which the Jury ought to return.

The Jury retired. A very small room at the extremity of the hall adorned with the pictures and the statue was the place of our retirement. It commanded a good view of the city, and the maidaun, and the river. The sun was setting when the constable led us into it, and the pale yellow lustre touched with a mournful hue the lofty houses and the church steeples that bounded the prospect. I stood at the window while my comrades seated themselves round a broken table, and one for lack of a chair seated himself upon it.

It appeared that six of us were for acquitting all the prisoners,—three for convicting one of them,—the unfortunate fellow without Counsel,—two for convicting that fellow and the male prisoner; and one for convicting all the prisoners! I leave it to the reader to guess, to what party I belonged.

The discussions were very animated and amusing. Of course all of us spoke at once. Who was to give or get precedence? The jabber of voices, though not sweet, was very pleasant. "How could they be convicted?—there was no proof of guilty knowledge."—"Oh there was proof and plenty of it."—"No, no, not a shadow of it against the Baboo and the woman."—"Oh, yes, against all."—"Against none, you mean." "There is proof against that up-country fellow,—just recollect the witness he brought forward in his defence."—"They were liars and perjurers truly,—but the witnesses for the prosecution were as bad—Don't hang him because he could not afford to fee a Barrister to twist his tongue on his behalf."—"Yes, yes, not guilty." Such were the sentiments bandied from mouth to mouth without intermission—but I must not reveal all the secrets of our prison-house!

The great bell of the neighbouring church tolled the hour of six,—and the sunlight vanished from the tops of the houses and of the steeple. It was clear we could not agree, and I prepared myself for a night of imprisonment, a dinner on rancid meat and sour wine, and a bed without musquito curtains, with the air of a martyr. The constable popped in his head through the door with anxiety—"Well,

gentlemen of the Jury, are you agreed?—The Judge 'is waiting for you'—"Not yet, master constable"—said the foreman—"shut the door, if you please." "Now what have you to say for that scamp of an up-country shop-keeper, Mr. Swanquill? I should say the proofs are clear against him." "I do not think so; it appears very odd that the prisoner should have seized the jemadar's hand all of a sudden, and thus have betrayed his secret. The incident would do very well for a farce—but it does not look very probable." "How would the incident do for a farce?" "Why, the jemadar and the culprit walk side by side; when they come to the place where the pearls are buried, the latter is seized by sudden remorse, and he convulsively grasps the former's hand;—(*faint music*)—the jemadar falls on his knees and digs out the stolen property."—"That's right, Mr. Swanquill—I would acquit all three."—"No, no; not all three. Why, the witnesses for the shop-keeper contradicted themselves most awfully." "And did not the witnesses for the prosecution contradict themselves too?" "I would convict the Baboo; he had the pearls under his mattress." "Yes; it is evident he wanted to conceal them."—"Natives generally keep such small pearls in out-of-the-way places. They are used as physic." "I cannot believe that such small pearls are capable of being identified."—"What! not by a pearl merchant?" "No, not even by a pearl merchant." The constable anxiously looked in again. "Do you mean to stay here all night, gentlemen of the Jury?" "I cannot say—shut the door, if you please," replied our foreman;—and the constable's head disappeared.

What was to be done? Already was Mr. Swanquill's stomach crying out for its supply.—"Good friends," I said energetically, folding my arms—"you may agree or not agree in my opinion—but I shall never give in. I shall be a martyr in the cause of justice,—I shall never permit the innocent to be sacrificed that I may get my dinner!" "*The innocent!*" cried our foreman contemptuously. "Yes,—*innocent*;—for I dare not consider them otherwise without clearer evidence." "What do you mean by clearer evidence?"—"But I fear I am divulging what I ought not to divulge—and thus forfeiting all the rights of masonry!—I must really stop.

At last, the fat gentleman in black came in. "Well, gentlemen, are you agreed?—The Judge is waiting for you."—"We shall agree in a moment, Sir."—And the fat gentleman went away.

The foreman seized his hat, to my surprise, and rose to follow him. "What is your opinion?"—He asked me—"I vote with you and the majority."—" 'Not guilty'? And you, gentlemen?"—"Well, there's no use staying all night—we are for acquitting too." "Bravo—Bravo—that's right—come along."

Hereupon all rose. Two East Indian gentlemen who had from the outset voted with me, but had taken no part in the discussion, gravely quitted their seats with the rest; and as we hurried through the door, one of them pressed my shoulder with his hand, as much as to say,—“My good friend, you have been talking, and arguing, and troubling yourself to convince our comrades—I have been sitting quiet.—You see I am by far the wiser man—for your arguments failed to convince,—and now they are convinced of their own accord!”—In return, I placed my hand on his shoulder, as much as to say,—“My good friend, I had no previous experience in a Jury-room. Be sure I shall be wiser next time.”

When we took our seats again in Court, we perceived that all the officers and spectators had grown impatient. The fat gentlemen rose up to ask our opinion,—and our foreman rose up to reply to him. The question was successively asked, once for each prisoner, and the replies severally given,—Not guilty—Not guilty—Not guilty. The prisoners were then ordered to be released, and the Court broke up.

As I returned home, I could not help contrasting the Supreme Court with the Mofussil Courts, which I had lately seen, and reflecting how each of them might be improved by taking example of the other.

The Jury system altogether seemed to me absurd. I am not a Benthamite, nor am I given to much reading that way; but to compel twelve honest people to leave their daily avocations to do a work which might be done much better by the Judge himself, appeared not very consonant to reason—and certainly appears so still. And then the infliction on the Jurors! It is not enough to compel them to work gratuitously, and make them hear speeches,—long, rigmarole, good-for-nothing,—and sit by the hour in the same posture,—they must positively be kept in confinement if they cannot agree about their verdict. I wonder what my little child would have thought if I had been obliged to stay all night in the little room where we held our consultations. He would assuredly have suspected that his papa had been

put in prison for a felony! And the sour wine of the Jury Room!—but there I speak from hear-say.

There is doubtless greater precision in the Supreme Court than in the Mofussil,—but there is more unnecessary twaddle and form. At the same time I cannot for a moment admit that its procedure might not be considerably simplified, without any sacrifice of the ends of justice.

The employment of interpreters is doubtless a great disadvantage—but then it is in some measure compensated by the superior abilities of the Judges. It is true that Mr. Foker of the Civil Service understands the Bengalee and Hindoostanee better than most of our acquaintances,—but then it must be remembered, he has neither the talents nor the research and reading of Sir William Newcome. If the former is entirely independent of his establishment, so far as regards the examination of witnesses is concerned,—it must be borne in mind that he is not in a position to decide as well as the latter, when all the facts are made bare.

Much more reliance is placed on evidence in the Supreme Court than in the Mofussil. The people in Calcutta are more enlightened than the Mofussilites, and necessarily more honest. There are fewer perjurers in the Metropolis—though Heaven knows there are enough of them! The practice of producing forged or fictitious documents, also, does not prevail to the same extent in Calcutta as in the districts. It would be hard, however, to say that the Supreme Court is in all respects superior to the Zillah Courts, or the Zillah Courts superior to the Supreme Court; or even to decide which, on the whole, is best, and most adapted to the country. A modification of the two systems is what is wanted. There cannot be much question that the Zillah Courts are much more approachable to the poor and the ignorant, and that their procedure is much more simple and comprehensible to suitors—but there cannot be much question, also, that their rules and forms are more uncertain, and that their efficiency is much more dependent on the Judge for the time being. As long as Mr. Foker presides as Judge of Shahpore, the inhabitants of that place may depend upon an uniformity of decision and practice, and congratulate themselves on the usefulness of their Court; but the moment Mr. Foker becomes Commissioner of Settlement, and Mr. Hoghunt steps into his shoes, there is an end to uniformity and to efficiency,—whereas it matters little in the Supreme Court, whether Sir William Newcome presides or retires

and is succeeded by Sir William Robinson, as the same uniformity and efficiency, or whatever else it may be called, will always prevail.

One thing there is in the Supreme Court, called its greatest ornament, and believed to be the bulwark of the rights and liberties of the English people, which does not seem suited for the soil of India. It is the Bar. In a civilized country, an efficient Bar is no doubt a blessing,—but amongst an illiterate and simple people, it is somewhat worse than useless. If Ramchunder has quarrelled with Gopaul Kisto, why, send for them both and settle the matter,—but do not allow Mr. Speakwell and Mr. Harangue to come in between and foment the dispute, in order that they themselves may make something by it. A savage—and the Hindoo is little better—cannot but be horrified at the idea of a *profession* to foment quarrels, and to receive bribes—yea—publicly receive bribes,—and then come forward and publicly justify the conduct of those who have given them the bribes, in a Court of Justice. In the mind of a savage such a profession must very closely resemble the profession of Perjurers, or Thugs, or Dacoits;—but the subject is a delicate one, and may bring a hornet's nest about one's ears;—besides this is not the proper place for it.

Space and time permitting, I should have liked to have dwelt upon some of the absurdities of the system of English Criminal Law. I asked a female witness something about her husband—and the Judge stopped me.—Why? But this is a matter of small importance. The accused, in the cases that I heard, were not even called upon to explain or justify themselves properly. No questions to the prisoner is the rule. Good Heavens! Wherefore? How can truth be elicited unless the defendant is questioned? The English system in this respect is almost as bad as the German, under which no man can be convicted or punished until he confesses, and where every expedient short of torture is resorted to, in order to obtain confession,—cross-examination on cross-examination until the accused is fairly puzzled and overcome! Space and time, however, will not permit, and I have therefore nothing more to do—but bid the reader good-bye.

II.

A REMONSTRANCE TO SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON

ON HIS INJUSTICE TO THE HINDUS.

THE reader may probably recollect that notable paradox of Dr. Campbell's, that "there is always some radical defect in a syllogism which is not chargeable with that species of sophism known among logicians by the name of *petitio principii*, or a begging of the question." (Phil. of Rhet. vol. I. p. 174.) This "epigrammatic, yet unanswerable, remark," as Mr. Dugald Stewart styles it, was well answered by Archbishop Whately, when he observed (Logic. B. I. § 4.) that Dr. Campbell little dreamt, "of course, that his objections, however specious, lie against the *process of reasoning itself*, universally; and will therefore, of course, apply to those very arguments which he is himself adducing. He should have been reminded of the story of the woodman, who had mounted a tree, and was so earnestly employed in lopping the boughs, that he unconsciously cut off the bough on which he was standing."

Sir William Hamilton (in his Discussions, p. 615) has answered this "unanswerable" epigram of Dr. Campbell's less epigrammatically, but more searchingly, in a passage which we transcribe the more readily, as it will afford us an opportunity of vindicating what Sir William calls "the Hindoo syllogism" against his undeserved disparagement of it. He says:—"Mentally one, the Categorical Syllogism, according to its order of announcement, is either *Analytic* (A) or *synthetic* (B.) Analytic, if (what is inappropriately styled) the conclusion be expressed first, and (what are inappropriately styled) the premises be then stated as its reasons. Synthetic, if the premises precede, and, as it were, effectuate the conclusion." He then goes on, in a note, to say,—"*This, in the first place, relieves the syllogism of two one-sided views. The Aristotelic syllogism is exclusively synthetic; the Epicurean (or Neoclesian) syllogism was—for it has been long forgotten—exclusively analytic; whilst the Hindoo syllogism is merely a clumsy agglutination of these counter forms, being nothing but an operose repetition of the same reasoning enounced, 1°, analytically, 2°, synthetically. In thought the syllogism is organically one; and it is only stated in an analytic or synthetic form, from the necessity of adopting the one order or the other, in accommodation to the vehicle of its expression—Language.*

For the conditions of language require, that a reasoning be distinguished into parts, and these detailed before and after other. The analytic and synthetic orders of enunciation are, thus, only accidents of the syllogistic process. This is, indeed, shown in practice; for our best reasonings proceed indifferently in either order.

"In the *second* place, this central view vindicates the syllogism from the *objection of Petitio Principii*, which professing logically to annul logic, or at least to reduce it to an idle tautology, defines syllogistic—the art of avowing in the conclusion what has been already confessed in the premises. This objection (which has at least an antiquity of three centuries and a half) is only applicable to the synthetic or Aristotelic order of enunciation, which the objectors contemplate as alone possible. It does not hold against the analytic syllogism; it does not hold against the syllogism considered aloof from the accident of its expression; and being proved irrelevant to these, it is easily shewn in reference to the synthetic syllogism itself, that it applies only to an accident of its external form." He goes on to say, that, the synthetic form of the syllogism is the "less natural. For if it be asked—'*Is C in A?*'" surely it is more natural to reply,—*Yes, (or C is in A), for C is in B and B in A, (or, for B is in A and C in B,) than to reply, —B is in A, and C in B, (or C is in B and B in A), therefore, C is in A.*"

"In point of fact, the analytic syllogism is not only the more natural, it is even *pre-supposed* by the synthetic. To express in words, we must first analyse in thought the organic whole—the mental simultaneity of simple reasoning: and then, we may reverse in thought the process, by a synthetic return. Further, we may now enounce the reasoning in either order; but certainly, to express it in the essential, primary, or analytic order, is not only more natural, but more direct and simple, than to express it in the accidental, secondary, or synthetic. This also avoids the objection of P. P." [*—i. e., the objection that the syllogism involves a petitio principii.*]

Well, let us first consider how this debars Dr. Campbell's objection, and then we may proceed to the vindication of the Hindu philosophers.

The synthetic syllogism is of this form—

All things smoking are fiery.

The mountain is smoking,

Therefore the mountain is fiery.

This is the form of syllogism contemplated by Dr. Campbell, and he says that here *the question is begged*. The question is,—whether the mountain be fiery or not; and he alleges that you *beg*, or *take for granted*, the very question in dispute; when you lay down the premise “*All things smoking* [— and among these the smoking mountain—] *are fiery*.” This seems plausible; but let us now look at the analytic form of the same syllogism which is as follows:—

The mountain is fiery,
Because it is smoking,
And all things smoking are fiery.

In this form of expression we do not begin by laying down anything which can be charged with taking for granted the point in dispute;—we propound affirmatively, for discussion, the point in dispute itself, and then assign a reason, and then propound a condition in the absence of which the reason would avail nothing. The objection of “avowing in the conclusion what has been already confessed in the premises” does not apply to the argument in this analytic form; and as the argument in this form is none other than the same argument in the synthetic form, neither does the objection really apply to the latter.

But now, however far the Scotch philosophers may have gone astray, we should like to be told what there is in all this that the Hindu philosophers have failed to discern. Let us follow Sir William through the analysis of the syllogistic process just quoted, and see whether there be any one single step in it for which our Sanskrit books do not supply the counterpart,—and no “clumsy” counterpart, but something as perfectly elaborated (at least) as ancient Greece or modern Germany (or “modern Athens” either) can offer us.

To begin with the beginning; Sir William Hamilton, as we have seen, observes, that, “In thought, the syllogism is organically one; and it is only stated in an analytic and synthetic form, from the necessity of adopting the one order or the other, in accommodation to the vehicle of its expression—Language.” Good:—and have the Hindus failed to discern *this*? So far from it, that, they have endeavoured, —and, as far as we are aware, at least as successfully as any that ever attempted it, to embody this *organic unity of the syllogism in thought* in a linguistic unity of expression. When they discuss the laws of the mind syllogizing “*for itself*,”—i. e., to use Sir William’s language, “*in thought*,”—they symbolize the organic unity of the process by wrapping

the two premises in one sentence so constructed [—viz., in the shape of a period,—] that, until the last word of the sentence is uttered, no demand is made for either affirmation or negation. In reference to the stock example above quoted, the premises “*in thought*” are propounded, in their unity, by writers on the Nyāya, thus;—“By smoke, invariably attended by fire, is attended this mountain.” We subjoin the Sanskrit* (from the *Tarka-saṅgraha*, ed. 2. p. 39). Can Sir William Hamilton point out, anteriorly to his own statement regarding the organic unity of the syllogism “in thought,” any expression, in a European work, evincing a more thorough conviction of the truth in question than this *periodic* form of expression adopted by the Hindus for conveying the premises in their simultaneity? To our mind it was a noble, and far from unsuccessful, effort to emancipate their exposition of the mental process, in its unity, from those hampering “conditions of language” which, as Sir William remarks, “require, that a reasoning be distinguished into parts, and these detailed before and after other.” In a *period*, strictly, *nothing* is detailed “before and after other.” The “Yes” or the “No” can no more legitimately leave the lips of the auditors till the last word of the period has been heard, than the bullet can leave the gun, before the process of loading is finished, and the trigger pulled.†

Let us now follow Sir William in his next step. “The analytic and synthetic orders of enunciation are, thus, only accidents of the syllogistic process. This is, indeed, shewn in practice, for our best reasonings proceed indifferently in either order.” Good again;—but have the Hindus failed to discern *this*? Not a bit of it, as we shall show. The Aristotelic syllogism may be, as Sir William observes, “exclusively synthetic,” and the “long-forgotten” Epicurean or Neoclesian syllogism “exclusively analytic;” and Dr. Campbell and Mr. Stewart, conversant only with the former, may have written (as indeed they have) most

* वक्रियाप्यधूमवानयम्पर्वतः ॥

† Some one may perhaps say—nay—but when you have uttered thus much of your period, viz., “By smoke invariably attended by fire,” then we may legitimately interrupt you, and deny the invariable attendedness. To this we reply, that, you have no legitimate right to do any such thing. For anything that you know, before you have heard me out, my period might have been intended to run thus—“By smoke invariably attended by fire this mountain is *not* attended,—because I choose to hold that there is *no* such kind of smoke.” You have no pretence to understand me till I finish my period.

dismal nonsense on the whole subject; but have the Hindus done so? Again we reply,—not a bit of it. We have seen how the *Turka-sangraha* (following hundreds of consentient writers) recognised, and sought to symbolize, in language guardedly periodic, the unity of the syllogism “in thought,”—the “reasoning for one’s self.”* Let us now see how the Hindus regard “the analytic and synthetic orders of enunciation”—the mere “accidents,” as Sir William justly observes, “of the syllogistic process;”—and let us see whether *they* failed to discern the fact that “our best reasonings proceed indifferently in either order.” Let us turn to the *Vedānta-paribhāṣā*, section second. There we read as follows:—“Reasoning is divided into that which is for one’s self, and that which is for another. Of these, that which is for one’s self has been already described; but that which is for another is effected by a process. This process is an aggregate of parts; and the parts are three only,—in the shape of, 1°, the proposition, the reason, and the example, [—making up Sir William’s analytical, or more natural, form of exposition];—or, 2°, the example [—equivalent to the major premiss—], the application, and the conclusion”† [—Sir William’s synthetical, or less natural form].

And here, before we go further, let us remark in passing that Sir William’s parenthetical protests against things’ being “inappropriately styled” the premises, or “inappropriately styled” the conclusion, do not apply *at all* to the language of Hindu philosophers. When the matter in question is stated first, as in the analytical form, they style it the Proposition (*pratijñā*): when it is stated last, they style it the Conclusion—or Issue (*nigamana*). The “clumsy” instances of want of foresight in Western speculators, thus noticed by Sir William, do not occur in the Indian scientific language, where things are not named by their *separable accidents*.

But why did the author of the *Vedānta-paribhāṣā* think it necessary to impress upon his readers the essential equivalence of the analytic and synthetic forms of the syllogism,

* स्वार्थानुमानमिति॥

† तच्चानुमानं स्वार्थपरार्थभेदेन द्विविधम् । तत्र स्वार्थानुक्तमेव परार्थन्तु न्यायसाध्यम् । न्यायो नामावयवसमुदायः । अवयवाश्च त्रय एव प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणरूपाः उदाहरणोपनयननिगमनरूपा वा ॥

to which Sir William Hamilton has found it necessary to call the attention of Western sages in the year 1852? He tells us, when, in continuation of the passage last quoted, he says that the *five* members of what Sir William Hamilton calls the “clumsy agglutination” are not, as some learners by rote might have imagined them to be, indispensable;—“for,”—to quote the work itself,—“since no more than three members are required to set forth the general principle and its relevancy to the subject, the other two members [of the five-membered exposition] are superfluous.”* Here, then, we see that the Hindus were just as well aware as Aristotle that three members suffice to contain all the essentials of a process of reasoning, and just as well aware as Sir William Hamilton that these three members may be arranged indifferently in either the analytic or the synthetic order. What, then, becomes of Sir William’s scornful remark that “the Hindoo syllogism is merely a clumsy agglutination of these counter forms?” It is irrelevant altogether,—the five-membered exposition, which it alludes to, not being the Hindū *syllogism* at all, but the Hindū *rhetorical exposition*. Sir William Hamilton might with the same (absolutely the same) propriety accuse Euclid of a “clumsy agglutination” of the analytic and synthetic syllogisms, because he begins by stating his proposition *as a proposition*, and ends by re-stating it *as a conclusion*. Sir William very well knows that logic and rhetoric are not the same thing. At p. 611 of his Discussions, he says, “Here we must not confound the logical with rhetorical, the necessary in thought with the agreeable in expression.” Good:—may we, then, cherishing, as we do, the profoundest admiration for Sir William Hamilton, entreat that he will not (in imitation of those who have on this point erred before him) continue to confound the logical with the rhetorical when again writing or speaking of Hindū speculation? We have shown him that the Hindūs have the analytic syllogism of Epicurus, the synthetic syllogism of Aristotle, and an expression (—not excelled in precision by any similar attempt that we are aware of—) for his own syllogism “in thought”—in its organic unity. Is all this to be ignored, and the error of the earlier investigators of Sanskrit literature, mis-representing the *oration*

* न तु पञ्च अवयवत्रयेनैव व्याप्तिपक्षधर्मयोरुपदर्शनसम्भवेना
धिकावयवद्वयस्य व्यर्थत्वात् ॥

as the syllogism,* to be for ever perpetuated? Sir William Hamilton is not unknown to living successors of the old Indian sages on the banks of the Ganges. But had the unfortunate passage on which we have animadverted been the first on which the eye of one of these readers alighted, the chance is that it would have gone some way to confirm the impression, here yet too prevalent, that the Europeans, though capital workers in brass and iron, had better leave the discussion of things intellectual to those whose land was the birth-place of Philosophy.

K.

* See this point explained more fully at p. 45 (2nd edition) of the English version of the *Tarka-sangraha*.

III.

A LETTER FROM BORNEO.

" 'Tis the clime of the East, 'tis the land of the Sun—
Can he smile on such deeds as his children have done?"

MY DEAR ———, You have not, I hope, concluded from my silence that I have forgotten my promise to render you some account of the part of Borneo to which my wanderings have lately led me. No; the purpose has been thus long deferred only from the extreme uncertainty and indefiniteness of the small amount of information I have, until very recently, been able to collect. Altogether unacquainted with the language of the Dyaks, and almost wholly so with Malay; confined in a good measure, too, to one spot, the little I have been able to learn of this country and its people, has been almost entirely gathered from the desultory observations and sometimes contradictory statements of others. Every new scene, too, which is not absolutely disagreeable, wears a pleasing aspect; the mind is ready to be gratified by the first impressions on the senses, and the romance of novelty hinders the appreciation of many deficiencies which are afterwards the more strongly felt: charm by charm must be unwound by time from off our idols, ere a correct judgment can be formed—unbiassed by our feelings—uninfluenced by the decision of others. Hence I have often been disposed to question the soundness of the saying that first impressions are for the most part correct; it may be so, but much misstatement would, I think, be avoided, much disappointment prevented, were judgment deferred till there were more certain grounds for decision than first impressions. But if I continue my apology much further, you will, perchance, suspect that self-vindication, not information on Borneo, may be all that you will find in this letter. Such is not my purpose, the more especially as a trip to Sakarran, from which I have lately returned, deprives me of any excuse for continuing my silence. Here's a plunge, therefore, *in medius res*, according to the Horatian rule, which will, I dare say, hold good in prose as well as in verse; for it is not my intention here to say any thing of Sarāwak* or Sir James Brooke—of whom I dare say you are not ignorant, as the voice of his

* I hope you do not follow the common pronunciation (so harsh to an ear which has been accustomed to the softness of the Italian of the East) which sounds this word as if it were the name of some female called Sarah Wack. The accent is on the second syllable, and the *k* should not be sounded more than a hard *h* would be. Similarly also the *k* in Dyak.

enemies has done its best to make him known;—and the good which he has done in the Eastern Archipelago—and the tale of his rising settlement of Sarāwak,—is it not written in the volumes of Keppel?

Imagine yourself, therefore, in a Malay prauh under the island of Burong, running under easy sail parallel to the coast of Borneo, and about three miles off it. Behind, towards the west, the lofty headlands of Tanjong Poe, at the mouth of the Sarāwak river which we left at dawn, are shrouded in a rising squall; in front, to the east, in the clear bright beams of the sun, which is already half-way on its descent to the west, gleam the twin rocks at the mouth of the Batang Lupar;—speed! thou keel-compelling gale; and there shall we anchor for the night! On the left spreads the hollow-sounding and mysterious main, which poets have loved to sing of as boundless and endless, but which to my eye, appears narrow and confined, except when seen from a lofty hill. On the right extends the low uninteresting Nipa-fringed shore of this part of Borneo, but with its tameness relieved by the hills of the interior, raising their dark forest-clad slopes and varying outlines against the fleecy sky behind, or shrouding their peaks in the misty mantle ever rising from the low ground below, the swampy jungle-haunt of the Boa and the deadly Cobra. But your dreamy speculation of what Borneo may be hereafter, or the fairy picture of “aerial knights and damsels” which imagination has conjured up amid the ever-shifting masses of clouds, is suddenly interrupted by the helmsman, whose keen eye has caught a boat closer in shore making its way against wind and tide by the help of forty paddles; it is one of those long, low, *bang-kongs*, or Dyak war-boats, which were once the terror of these seas; but now there is no need of fear, for from her stern streams the blue and red cross on a golden field,* which declares that the once fierce rovers of the sea have felt the ameliorating influence of Christian philanthropy. The hardy forms around, some bound in slumber, others gazing in unconscious reverie on the sea, as if lost in fathoming its depths, hardly raise a head to heed the galley which passes on its way with a friendly hail of “all is well;” instead of which would have been heard, five years ago, the shout of the pirate band rushing on their prey.

The sun has set, and the fleeting twilight of the tropics soon gives place to darkness, instead of, as in more favoured

* The Sarāwak colours, originally the armorial bearings of Sir J. Brooke.

regions, prolonging that hour when "day dies like the dolphin," and the azure gloom which the deep skies wear has a language which speaks of Heaven and of those who there rest from the day of their life: so sail must be shortened and our bark be made fast in a streamlet within sight of the broad mouth of the Batang Lupar. The devout of the crew prostrate themselves with their faces towards the quarter which the last faint streaks of light point out as the direction of their Kibla. Is their observance of forms and stated hours of prayer a reproach to us to whom a purer creed is given; or are we, who are blest with a more *spiritual* religion, able to dispense with such outward observances? Whichever it be, a visible manifestation of our religion by forms and things that strike the eye, would, I think, not be without great service in a barbarous and heathen land—among a people whose attention is arrested by what is directed to the senses more than by that which appeals immediately to the mind and intellect.

The evening meal is finished, and inviting the *Nakodah* to join me in a cigar, and jestingly remarking that the Prophet forbids my offering him the juice of the forbidden fruit, I asked him with what feelings, seven or eight years ago, he would have met the boat which he left behind a few hours since? A hardly perceptible shudder passed over his slim and well-made form as he invoked the blessing of Ullah on the white men whose coming had enabled him to navigate these seas in safety, and leave his home without the prospect of finding it on his return desolate and in ruins, its ashes slaked with the blood of his helpless wife and infant offspring.

To the remark that he may have witnessed some of the deeds of violence, the thought of which made such an impression on him, he answered that near the spot where we were then resting in security, he saw the finishing blow struck which tamed the fierce spirit of the Sarebus Dyaks and broke their boasted power. A fleet of upwards of a hundred Dyak war-boats was coasting along on the night of the 31st July, 1849, returning in triumph from a successful piratical cruise; suddenly, they came on a division of the boats of the men-of-war which were on the look out for them; behind, as unexpectedly, appeared another division which cut off their retreat; while a sail-less vessel, apparently at anchor, barred the only remaining exit—they were in fact caught effectually in a *cul de sac*.

"Then rose from sea to sky the wild farewell,
Then shrieked the timid and stood still the brave."

Their courage, however, failed them but for a moment; the net, it was true, was closing around, and the grape from the boats was telling on their crowded masses; but there lay only a single vessel between them and the river in which they could effectually baffle pursuit—her decks were almost bare—her men away in boats—her sails not to be seen—what was to prevent a rush on her, the slaughter of her few defenders, and a harvest of heads in vengeance for their friends who had fallen? Forty boats rushed on with a shout of triumph which died away in the shriek of despair—for from her bows blazed a sheet of flame, and the iron shower ploughed through their crowded galleys; but more terrible still, on she came, as if by magic, without oars or sails, and plunging into the thickest of them crashed through boat after boat.—It was the Nemesis, accomplishing what her name betokened, and that most effectually: seven boats were all that escaped on that night of death.

I asked if he thought the Dyaks had been hardly treated, or if they had received what they deserved: for that some of the white faces were doing all they could to injure the Rajah, on the plea that, under the pretence of putting down piracy, he was cutting off “peaceful traders”? His face for a moment wore a most amusing expression; he did not know which to do, to laugh or be angry; the ridiculousness of the idea at last prevailed, and, at the close of a hearty laugh, he said, “*Tuen*. I thought all the white men wise, but now I see that there are fools even among them.” “True,” I said, “how can it be otherwise? all men are of one family independent of all distinctions of race and colour; the same characteristics must run through all; every nation, therefore, has its fools as well as its wise; but the preponderance of the latter causes greatness and power; and there is nothing to prevent your nation, by perseverance, knowledge and goodness, from attaining to the same state we have reached from a condition similar to yours.” But, “the Cross begins to bend,” and, with a sigh at the recollection of Hemans’s stanza beginning—

“Shine on, my own land is a far distant spot,
And the stars of thy sphere can enlighten it not,”

we must to bed, for such broken rest as mosquitoes and sand-flies will permit.

Morning saw us entering the broad mouth of the Batang Lupa, its two rocks of granite—one on the right bank, the other in mid-stream—gloaming in the sunshine through the scanty foliage which but partly hides their craggy sides,

presenting an unmistakable landmark : wind and tide soon carried us up several reaches ; but for miles, an expanse unbroken by aught on which the eye could rest told us that the sea was yet in sight, unshut-out on account of the continued breadth of the river. The day was bright, though not without clouds, and the low tame banks with their unvarying, impenetrable fringe of Nipa Palms were relieved of their monotony by the hills behind, some completely covered with dense forest, others showing traces of former clearing and cultivation ; some lit up by the full blaze of the sun, others diversified by light and shade as the clouds floated above them, or rested on their higher and bolder peaks.

And what, you will ask, is this Nipa, whose very tameness attracts the passer's attention ? Belonging to the extensive family of Palms, it is one of the most useful of the numerous gifts which Nature has with lavish hand showered on this prolific island ; its gigantic leaves, upwards of twenty feet in length, spring at once in circular order from the surface of the ground in thick clumps, so that it is without the tall slender trunk which generally characterizes the Palms. This, however, does not by any means render it ungraceful ; were it not so thickly wedged together, its lofty, fan-like leaves, arching over at the top, would give it the appearance of a gigantic fern. Its young and tender shoots supply the natives with materials for salads and vegetable curries ; its large leaves are converted into thatch impervious to rain, and made into mats which serve for walls of houses and awnings for boats : further, it yields a bitter kind of salt which the Dyaks prefer to sea-salt, though the former is dearer and more difficult to make ; the ashes of the stems having to go through numerous washings, strainings, boilings, and evaporations, before the saline particles taken up from the sea can be separated from the vegetable matter which they seem to pervade in large quantities. The most efficacious way of bringing the Dyaks up the rivers to terms, when they get troublesome, is to cut off their supply of Nipa salt, as it has come to be an indispensable necessary of life to them.

The slackening tide and failing wind warned us, long before evening, to make for an anchorage for the night, where we might be safe from the bore which, in this river, attends the flood tides, and is dangerous to encounter. At morning, thanks to the night's tide, we were off Permutas, where stood the old town and fort destroyed by Captain Keppel in 1839. Above this, the river becomes narrower and exceedingly tortuous in its course ; the forest, however, no longer maintains

its unbroken masses, for the banks on either side, where the soil is good, are cleared for the cultivation of rice, the staff of life in these parts, where it thrives in unrivalled luxuriance. The banks are very low, being, for the most part, flooded at high water during the springs, so that the alluvial deposit which continually goes on prevents the exhaustion of the ground, while its fertility is not a little increased by its being allowed to lie fallow for two or three years at a time, for which the extent of the country allows ample scope. The jungle is cut down and burnt in July and August, and the paddy planted out five or six weeks after; the crops are weeded about Christmas, and are ripe for the sickle during February and March; much labor or attention is unneeded, the plough is unknown, manure is amply supplied by the decay of vegetable matter and the ashes of the thick brushwood removed to make room for the paddy; while the abundance of rain and the glowing heat of a tropical sun soon bring the crops to maturity. You may form some idea of their luxuriance when told that the height of the paddy is often five feet, and that the ground which yields sixty-fold is abandoned and not considered worth the trouble of cultivation.*

Evening was closing in when our little bark anchored opposite the stockade of Sakarran, under the protection of which has sprung up a flourishing town conveniently situated for trade at the junction of the Batang Lupar and Sakarran rivers; the two highways leading, respectively, in an easterly and north-westerly direction, into the country between the Sadong and Redjang rivers. This tract of territory, with a portion of the coast extending further on to Tanjong Serik, has been lately ceded by the Sultan of Bruni to Sir J. Brooke, who, the more effectually to keep the Dyaks in check and prevent them from going out to sea to pirate and take heads, has built a small wooden fort or stockade at Sakarran, and stationed a European gentleman there to administer the government of the country and settle any disputes which may arise among the Dyaks. Secure under his protection from either Malay oppression or Dyak violence, many Chinese and other traders have resorted there, and carry on a brisk traffic, exporting rice and paddy, which they barter for iron, brass, cloth, crockery-ware, and other European articles

* I have lately learnt that the last harvest has yielded from 150 to 250 fold, according to the richness of the different fields; and that the average of tolerably good years is 200 fold; so rich and fertile is the virgin soil of Borneo.

for which the Dyaks are acquiring a want. The exports and imports during the last year exceeded, I believe, 50,000 Spanish Dollars. This is in itself not much, but then it should be remembered that the previous year there was no trade to speak of, and a short time before the life of any foreigner was insecure.

But it is time to take you to a Dyak house, or rather village, and try and give you some idea of its inhabitants and their habits and customs.

The Dyaks are gregarious animals; each tribe living together till its numbers become too large for a peaceable abode in one place, or for support from the cultivated lands which lie in the immediate neighbourhood of their settlements; in such cases a tribe divides, and the smaller party fixes on some favourable situation, generally on or near the bank of a river, for their future home: still, however, keeping up their connection with the parent stock, by participating in their feasts at harvest and seed-time, and joining them in peace and war. Their houses are built of wood, or mats made from the Nipa palm, according to their wealth and prosperity; these houses, or more properly, perhaps, *villages*—for some contain more than 40 families—are raised from the ground on posts generally about ten feet high, but three times that height when they are in situations exposed to the attacks of enemies. The Sea Dyaks build their houses with great regularity and neatness, and keep them clean and neat; the Land Dyaks are, on the contrary, dirty in their habits, build their miserable abodes without any care for regularity or comfort, and often leave them in a squalid half-ruinous state: there can, in fact, hardly be a greater contrast between any two habitations; a contrast which, in some particulars, extends to the appearance and habits of their denizens. I shall, for the present at least, confine myself to the Sea Dyaks—the *Orang-laut*, or “Men of the Sea,” as they love to call themselves. I have seen some good houses among the Dyaks on the Sakarran and Batang Lupar rivers, but by far the best I have been in is that of the Murádang Dyaks, a day’s journey from Sarāwak; I have paid them two visits already, and staid two or three days with them each time; I shall therefore try and describe their house, first premising that the Sakarrans live much in the same manner as their other brethren of the Sea.

The Dyak house at Murádang is a long, Nipa-thatched building, more than 300 feet in length by about 50 in breadth, and raised (on poles) about ten feet from the ground; in the

middle it is divided longitudinally into two parts, by a narrow passage which runs through the whole length of the building, and is, as it were, the street of the compact and closely built little village: the part behind is divided into a number of separate rooms of various sizes, each one of which is occupied by a single family; the part in front is undivided, and forms one long hall, which is put to a number of uses; it serves for a place for the indoor occupations of the tribe, and for the dormitory of the grown up unmarried young man, as the married people only have the privilege of occupying separate rooms; here also are held their great feasts, at seed-time and harvest, and on returning from a successful expedition. And when Christianity shall have extended its ameliorating influence over this interesting people, these halls will be of great use as school-rooms and places of worship, when—it is to be hoped at no distant time—the Cross and other symbols of our Holy Faith will supply the place of the human skulls which hang in numbers before every door, as ghastly tokens of the prowess of the tribe, and a but too evident proof of the empire of evil. The roof, as I before said, is made of Nipa; the walls are generally of the same material, but replaced by planking when the tribe is prosperous; the floors are formed of long narrow laths, cut from the hard outer wood of the trunk of the Nebong Palm, and lashed together with ratans; over this flooring are spread strong elastic mats made of the fibrous bark of trees and the outer coating of different species of canes. When visitors are received, finer mats made of ratan or bamboo are spread over these, and above all, the beautiful white and fine ones made in the Natunas Islands, and somewhat resembling the *setuipatees* to be had in Bengal. There are three entrances, one at each end, and a principal one fronting the middle room, generally occupied by the *Orangkaya* or Chief of the tribe; the ascent is almost invariably by the notched trunk of a tree standing almost upright. There is no wall in front, as the roof comes so low down as to preclude the necessity of any, and effectually shuts out both rain and sun, while it allows of free ventilation. For twenty feet beyond the hall, and extending along the whole length of the building, is a raised platform on the same level as the house, made of Nebong *lantiles*, or laths, and left open to the weather so as to supply a place for drying paddy, rice and other things: on the Bataug Lapor I have seen this verandah generally surrounded with a fence of bamboo-work, six feet high, so as to prevent the children from falling off and breaking their necks.

Different nations have their peculiarities of dress. The Highlander is known by his kilt, and the Andalusian by her mantilla; so the Dyak brave is distinguished by his *Cháwat*, and the Sakarran fair by her *Béjang*. "And what," you will ask, "do these strange-sounding names betoken?" Any-thing but the romance attached to a kilt and the grace inherent in a mantilla. The *cháwat* is a long narrow strip of cloth, about six feet in length by nine inches in breadth, which passes two or three times round the loins and once between the legs, while the two ends hang down for a cubit before and behind, and, if the wearer is a dandy, are profusely ornamented with red and as many other bright colours as can be procured. The *béjang* is a short, thick petticoat, reaching from the loins to the knees, and of such scanty girth as just to permit the stretch of the legs in a pace of moderate length. "And is this all the dress these people wear?" Yes, generally; start not, fair one! Eve's millinery once consisted of only fig leaves, and one of the Irish Melodies, if I remember right, says that "Nature's dress is loveliness." But such is really the general apparel of the Dyaks. They sometimes, however, as in cold weather, or on going out in a very hot sun, put on a jacket with long sleeves and open front, which can be buttoned all the way up, but is oftener worn confined across the chest by a single clasp. Both men and women wear this jacket, which is made of cloth of their own weaving from cotton which they grow themselves; but the jackets which the men wear when they go out to war are thicker than the one in common use, being, I believe, generally padded or made of skins. I once saw a very handsome one made of the beautiful coat of the tiger-cat, a species of ounce, and the largest carnivorous animal known to exist in Borneo. The women have no head-dress; their long black hair is twisted into a simple knot, and on festive occasions is wreathed with flowers, among which the favourite is the *lagerstræmia grandiflora*, which they call the *bunga-bunga* or "flower of flowers"; the men have apparently adopted the Malay head-dress, a small handkerchief folded round the head. The Sakarraus, in fight, wear a rather handsome tiara made of ratan and ornamented with scarlet cloth, tufts of hair dyed red, shells, and the plumes of the Argus pheasant. Their arms, from the wrist to the elbow, are covered with rings made of brass-wire, about $\frac{1}{4}$ th of an inch in thickness. Stranger still, the lobe of the ear is bored with a large hole, into which are inserted as many as 6 or 7 brass rings, the outermost of which is about 4 inches in diameter; and the whole of the rim of the ear is pierced with a number of holes into

which smaller brass rings are inserted :—I have counted as many as nine of these smaller rings in one ear. The woman wear the armlets, but not the rings in their ears; supplying their place, however, with handsome earrings, of gold when it can be afforded. It would be amusing to him who felt inclined to be the Democritus of your sex to observe how prevalent its follies are; the practise of tight lacing was a barbarism, I thought, confined to civilized people; imagine then my surprise to meet with it in the forests of Borneo! The Sakarran women surround their waists with painted hoops of ratan, and even brass wire and chains, till they attain as wasp-like an appearance as is the ambition of the belle of an European ball-room. All these ornaments are laid aside whenever one of a family happens to die, and the mourners cannot resume them till a human head has been taken. Whether as an offering to the Manes of the dead, or a sacrifice to the spiritual agencies which are believed to be the cause of evil, sickness, and death, is more than I can say, and more I believe than the Dyaks themselves know; for being without a priesthood and written language they have lost all definiteness of belief.

When questioned about their practice of taking human heads, the Dyaks give most vague, and even contradictory, reasons for this strange practice—a practice which has been at all times prevalent under various modifications among many races of barbarians, and especially remarkable among the North American Indians, who, for the skull, substitute the more convenient and portable scalp as a trophy of the sacrifice of a human life? Some content themselves with assigning the custom of their people as a sufficient reason for following this murderous practice; others build their hopes of future happiness—and even existence after death—on the slaughter of at least one of their fellow-creatures. The warrior believes that the spirits of the slain will attend him in his place of abode after death, and in *his* Vallala and Elysian hunting grounds minister to his wants and contribute to his happiness; once—but once only—I heard it said that the Dyak who had failed to take a head would at death perish altogether. Strange, this universal shrinking from annihilation; stranger still, that what wild and savage men thus sedulously seek to prevent, should be the ardent desire of the civilized and the self-wise,—the Epicurean, the Sadducee, and the Buddhist. Others again appear to look upon the slaughter of a human being as a species of human sacrifice, whereby malevolent spiritual agencies are to be appeased or benevolent

ones propitiated. For, in times of sickness, or in case of the death of a member of a family, the Dyaks do their utmost to obtain a head; and in their endeavours to do so are content to go through much privation and hardship; in the latter case the family cannot lay aside its mourning till one of them has returned with success from the war-path. If it be really the case that this practice is connected with the idea of sacrifice, what a remarkable proof is it of the extensive prevalence of that mysterious doctrine, and of the consciousness of the loss of the primal privilege of intercourse with the Creator, and of the need of a piacular offering—and that the richest which man can make—to remove this hinderance to the communion of himself with his Maker. But so engrained in their nature is this practice, that it is not only blended with the Dyak's hopes and ideas of futurity, but also closely interwoven with his social life. The richest lands in the neighbourhood of a tribe are considered as national property, and no man obtains a share of them until he has an enemy's head to show as a proof of his courage. Nor is this all; a Sakarran beauty will not deign to receive the advances of her admirer until he has, in a similar manner, qualified himself for her love; and that there may be no mistake of her meaning, she will row her lover to the neighbourhood of the enemies' country and set him a-shore, telling him not to see her face again till he lays at her feet a human head as a proof of his prowess and a trophy of his success. (And yet strange to say—these people are in friendly and social intercourse, kind and gentle.) Thus sent forth, the candidate for matrimony will for days and weeks follow the trail of his human game, or lie in ambush near his enemies' farms, subsisting, when his small stock of rice is finished, on such fruit as he can find in the forest, or even on the bark and leaves of trees, often returning too from an unsuccessful foray, a pale and emaciated being, the very ghost of his former self. If, however, by force or craft he has succeeded in his purpose, he hangs about his neck his victim's yet warm and gory head, and by the shortest ways and with the greatest speed hastens home, where he is welcomed with dance and feast, while the head is placed in a case of open wicker work ornamented with red hair and cloth, and hung up to dry over one of the fires in the great hall, in many a one of which have I counted more than thirty human skulls, the ghastly tokens of the present rule of evil over the fair regions of Borneo. Some tribes, it is true, have given up this fearful practice, but among others it prevails to a great extent, to which the only limit to be hoped for is to be sought

in the influence of Christianity ; but long will it be, I fear, before it can exercise that power. Almost the first sound an infant recognises is the peculiar beat on the drum which accompanies the war-dance of triumph, commemorative of a taken head ; and I have seen the tiny fingers of speechless infancy mechanically beat time to that diabolical sound. The ear of marvelling boyhood is charmed by wild and thrilling legends of the daring deeds of his ancestors, and the narrative of the excitement of the chase, where man—an equal in stratagem and knowledge—is the warrior's quarry ; and when youth and manhood have succeeded, and with increased strength has also come a stock of hitherto unknown feelings and emotions, the blandishments of beauty, the incentives of ambition, and the honors of fame, spur on the Dyak in his career of—in his opinion—ennobling slaughter. Do sickness and calamity gather around him ? The spirits of the slain are his aid in his contest with the aerial powers of evil ; and when age has dimmed the fire of his eye and numbed the vigour of his arm, he can still by the history of his life, though no more by his example, train up the young to a similar career, as they gather around the evening fire above which moulder the ghastly trophies of many a deed of blood.

A similar indefiniteness pervades the religious system of the Dyaks—if system it can be called. Some unequivocally profess their belief in one Supreme Being, the Creator and Preserver of all things, under whom are a number of spirits, good and bad, who are ever active in the concerns of man. This, their God, they call *Batàra* and *Jovàta*, names which are, I think, connected with Hindu mythology ; the former, *Batàra*, Marsden, in the valuable Introduction to his Malay Grammar, does not hesitate to consider equivalent to the Hindu term *Avatàra* ; and is not there a close resemblance between *Jovàta* and *Devatà* ? It is not at all unlikely that at some long past period there was much intercourse between Borneo and the neighbouring island of Java ;—indeed it is very probable that the Dyaks, at least those on the sea coast, are not the aborigines of Borneo, but a foreign race, perhaps deriving its origin from the Great Malayan Peninsula, some of the wild tribes of which they are said to resemble greatly in appearance, costume, and manners. If they came from the West, what is more possible than that they should have, in their course towards the East, become acquainted with Sumatra and Java, and the religious system there dominant before the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which witnessed the first appearance of Mahomedan-

ism in the Eastern Archipelago? The traces of Hindu occupancy are less discernible in Sumatra than in Java; but in the latter island, there are numerous remains of Hindu temples and idols, and the Sanscrit terms abounding in the Court language, the tradition which deduces the genealogy of the sovereigns from *Batara Wisnu*, the Hindu names by which cities, districts, mountains, and rivers are still called—all bear indubitable testimony to the former existence of a deeply-seated and widely-extended Hindu domination. What improbability is there of its influence having been felt even in Borneo? The only Hindu remains yet discovered in the neighbourhood of Sarawak is a mutilated bull carved in stone, of which, however, sufficient remains to show that it is an image of the sacred bull of Shiva. But I am not without hope that the former existence of a connection between Borneo and India will be established when more is known of the language and customs of the Dyaks. But to return from this digression. While some acknowledge one Supreme Being, others replace him by an infinite number of spiritual existences, both good and evil, who pervade all nature—there being, to use the very expression of the Dyaks, spirits of the hills and spirits of the vales, spirits of the rivers and spirits of the air—who are engaged in a continual contest, the scene of which is this world, the powers of Nature, and the fortunes of man. Hence they resort to sacrifices (generally of poultry and pigs) and magical rites and incantations to appease the evil, and propitiate the good spirits (*antu*), who warn their worshippers of coming evil by dreams and omens. The immortality of the soul appears to be a tenet generally held, but characterised by the same vagueness: for some believe that the soul after death will go to a place of either suffering or happiness according to the tenor of the life it led while in the body; others again seem to think that it will be numbered among the large body of spirits, and share with them in their interference in human affairs; some individuals again hold a modification of the doctrine of the metempsychosis; a Chief on the Sakarran river has a tame boa-constrictor which he says contains the soul of his father. Among the Dyaks in fact is seen in all its fulness the effect of the want of a written character and the absence of a priesthood;—without the former means of preserving their ancestral faith in greater purity than tradition can ever ensure, and destitute of a body of men who by hereditary or sacerdotal descent would have ensured the unchanging preservation of a religious system and creed—the

Dyaks have lost, with the knowledge of their origin, all definiteness of belief; each man seems to have a faith of his own, for which he is indebted to early impressions, external influences, or the conjectures of his own mind.

I have before said that the Dyaks live together in communities, the size of which depends in a great measure on the harmony of their members, and the fertility of the neighbouring land. Each of these is governed by a chief called the *Orang-kaya* (literally *rich man*) who has the internal government of his little state, and the power of making peace and war; his office is partly hereditary, and partly elective; the former, inasmuch as the eldest son generally succeeds the father; the latter, as the tribe has the power of setting aside the heir-apparent, if he is unpopular, for some more favoured, or more influential member of their commonwealth; in such cases they are mostly influenced in their choice by bravery in war, ability in council, and wealth, which may enable their Chief to maintain becoming hospitality. His power in ruling is great, but seldom tyrannical or arbitrary, as he must govern according to established custom, and is sufficiently held in check by the privilege his people have of at any time leaving him. Where there is a lord paramount, as in the territory of Sarawak, every *Orang-kaya* is answerable to the chief ruler for the order and peaceableness of his tribe, and the payment of their annual tribute, and is at any time removable in case of mal-administration;—in fact, Washington Irving's description of an Arab Sheikh may, with but little change, be applied to a Dyak chief:—"His office, though continued for many generations in the same family, was not strictly hereditary; but depended upon the good-will of the tribe. . . . His power too was limited, and depended upon his personal merit, and the confidence reposed in him. His prerogative consisted in leading his tribe against the enemy . . . and in receiving and entertaining strangers of note. Yet even in these and similar privileges he was controlled by the opinions and inclinations of his people."

I do not think that the Dyaks on the N. W. coast of Borneo are the aborigines of the Island; if they are, they must have been long since greatly improved by intercourse with Java, Sumatra, or some other neighbouring country which had made some progress in civilization. My reason for this opinion is, the great difference between them and the Dyaks who are to be found inland; not only are they far superior to the latter in spirit, intelligence, and progress, but are also a much finer made set of men, and differ in

some of their customs ;—for instance, the inland Dyaks *burn* their dead, their countrymen on the sea-board use the rites of sepulture. Further, although all are comprehended by the Malays under the common name Dyak, yet the more civilized tribes to be found along the coast love to call themselves *Orang-laut*, *Men of the Sea*, and almost use “Dyak” as a term of reproach for the others. I have heard a Muradang Dyak, when asked about one from the interior, say, “Oh ! he is only a Dyak” (*itu Orang Dyak sahaja*). This difference extends even to language ; the Sea Dyaks use a great number of Malay words—words, too, which enter into daily life and common use, such as fire, water, &c.,—and find some difficulty in understanding the tribes inland, who have adopted a much smaller number of Malay words, the origin of which is obvious from the manner in which they are used. Whether these Malay words are radical to the Dyak language, or have supplied the place of those that were so, remains to be ascertained ; but I think that when more of their language is known, much light will be thrown on Malay itself, the basis of which, according to Marsden, is the great Polynesian language prevailing, in various dialects marked by strong features of affinity, throughout the Archipelago, from New Guinea in the East to Madagascar in the West ; and even extending, though with less marked resemblance, among the islands of the Pacific.

I have I fear already wearied you by this long letter, but must trespass a little further on your patience with some mention of the Church in Borneo, its present state, and future prospects. The interest felt in England for the settlement of Sarāwak, and the opportunity it afforded for the introduction of the Gospel into Borneo, led to the formation of an association for the purpose of sending out and maintaining a Mission there. The Rev. F. T. M'Dougall, the first, and for some time the only Anglican Clergyman in Borneo, reached Sarāwak in the middle of 1848, and commenced operations by building a Church and Mission-house, and opening a boarding and day school, the former for the education of Christian children. In December, 1850, your Metropolitan, when on visitation at Singapore, proceeded to Sarāwak, and consecrated the Church, which had by that time been finished, and named after St. Thomas, the Apostle of the East. It is constructed, like all the other buildings in this part of the world, entirely of wood, and consists of a nave with two side aisles, and a belfry at the west end : the font is a very large clam shell, of elegant shape,

and of a beautiful pearly white. Service is performed daily, morning and evening, in English and Chinese, and on Sunday evenings in Malay also. The Chinese congregation numbers about twelve, and there are at present twenty-five in the boarding school, seven girls and eighteen boys. In the beginning of 1851 the Mission was strengthened by the appointment of the Rev. W. Chambers, who has since been located among the Sakarran Dyaks; and still more, a few months ago, by the arrival of two other clergymen, (maintained by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,) one of whom is to proceed to Lundu, the head-quarters of a powerful tribe to the West of Sarawak. Is there not something radically wrong in the plan of our Missions? How is it that the means used are so greatly disproportionate to the masses they are intended to act on? That men are for years left single-handed, without the aid, encouragement and counsel of colleagues, to carry on such an arduous work as that of Missions confessedly is? Not so was it in primitive ages, when Rome sent the Apostle of England at the head of twice twenty companions; nor in Apostolic times, when St. Paul always had a Silas or a Timothy to accompany him in his journeys; and, when our Lord Himself sent forth His Apostles, He sent them not singly but by twos. Another error which I think characterizes modern Missionary operations is the attempt to plant the Church in a mutilated state. When the Borneo Mission was commenced, it was proposed to appoint a Bishop over it as soon as possible. Five years have elapsed since that Mission quitted the shores of England, and now, when the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, by setting apart £5,000 from its Jubilee Fund towards the endowment of a bishopric for Borneo, has hastened the accomplishment of that event, some high in authority in the Church object, I am informed, to the present extension of the Episcopate to Borneo, on the plea that the number of the clergy there does not at present call for or warrant the appointment of a Bishop. Miserable, short-sighted policy! When will the Church of England learn to put forth her strength in all its fulness, and to use her Master's gifts, instead of letting them lie unemployed as if they were buried in the earth? Shall the Church alone be sent forth in a fragmentary, unorganized form, without discipline and government, while the systems of man are established in all the completeness which can be given them? Who ever heard of an army without a leader or an embassy without a head?—Truly, "the children of this

world are in their generation wiser than the children of light." Let us learn even from them, if we will not follow the example of earlier days, which saw St. Augustine Metropolitan of England within a year of his landing. How can we hope for God's blessing when we neglect His gifts—how expect success when we reject the means He has given us to be used?

As regards the future prospects of the Church, there is much ground for hope. The absence of the distinctions of caste, and of the opposition of an hereditary priesthood, has been already dwelt on by the supporters of the Mission as favourable and encouraging circumstances, which render success in Borneo more promising than in India, where the two above-named powerful opponents are arrayed against the Gospel: moreover, the simplicity of the Dyak character, its freedom from great vices, the respect they have for Europeans, and their habits and systems,—all these I think are facts which justify a hope of success. But, at the same time, there are some circumstances which caution us against *too sanguine* an expectation; such is the prevailing practice of head-hunting, for the abandonment of which years, if not generations, will, I fear, be required. Further, forbearance and patience must attend the first efforts at conversion; we who have been Christians almost from our very birth—"we whom the Spirit has prevented from the first dawnings of infant consciousness, we to whom the Apostles' Creed has been as household words, and the *Te Deum* a daily song"—we should not, I think, be justified in requiring from aged neophytes all those actions, dispositions, and feelings, which are generally considered as criterions of a high state of spirituality—an advanced progress in vital religion—but which so few, even of those who from their youth have been Christians, attain to;—nay, how many even of the best realize the fact "that our *citizenship* (*πολίτευμα*) is in Heaven?"—Remember further that those with whom we have to do can scarcely be said to have any religion; their ancestral faith has died away, and even the doctrines of natural religion retain but a very weak hold on their minds; here, as in Hinduism and Mahomedanism, there are no high, though perverted truths, which can be used as auxiliaries in teaching our religion; the most rudimentary ideas of our faith have to be inculcated "line upon line, here a little and there a little." Is it easy for him to bow in adoration, who never bent the knee before any shrine whatever? For him to use the voice of supplication who

never from a mother's lips learnt to lisp his infant prayers? And as patience, so also conciliation must characterize our first efforts. The Dyak opinions concerning a world of spirits offer an instance in which this may be practised to a great extent, and, I think, with much advantage. Similarly with some of their customs; seed-time and harvest, for instance, are with the Dyaks times of rejoicing—a rejoicing blended with religious feelings and religious observances; might not these, which are at present marred by error, be hallowed by the truths of revelation?—Especially seeing that our religion is eminently a social one, and approves and sanctions the amenities of life. Further, the Dyak, like all semi-barbarous races, is fond of, and pays great attention to emblems and symbols. This surely might be encouraged and made use of with much advantage. Why may he not learn to look on the splendid constellation of the Southern Cross,—which gleams above the dark masses of his primeval forests, while the broad surface of his magnificent rivers reflects “its brilliance in tremulous sleep,”—as a glorious witness to the religion which he is called on to receive? Is this superstition? The stars in their courses have ere now borne witness to Him whose birth was heralded by a star; and all Nature is, to those who read her aright, eloquent of her God.—

But enough, for the present; so adieu, and believe me to be,

Your's very truly,

KUCHING, PULO KALAMANTAN.

Ἀλήτης.

November, 1852.

IV.

NOTES ON BOOKS AND PROCEEDINGS IN THE EDUCATIONAL
DEPARTMENT OF BENGAL.*

It was, we find, asserted some few years ago, in a scientific East India Director's Memoir to the Statistical Society of London, that should the seeds of knowledge which we are sowing in this land ripen to a general and luxurious harvest, we shall leave a monument with which those of Ashoka, Chundra Goopta, and Shah Jehan, or any other Indian Potentate, must sink into insignificance. And the remark, though immediately suggested by a review of the triumphant success of the Medical College of Calcutta, is fairly extensible over a much wider range. For although we are far from thinking that our appliances for the education of the Hindu people are either so extensive as they ought to be, or made the most of according to their capabilities; and although we are of opinion that there are imperfections, both of system and of routine, in the standard modes of education in several of our Schools and Colleges, grave enough to prevent their being, as they are designed and ought to be, centres from which refinement, enlightenment and intelligence should radiate over the land, yet we gratefully acknowledge that, even as they are, they are monuments of the greatness and beneficence of the British Empire in the East, which no convulsions of the future can ever sweep away.

To justify this opinion, we are convinced that nothing could be necessary beyond the introduction of a moderately acute interpreter of habits and physiognomy, from one of the ancient and normal seats of Oriental learning, to a general class-room in any one of the Government Colleges in Bengal or the North West. Advocating, as we profess to do, a due observance of the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge which have been excogitated by the Hindu mind; and expecting the speediest furtherance of true enlightenment from the destruction, by fair and promising processes of

* REPORTS ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, *Bengal and North Western Provinces*. 1835-52.

A REVIEW ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION in the *Bengal Presidency*, from 1835 to 1851. BY J. KERR, M. A., *Principal of Hooghly College*; Part I. 1852; Part II. 1853.

VARIOUS PAMPHLETS, *Printed for the use of the Benares College by order of Govt N. W. P.* 1818 ad 1853.

reasoning, of the fanciful theories in which that wisdom lies immured, and the establishment of a harmony, to whatever extent that *can* be established, between the results of Eastern investigation, and of the sounder, if not the subtler disciplines of the West, we shall not incur the hazard of being numbered among those who would lead an onslaught against the purely Indian *Didaskaleia*. But, nevertheless, we feel that they are not the Schools from which industry, intelligence, and progress can be expected to emanate. We are as sensible as most people of the peculiar value of dogmatic teaching, and of the correctness which may be expected to supervene upon scholastic exercises in established trains of thought, provided these be regarded as instruments for advancement, not as limits, beyond which all independent scrutiny is not merely idle but profane. But when the teacher's functions are transacted upon the principle that the theories which he propounds claim, both from himself and his disciples, the most exact submission and implicit credence; that upon them all the offices of reason and of judgment must be abandoned, and that beyond them every motive to investigation ceases, the extremest evils, both of lethargy and superciliousness, become inevitable. Thenceforward it is not within the range of possibility that there be the same, indeed it is scarcely presumable that there can, in any large number of instances, be any of that energy and enthusiasm which is intelligible in the countenance of professors and élèves whose relations are understood to subsist accordantly with the sounder plans of discipline which have been transferred from the Western Schools. However desirable it may be—and we hold it very desirable—that Colleges of Oriental learning be maintained as “classical spots to which the philosophical enquirer may resort for the resolution of his difficulties,” yet absolutely, and upon their own merits as places of normal education—(and such, it will be generally admitted that, in the present state of India, all our Colleges should in a great measure be)—the little experience which we ourselves have had corroborates Mr. Lodge's Report of 1845, that “the Pundits and Moonshees who do not understand English are almost worthless, unable to teach a class, or to keep one in order by themselves; they take one boy at a time in the common native way, and whilst he reads a line or two, the rest do what they like. If the boys are all present or not the Pundit does not care, and if they do not say their lessons of their own accord the Pundit will not ask them.”

Such experiments, then, under really competent direction, as that on which Dr. Ballantyne is engaged at Benares, we regard as of the highest importance and interest. The Rulers of a people not ignorant or simple—as Mr. Thomason happily remarked in his oration on the opening of the New College in that great city—but possessed of a philosophy which we cannot ignore, our duty is to reclaim those treasures of thought, and precision, and subtilty, which they have misused, and to devote them to the highest purposes. And what method can we devise for this end, except the education of a class of scholars, who shall add to an exact acquaintance with the Oriental disciplines, such a knowledge of the methods pursued, and the results achieved in the Schools of the West, as shall signalize them, among their own countrymen, both as men who have extricated themselves from the trammels of an exclusive system, and whose large range of information must tend in time to denote them as the safer guardians of the commonwealth of intellect? In the proper place we shall endeavour to indicate with more minuteness the methods which Dr. Ballantyne has pursued, and to pass our own opinion, both on their adaptation to his ends, and on the criticism which they have been met by. At present it is sufficient that we give in our adherence in this general way to the principle of cultivating to the fullest extent possible that development of genius in the more erudite alumni of our Oriental Colleges, which will induce a comparison between the systems and the interpretations of ancient India and of modern Europe.

We agree then, so far, with Mr. D. F. M'Leod, (whose opinion we find expressed in an important Minute in the Report on Public Instruction, N. W. P. An: 1848-49,) that the accomplishment of purposes due almost entirely to the independent suggestion of the present Principal of the Benares College, is the link wanting in the chain, in order that the effects of all our instructional apparatus may be infused into the mass, through the instrumentality of what is (at least in Benares, and probably throughout India, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the great European marts) its most influential portion, the class of Pundits. In the cities of the North-West, as compared with Calcutta and Bombay, the Bralman population has lost but little of its importance and influence; and although every year a deeper interest than before appears to be excited towards the learning of the West, it must be owned that the range of subjects in whom the anxiety for the study of English pre-

ponderates is far more limited, and that the results of such study shew themselves far less manifestly in the bulk of the people. Indeed, believing to the fullest extent what the American Bishop, McKosky, said so well on a late and great occasion before the Propagation Society in St. Paul's Cathedral, that the language common to his people and to ours will, eventually, become the language of the whole world, we are far more satisfied that for many years at least, and perhaps for generations to come, the only resource for inoculating the people of the North-Western Provinces of India with the scientific and philosophical disciplines of the West, is by the aid of men who, having imbibed some relish for exact investigation, through the instrument of their own philosophies, may be induced, first to indulge on sounder principles their taste for research and observation, and then to publish the result of their enlarged enquiries to the people, through the vernaculars. The idea cannot be for a moment entertained by one who has had any experience of the state of ignorance and the degradation of intellect which prevails throughout the masses in India, and the selfish interests which limit the range of what science and philosophy has been systematized in the native Schools to that comparatively limited number of the priestly caste who dedicate themselves to the Shasters, that the languages currently spoken in the country are, at present, at all available for the construction of exact compilations. At the same time the difficulties of the Sanscrit language are so considerable; the length of years requisite to acquire any tolerable mastery of it, according to the old regime, is so incompatible with the duties of all except the professionally literate; and, moreover, the entrance to its adyta being still so vigilantly guarded, that no natural superiority of endowment, or disposition for research, can conciliate the smallest favour from its Schoolmen, without the additional advantage of a birthright to the Schools; it seems vain to hope that it can ever be, for all its wonderful capabilities, the instrument for diffusing the treasures of European investigation through the multitudes more or less available for education in them, and yet who can never, except in event of revolutions difficult to contemplate within any limitable period, obtain any access to them through the English language. The only method left, then, if a class of literature is to be prepared corresponding to that which has place in the middle and higher Seminaries of Europe, and of a nature to recommend itself to the vast majority of that already considerable and constantly increasing number who appreciate the penalties of ignorance, in the less Anglicized

districts, and would be ready to enlist themselves as disciples under any plan, the difficulties of which might not seem absolutely insurmountable, is to enrich the current languages through "their living and fostering parent, the Sanscrit," by the agency of accomplished men, familiar both with its own pliability and with the Western sciences and nomenclatures; and to introduce the results of their labours to the study and the co-operation of students capable of transferring them into the several vernacular dialects.

To the preparation of a class of scholars thus qualified, the resources of the Benares Sanscrit College are, and have been for some time, we believe, very considerably directed. In the Session of 1848-49, a course of lectures was prepared in Sanscrit "with a view to lay down the plan of a cyclopædic body of instruction, and in some degree to pave the way for the easier preparation of a systematic set of works, by ascertaining experimentally what technical terms were already available in the Sanscrit, and what terms are best fitted to convey the meaning, in cases where the novelty of the subject as regards the language and the notions of the Pandits necessitated the devising of new terms." These lectures contained a very brief, but still a comprehensive, sketch of the subdivisions of human knowledge; and considerable ingenuity appears to us to have been applied in arranging them so as, in the smallest practicable compass consistent with the preservation of the thread of discourse, to draw out the availabilities which the Sanscrit element possesses for the enunciation of an exoteric technicology. We are pleased to observe that they have called forth the commendation both of Mr. Monier Williams, in the preface to his recent and invaluable English and Sanscrit Dictionary, and of the learned Dr. Max Müller, who gives a pleasing commendation of Dr. Ballantyne's labours in the field of Sanscrit Philosophy, in a scholar-like and thoughtful Essay on the Vaiseshica Doctrine of Kanāda published in the *Zeitschrift der morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. A great variety of subjects, (Dr. Ballantyne's own enumeration of them will be found in the note below*) came under review;—all of them very briefly, but some, it is acknowledged, apparently with a degree of minuteness disproportionate to the compactness

* The topics touched upon in these Lectures were—Part 1—Astronomy, Geography, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Chemistry;—Part 2—Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, the Calculus, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Acoustics, Heat, Optics;—Part 3—Metaphysics and Mental Philosophy, Formal Logic;—Part 4—The Philosophy of Investigation, Grammar, Rhetoric, Ethics, Law, and History. The four parts are printed in Sanscrit and English.

aimed at in other portions of the Lectures. Thus, whereas the vast subjects of Astronomy, Geology, and Botany, were each dismissed in a single page, some twenty were assigned to the Logical and Metaphysical disciplines. In explanation of the "disproportionate brevity or prolixity with which the several subjects were respectively treated," it was observed that "the information offered was designed to be not so much complete in itself, as supplementary to that which the hearers were understood to be already in possession of." We suspect, too, that one leading design in the construction of the Sanscrit portion of these little books was to exercise a very accomplished mathematical Pandit, on the staff of the Benares College, Bâpu Deva Shâstri, in the construction of equivalents for the European nomenclature of science; and if so, naturally enough, a certain prominence was given to those departments which admit, to a greater or less extent, of mathematical expression. Any how, we are told that the success of the revising Pandit, to whom it is with great and laudable ingenuousness confessed that "whatever neatness of Sanscrit expression may be discerned in any portion of these lectures is due," was greatest in those subjects which he had actually studied in his native Shâsters; whereas in sciences less familiar to, or wholly unstudied by him, he failed, comparatively. In order to meet the want which this first experiment seemed calculated not fully to supply,—[and which in fact, to us, appears almost the only want;—for we do not rely much on the utility of whole treatises on science, elaborated in pure Sanscrit; and are of opinion that the construction of a consistent and homogeneous technicology is the great thing;—to be fabricated by competent *writers* (not *translators*) into a body of vernacular expositions]—it occurred to Dr. Ballantyne to investigate the six collections of Aphorisms promulgated in the great Schools of Hindu Philosophy;—sentences, as he remarks, of oracular brevity, intended not merely to convey doctrine but to record it;—and the reason which recommended this enquiry is stated to have been "because only by tracing the development of Hindu thought, and of the terminology in which it clothes itself, can we hope completely to avoid all such mis-appropriation of terms as that which has, to a certain extent, baffled all European attempts at translation into the Hindu dialects, wherever the subject of discussion transcended the palpable."

It is unquestionable, as Dr. Max Müller has observed, (*Zeitschrift*. B. vi. H. 1. S. 2.) that this is one of the noblest undertakings on which the Sanscrit has for some

time had to congratulate itself; and that the complete work will be invaluable, not only to the Sanscrit philologist, but to the scientific public. It is also certain that a scholarly completion of so large a design, an edition of the Aphorisms of the six Darshanās or Schools of Hindu Philosophy, with commentaries and translations, will entitle Dr. Ballantyne to a very high rank among the Orientalists of his age; requiring as it does, for its due execution, a mind perfectly well trained to habits of philosophical thought, and deeply imbued with a vast extent of learning; and rarely expert in gathering up the dicta of diffuse and discrepant commentators, and harmonizing their authority; and conversant with the nice distinctions and characteristic shades of meaning which an accurate language expresses in secondary and tertiary predication, to an extent attainable only by long and successful cultivation of the philological habit. But Dr. Ballantyne's cast of mind is evidently congenial to enquiries of this nature; and as we ourselves are among those who differ from him in his estimate of the availability of the Nyāya system as a Stand-point for the instruction of learned Hindus in the philosophical disciplines of Europe,* it is due to him that we confess that the "great ability, learning, and candour" of his expositions of the Hindu systems of philosophy, have met their deserved acknowledgement, even from those compelled to argue against some of his conclusions. It is also due to him, from ourselves especially, before we commence our argument against those

* Except we very far misinterpret his expressions, we may include Dr. Max Müller among those agreeing in our misgivings on the practical purpose of Dr. Ballantyne's appliance of the frame-work of the Nyāya philosophy. "Es ist klar," he writes, "dass die verschiedenen Wissenschaften unserer eigenen Zeit in diesem weitschichtigen System leicht passende Anknüpfungspunkte finden können, wie diess Herr Ballantyne sehr geschickt ausgeführt hat. Ob die Brahmanen selbst damit einverstanden sind, Disciplinen, wie die der Mathematik, Grammatik, Chemie, Optik u. s. v. in ein Lehrgebäude der Philosophie eingeschlachtet zu sehen, ist eine andere Frage. Das indische System des Lehrens und Lernens ist so kastenmässig geordnet, dass sie schwerlich solche Uebergriffe erlauben würden. Herr Ballantyne wird diess jedoch am besten selbst beurtheilen können, da er, in seiner Stellung als Principal des Sanscrit-College in Benares, in stetem Verkehr mit indischen Gelehrten steht, und es seine Hauptaufgabe ist, den Zöglingen seiner Anstalt die Vortheile europäischer Bildung unter Beibehaltung indischer Formen mitzutheilen." Admitted;—but still is there one who will deny that the practicability, and the probability of the successful issue, of such a plan of education, should be most carefully considered, before the resources of a great College be dedicated to its development? We were entirely unaware that any opinion had been even thus gently signalized by Dr. Müller on the operations in the Benares College, when our own criticism, proceeding, it will by and by be observed, from quite another point of observation, was complete;—but we gather assurance from what he has recorded that a thorough sifting of the whole project is indispensably necessary.

details of the plans pursued by him which do not commend themselves to our own judgment, that we mention the "commendable activity," ascribed to him by Professor H. H. Wilson, "as exhibited in connexion with the improvements of native education, under his intelligent and experienced supervision." But still we must remark that it would have appeared to us more after the manner of judicious authorship, if, having selected some one of the six collections of Aphorisms, with its illustrative commentary, he had brought a complete edition of it to something like a prospect of termination, instead of presenting us with a comparatively small portion of each of them, prior to the appearance of the second part of either.* To give an instance of what we mean:—the first portion of the Aphorisms of the Vedānta, the Nyāya, and the Vaiseshica philosophies were published "for the use of the Benares College by order of Government N. W. P." early in January 1851—or, of the Vedānta, one quarter of one lecture;—of the Nyāya, the first book of the commented Aphorisms;—of the Vaiseshica, the first lecture. The original Sanscrit in all these fasciculi, (Aphorism and commentary) may perhaps be equal to some sixteen or eighteen pages; and the period of completion of the three works, supposing that a second portion of each be now ready for the press, and the volumes advance to their termination, at the same rate, may be computed to be—twenty years hence. In the month of July, of the same year, the first section of the first book of the Aphorisms of the Mimāṃsa, and their commentary, appeared; and in September, the first book of the Aphorisms of The Yoga, with illustrative extracts from the commentary of Bhoja Rāja. In January, 1852, a considerably larger, and very copiously illustrated fasciculus of the Aphorisms of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy appeared, altogether 158 pages, of which perhaps a third are in the Sanscrit language. And early in the present year we received the second book of the Yoga Aphorisms. This, we readily confess, is extremely satisfactory. In the midst of various other labours, a great and interesting work is, it is very evident, being steadily proceeded with. We have already more or less of each set of the scholastic Aphorisms accessible to the Sanscrit student and the philosophical enquirer; and we say sincerely, most curious and researchful books they are, and of the highest interest to

* Just as we learn from the Address of Dr. H. H. Wilson to the Asiatic Society of London, from which we have just quoted, that the text of the Mimāṃsa Sūtras, edited by Professor Goldstücker, is in progress at Berlin.

those curious in the doctrines of speculative science. And when we add that, in addition to these, Dr. Ballantyne has presented us, within the last four or five years, with editions of a convenient, though brief, text-book, in each of the three leading disciplines, and with a small portion of the two *śālo*gical treatises most popular in Bengal, we say enough to indicate our high appreciation of his diligent, and, as far as we can judge, successful labours in these abstruse investigations. But nevertheless, considering the uncertain tenure of life and health, especially in India, and the comparatively valueless nature of all fragmentary labours,* and the uncertainty whether another man could be found here with the extent of learning and of confidence which would enable him to continue any one of the, at present, imperfect collections, we cannot, we think, be in error in supposing that it would have been more satisfactory to those interested in the speculative philosophies of India to have been in possession, at the present moment, of either one of these sets of Aphorisms in a complete form, than of fragments of the several sets.

And, to speak again of the experiment which the publication of these Aphorisms is designed to expedite, the reclamation to higher purposes of Hindu precision and penetration; whereas the period of our possessing a complete apparatus, in any one of the Darshanas, is, to say the least of it, probably remote, the undertaking, it is impossible to deny, is conducted at a large outlay, both permanent and contingent; besides that, we cannot help thinking, a good deal of immediately practicable improvement is sacrificed. Among the contingent expenses we may reckon the items recorded by Mr. Thomason in his speech already alluded to—the printing and circulating of a considerable number of books, and the preparation of “a noble edifice” admitted to

* “Alas your Highness *breathes full East*, I said,
On that which leans to you.

* * * * *

You grant me license : might I use it ? think,
Ere half be done, perhaps your life may fail ;
Then comes the feebler heiress of your plan,
And takes and ruins all ; and thus your pains
May only make that foot-print upon sand
Which old-recurring waves of prejudice
Resmooth to nothing : might I dread that you,
With only Fame for spouse, and your great deeds
For issue, yet may live in vain, and miss,
Meanwhile, what every woman counts her due,
Love, children, happiness !”

TENNYSON'S PRINCESS.

be, "with all its ornament, but a fitting stage on which such an experiment should be worked out." The permanent outlay consists of the "annual expense of the College, less tuition fees;" which we gather from Mr. Kerr's statistical tables, is, on the average, about five and forty thousand rupees a year. To be sure this is not more than is expended on the Agra and Delhi Colleges; but as the number of pupils is very far behind the number under education in the latter institutions, the cost of educating each is of course advanced. In Benares, each pupil consumes about two hundred and ten rupees a year of the funds appropriated to the College; a sum about three times as large as the cost of educating in the Hindu College of Calcutta, and about three-fourths more than the rate over each pupil at Agra and Delhi. At the same time we are compelled to own that, in visible results, as shewn in the examination papers of the students, the Benares College does appear to us to be considerably behind the other two older establishments of a similar character in the North West. This is true, we think, in the department of General Literature; but is especially noticeable in the Mathematical and Physical disciplines, if we may form a judgment from the fact that no single paper of replica in those sciences from any one student in the Benares College has been printed for public information since the Report of 1848-49. We are inclined to think, from all we have ever heard, that the effective staff of mere teachers of European literature and science at Benares is not of a very high order. In this estimate, we of course do not include either the Principal, or his Coadjutor, as we perceive he is now styled,* Mr. F. E. Hall, whose time and thoughts being, to a very large extent, directed with a view rather to ulterior than to present results, it is quite impossible to contemplate that they are able, notwithstanding their diligence and mental activity, to devote *so much* time and labour to the absolute work of instruction in the classes of the College, as even inferior men might do whose whole energies might be directed to the inculcation of those branches of learning which had grown up with them from their boyhood. Indeed, even supposing (what is not the case) that Dr. Ballantyne is not engaged at all in the more ordinary instructional offices of the institution over which he presides, but that his whole powers are applied to what may be considered the present

* This, we observe from the last published Report, is Mr. Hall's present official designation; and it seems a sufficiently accurate one. His former style of Supernumerary English Teacher was quite a misnomer.

leading object of the Benares College, the ascertainment of the relative aspects of philosophy in the East and in the West, and the other preparations preliminary to the "eventual reproduction" of the European aspects of science "in all the derivative modern languages of India," it must be evident to all who have the least idea of what he undertakes in subjects, many of them comparatively, some of them altogether, uninvestigated by the learned of Europe and of Asia, that his *polyponia* is truly marvellous. Of his earlier publications, grammatical, exegetical, metaphysical, logical and chemical, we shall say but little. Besides these, during the few years he has been among us, he has translated for the first time, and as an original experiment, an elaborate grammar of the Sanscrit language into English, which he has enriched with a large commentary and copious references;* has constructed two bulky pamphlets, portions of a complete "Synopsis of Science," in English and in Sanscrit;†—has expounded in three different languages on the Nyāya, the Sāṅkhya, and the Vedānta scholasticism;—has investigated, so far as we have pointed to, (and how much further we know not,) the obscure Aphorisms of the six Darśhanas:—has produced translations of, and comments on, portions of

* Of this work it is impossible to speak too highly. Every really good Sanscrit scholar with whom we have ever communicated has been agreed on the expediency of an acquaintance with the grammatical system of Pāṇini. And Dr. Ballantyne has been the first to make that accessible, within those limits of application to Sanscrit literature which may be contemplated by the general Scholar and Philologist in Europe.

† The second volume of this "Synopsis" has reached us only very recently, and therefore, having had no leisure for "an attentive, serious, ingenious, and unceasing study" of it, we, as warned by Dr. Ballantyne, are not in a position to pass opinion on the several knotty questions which it cannot fail to suggest, even on a cursory inspection. We therefore merely explain that a considerable part of the pamphlet is devoted to Chemistry, for which science an entirely novel nomenclature is in the course of construction, with the design of giving "to the enquirer whose language is the Sanscrit, such a methodized apprehension of the science as the nomenclature of Lavoisier and his coadjutors brought within the reach of the liberally educated in Europe." It is the initiatory step in one of the boldest and most perseveringly complete designs which we ever remember to have seen attempted; and, in interpretative method, is far a start of Lavoisier. The term oxygen, so easily rendered into Sanscrit by the equally simple and significant word *A'mlajan*, is discarded, because its introduction "would only tend to preserve the exploded theory that there is no generator of acids besides oxygen." It is replaced by "*Prāṇaprada* or "*Prāṇavāyu*"—"the air that emphatically gives us breath,"—because that term "connotes one of its most important characters." But it seems to have been overlooked that an objection kindred to that urged against oxygen, or *A'mlajan*, obtains against calling phosphorus "*Prakāśada*," "the giver of light." Nitrogen is rendered "*Jivāntaka*"—"that which would put an end to life?"—(analogous to Azote.) But we really do not see why so seemingly convenient a term as *Pākyaṇ*, "the generator of nitre" should be rejected. If the simpler terms which we pro-

the 'said Aphorisms, "the result of labour curiously proportioned to the smallness of their bulk," and as "proof sheets awaiting the corrections of the learned of Europe;" in order to the accurate determination "of the philosophical terminology of the East as regards that of the West;"—and has been—or indeed still is—engaged in editing the *Mahābhāṣya*, a most voluminous grammatical commentary, for the N. W. Government; and for the Asiatic Society of Bengal, no less than three profound Sanscrit treatises—the *Sāhitya Darpana*, the

pose should be adopted, and it were required to form Sanscrit expressions for the several combinations of Nitrogen with Oxygen, analogous to those adopted in the European nomenclatures, they might perhaps be represented thus, (adopting the suffixes *ya* and *ika*, as proposed by Dr. Ballantyne, to distinguish the acids.)—

N + O	Protoxide of Nitrogen ..	Pākyajana Prathamāmlid.
N + 2O	Deutoxide of Nitrogen ..	Pākyajana Dwitiyāmlid.
N + 3O	Nitrous Acid	Pākyayāmla.
N + 4O	Peroxide of Nitrogen ..	Pākyajana Paramāmlid.
N + 5O	Nitric Acid	Pākyikāmla.

But any thing so imprecise as this would be unworthy of Benares, where it is held not to be enough to deliver generally, and once for all, that oxides are not acid; but besides that, *each* compound of the elements should have a name suggestive of the fact whether it be *acid* or *otherwise*. Accordingly, the proposed equivalent for Protoxide of Nitrogen is the superlatively correct expression,

"Dīvāntakosya Prathamaprāna pradhānamlavikāra."

or, as nearly as we can render it in an expression formed upon the classical languages of Europe,

"Vivacious-Principle of Protozodoteer of Azote."

We do not mean confidently to commit ourselves to the only interpretation which suggests itself to us—"First," "Second," or "Last,"—"Life-giver of the Life-destroyer"—that may be Dr. Ballantyne's meaning—and it may now— we really do not know, and not one of the Pandits whom we have consulted—(and they have been among the most learned in Bengal)—can say any thing beyond—"That is not Sanscrit—I cannot say what it means—I do not know."

This, then, does strike us, if as very curious and very ingenious, still not, upon the slight reflection we have as yet been able to give to the subject, as either very useful or very practical. If the binary Compounds are to be dealt with in this redundantly discreet way, the mere names of such substances as Urate of Ammonia and Microcosmic salt, constructed correspondingly, will occupy a quarter of a page each. If *Chloride of Sodium* (common salt) be catalogued as "*Lavaṇakaraharitaṇa*," the "produced from the greenish colouring" (Chloride) of "the basis of culinary salt" (Sodium), we give Dr. Ballantyne's *own* rendering in this instance,—we wonder what will be the chemical names of the *Phosphate* or the *Biborate* of Soda! Dr. Ballantyne, as far as we can at present judge, will do well to recollect, that it is only to a comparatively limited extent that the classical languages of Europe have been made avail of to enrich the nomenclature of chemistry; and that such a term as, for instance, *χλωρός*, having been selected, for sufficient reasons, as a significant basis, the several secondary forms, *Chlorine*, *Chloric*, *Chloride*, *Chlorate*, are perfectly arbitrary in their terminology, and can evoke, upon mere classical analogies, no interdistinguishable ideas whatever. And so it is, and must continue to be, with hundreds of other terms.

Sāririka Sūtras, and the *Sāṅkhya Pravachana Bhāṣya*. Surely a most diffuse catalogue of work in progress by a single man living at the rate of twenty-four hours a day.* To be sure his "Coadjutor," Mr. F. E. Hall, has, since March, 1850, "relieved him of a load of labour in the correction of proof sheets;"—"cheerfully undertaking the collation and verification of references;"—and "sparing no pains to arrive at the correct meaning of terms in regard to which the grammar Pandits were found dissentient." This gentleman has moreover taken a share of the editorial labour in the critical and philosophical Shasters of the Hindus. Our own pretensions, either to power of application or of research, lie within a very narrow range; and we must confess ourselves quite incapable of judging *how* this extraordinary amount of work may have been performed; as we equally are of judging *how* those "juvenes specie excellentes," of whom we read in the Report of 1849-50, and whose novitiate in much of what they accomplished we will suppose to have been contemporaneous with, (though, in fact, it was rather anterior to,) Mr. Hall's First Lessons in Sanscrit Grammar, could achieve the study in a single session, and in addition to the regular *curriculum* of the College, of "Sallust, several of Cicero's Orations, and the first book of the *Æneid* in Latin; a book of Xenophon, the Odes of Anacreon, and part of the *Iliad* in Greek; Whewell's *Morality*, Herschel's *Discourse*, Mill's *Analysis*, Combe's *Physiology*, and portions of Ritchie's *Calculus* and Peschell's *Physics*, &c." But it so happens that in a recent attempt to investigate the Socratic opinion in respect to prayer to the gods, we were tempted to turn to one of the most obviously spurious of the Dialogues ascribed to Plato;† and there we read what the "divine, and most sapient Homer" sung of the *pantepistémé* of one Margites; and though unwilling to occupy our readers upon what is, perhaps, not a very valuable specimen of the wisdom of the ancients, we venture nevertheless, with the special design of recommending concentration of thought and practical effort, to ask a perusal of the short passage we refer to.

Nevertheless, those have our hearty good wishes who are paving the way for a body of something like sound and ra-

* Since the above was in manuscript, we have got just a glimpse of the commencement of a version of the *Novum Organon* in the Sanscrit language! We may let the uninitiated know more about it another day. We dare say that our recapitulation of Dr. B.'s labours is still very defective, though nothing has been wanting on our part to render it complete.

† Alcibiades: II. p. 147. D. in Ast's *Plato*, vol. viii. p. 326. See also the *Homeric Fragment*; Edit. Didot. p. 583.

tional philosophy for the enquirers of India, in their native dialects. And we are quite prepared to admit that some of Dr. Ballantyne's publications, which we have learning enough to peruse, are altogether, and others in some points, of an admirable texture. Such especially appears to us the third fasciculus of his "Reprints for the Pandits;" consisting of a body of extracts from Mr. J. S. Mill's most justly valued "Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive;" with a perpetual commentary, sometimes of considerable dimension, of which (though incompetent to form any critical opinion on it) we may just observe that it aspires to discriminate the points of harmony between the logical systems of the East and the West, and to propose corresponding Sanscrit expressions for the very searching definitions by which Mr. Mill expounds the categories, and the several facts discreted in the inductive process. Such, too, is the pamphlet in the same series on Metaphysics and Mental Philosophy; the aphoristic expressions of which appears to us singularly well contrived, and the thread of comment which connects the sentences of Bishop Berkeley's "Principles of Human Knowledge," though perhaps, here and there, a little needlessly interfused, we acknowledge to be of excellent fabric throughout. Dr. Ballantyne's faculty of grasping and communicating the distinctive doctrines and the points of divergence of philosophies, recorded in a language of which he is a master, is certainly very remarkable. And yet we cannot persuade ourselves but that his zeal of achieving a *variety* of success, which is really beyond the power of any man, however robust and industrious, does sometimes tempt him to be precipitate, and to commit himself to enunciations of which a little more maturity of general scholarship might have convinced him of the inexactitude. This has especially struck us as the case in the last published fasciculus of his "Reprints for the Pandits," which is the commencement of an explanatory version of the *Novum Organon*, and comprehends the first sixty-one Aphorisms. Notwithstanding the announcement by which the pamphlet is prefaced, that it is "open to correction," and that "it is not probable that the sense has in every instance been rightly comprehended and exactly conveyed," we cannot help regarding this as a brochure of very considerable pretension. Each sentence is said to have been written "with a view to its being hereafter rendered into Sanscrit, in order to its eventual reproduction in all the derivative modern languages of India." "The departure," in the new version, "from the phraseology of previous versions"

is vindicated on the consideration that "a version designed as a scaffolding for a Sanscrit version *ought to keep as close to the Latin as possible*," and on the fact that "some of the Pandits, of their own accord, have betaken themselves zealously to the study of the Latin language." It is formally stated that no one expression "has been consciously given without a strictly determinate sense attached to it." For ourselves, we must confess that the Benares translation does not appear to us to be nearly so close to the Latin as it might be, or nearly so correct as several others which have preceded it. And, on the other hand, we think it most clear that its designer has adopted the inaccuracies of his predecessors to that very serious extent which places it beyond all doubt that he has either been unable, or has not allowed himself the reflexion, to distinguish truth from error when both have been placed before him.

It would take us too long to analyse the smaller inaccuracies of this new version—the needless changes of order and arrangement—the neglect of modal forms, the unnecessary introductions of the definite article, by which its resemblance to the Latin is entirely, and often very injuriously, defeated. An instance or two will be enough. In the very first Aphorism* we find "*facit*" doing duty for a *potential*; and when a *potential* is used by Bacon, (as in five several instances in Aph: xxii.) the new version introduces an indicative. Degrees of comparison appear now and then to have been strangely overlooked:—for instances, the "*magis* generalia" of Aph: xx., and the "*maxime* generalia" of Aph: xxii., are done into English by precisely the same expression. The verb "*perstringere*" is now translated "meddle with," and again, in a precisely similar collocation, "seize;" though "*perstringat tantum cursim*" does not mean "only cursorily meddles with," but, "*may* only rapidly graze," and "seize" is never equivalent to the Latin verb "*perstringere*," except

* There is a passage in this First Aphorism ("de naturæ ordine re vel mente," as it is pointed in the best editions which we have seen) to the interpretation of which we would draw attention. It is closely like the passage in the "Distributio Operis"—"de naturæ ordine opere vel mente;"—which we believe has always been taken in the sense which Mr. Wood has assigned to it, "of the order, operation, or mind of nature." Why should the regimen of the ablatives, in the Aphorism, have been very generally taken to be different, by translators, though editors of the Latin text have agreed to point both passages similarly, and as though *all* the ablatives depended on the preposition? Why not render the Aphorism, "Man, nature's minister and interpreter, does and knows only so much as he has observed of nature's order or practice, or mind?" That this is a perfectly Ciceronian use of *res*, will be seen by reference to vi. 14. of the *Epist. ad Famil.*: "Eum *res* quotidie et dies mitiorem facit:"—i. e. Practice and experience make him daily milder.

when it is applied figuratively to horrors and swoons. "Coincidunt in idem," in Aph: iii., means, not "coincide together,"—but—"meet in one and the same result." "Transigat," in Aph: iv., is, not "settles" but, "transacts" or "brings to pass." "Se immiscere nature," in Aph: v., we believe to be *not*, as it is rendered in the new translation, to *meddle with nature*; but, "to *take part with nature*." (Cf. Liv: xxi. 32. Quum se immiscuissent colloquiis.) "Conatu levi," in the same Aphorism, seems, not to be "with slight effort,"—but, "in a fantastical attempt"—(such as the attempt to make motion perpetual, in the mechanician; and in the alchemist, to produce gold from the baser substances). The opening of the tenth Aphorism, "subtilitas nature subtilitatem sensus et intellectui multis partibus superat," which, the new comment instructs us, means to say that "the difficulty of discovering the truth in regard to things" "by many degrees exceeds" "the power of the senses and intellect to penetrate and discover the truth"—has been hitherto considered to indicate simply that "the nicety of nature's operations is far superior to the nicety of men's discernment." "Intellectus res inæqualis sit et omnino inhabilis ad &c." (Aph. xxi.) is rendered "the intellect *is an unequal thing*, and altogether unfit &c.;"—instead of—"the intellect *may be a thing unequal to and altogether unfit for &c.*"—"Rationem humanam, qua utimur ad naturam, anticipaciones nature vocare consuevimus,"—the meaning of which is "we are wont to call the *method in current use*," (cf. humani ignes) "which we apply to nature, *anticipations of nature*;" (Aph. xxvi.) stands in the new version, "the *human* method which we *naturally employ*, we are wont &c." The last words of the twenty-eighth Aphorism have been, past question, entirely misunderstood.* The elliptical use of *quoad*

* In fact, they have been neither understood nor translated by Dr. Ballantyne—only—he has been guilty of a very awkward plagiarism of an error of a previous Indian translator of the *Novum Organon*, the Rev. T. Smith, as it is easy to shew:—

BACON.	SMITH.	BALLANTYNE.
Interpretationes intellectum subito percutere non possunt; ut necesse sit eas quoad opiniones duras et absonas, ferè instar mysteriorum fidei videre.	Interpretations cannot suddenly strike the mind; so that with respect to obstinate and discordant opinions, they necessarily appear almost like the mysteries of faith.	Interpretations cannot suddenly strike the mind, so that in contrast with obstinate and opposite opinions, they must needs appear almost like the mysteries of faith.

Mr. Smith's phraseology, as the retention of his error proves, has merely been a little disguised. What Bacon really did mean is written in the text above.

not having been observed, an intrinsically wrong construction and acceptance has been the result. What Bacon meant to say was, that "interpretations," as compared with "anticipations," seem, *quoad subeundum assensum*, "harsh and dissonant opinions, almost like the mysteries of faith."—"Latitio per minima," in Aph: i., is not (we venture to suggest) "conduction through the smallest degrees"—but—"change [of combination] in the elementary constituents."* "Quam reliquæ," in Aph: li., means, not "than the *other*," but "than the *others*;" the allusion being, not simply to the School of Plato, but to as many Schools as there might have been which rejected the Atomic Theory. "Cautio," in Aph: lii. and lviii., does not mean "caution," but is employed in its Ciceroian sense (Epist: ad Fam: xi. 21.) for "power, of prevention," or "control;" and what Bacon designed to express is, that "he would instance those only, of the very numerous "idols of the cave," over which men have the most control, and need the rather apply it, inasmuch as whatever fastens itself to the intellect of *man*, as an *individual*, demands therefore the closer scrutiny of each enquirer into nature." "Verba induntur," (Aph: lix.) is not "words are imposed," but "are introduced." Lastly—(for we grow tedious)—the word *alia*, which occurs three times in the sixtieth Aphorism, is not, as the Benares translator takes it to be, a neuter accusative plural:—but is a feminine ablative singular;—the construction being, "Si *alia* (via *humidum*) accipias."

So much then for the *verbal* closeness of this new version of the Organon: but its inaccuracies are not confined to *words*:—on the contrary—the construction of whole clauses has been equally mismanaged. Take, for instance, the *first* of Aph: xx.—the *more* inexcusable, because the "clever writer in the Calcutta Review," to whom the Benares commentator refers, might have at least set him right upon *that*. Bacon's words are—"Eandem ingreditur viam (priorem scilicet) intellectus sibi permissus, quam facit ex ordine dialecticæ;" and their meaning there is no possibility of denying to be *this*:—"The *unguided* intellect, and the intellect under guidance of dialectics, enter the *same* path"—(to wit, the *first* of Aph: xix.)—for scrutinizing and discovering truth.

* Bacon refers to what Liebig would call a disturbance of the "compound atoms, the formation and existence of which depends upon the affinity which acts between their ultimate particles,—their component elements;"—and the combination of those elements into other aggregates.

That is to say, both are wont to generalize too hastily. Now how stands the sentence in the new version? "The understanding left to itself sets out on the former path; and this it does from the requisitions of logic"! And this is close translation, and preservation of the Latin structure, because, "as remarked by Schlegel, it comes nearer to the Sanscrit than any modern European language does"!

Si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit.—

We have not indicated half the instances in which the new Commentary may be convicted of *originality* in error. Neither this last one; nor that incurred by the wrong collocation of "manus," in Aph: ii.; nor that contingent on the removal of "docendi gratia" to another clause from that of its collocation in Aph: xxvi. have, as far as we can discover, ever been incurred before. We have said nothing of the generally "whimsically formal and diffuse," and too often whimsically irrelevant and incorrect expletives by which some scores of purely imaginary *lacunæ* are supplied in those very aphorisms which Bacon himself declared should go out in consciousness of their own power, naked and unarmed: and whereby what is a perfect model of a clear and philosophical style is degraded to the level of some jejune bhāshya of Hindu formalism.* All this we pass by, and hurry to the consideration of a few of the passages in which, right and wrong rendering being before him, the Benares translator has chosen the *latter*.

* Take, for instance, the first Aphorism as a sample of what we complain of. And, lest the English should be found difficult, we give the Latin text too.

"Homo nature minister et interpres, tantum facit et intelligit, quantum de nature ordine re vel mente observaverit, nec amplius scit, aut potest."

"Man, the minister and interpreter of Nature—[i. e. 'having the office of attending on Nature, and studying to ascertain her meaning'] can do [much or little in adapting the powers of Nature to his purposes],—and knows [much or little in regard to Nature] just in proportion as he may have observed [much or little] in regard to the order [i. e. the arrangement and the course] of Nature, by [means of] things [which he has employed in experiment], or by his mind [— employed in simple observation where the things were beyond the reach of experiment—], nor beyond this, does he know [any thing regarding Nature], nor can he do [any thing in the way of adapting the powers of Nature to his purposes]." After which follow nearly four closely printed pages of Note and Comment, much of it, in our opinion, formed on simple misapprehension of the text. For, whatever Whately may say, we believe "*minister*" to be *passive* in its signification; and other grounds of difference we have before explained. But it will take a folio to contain the Organon, with an apparatus so ample.

A very palpable one will be found under Aph: xxxiii. The words are—"Non postulandum est ut ejus rei judicio stetur, quæ ipsa in judicio vocatur." In that sentence *stetur* is, beyond dispute, the idiomatic form for the fuller expression *stetur a nobis*,—i. e. *stemus*. The idiomatic English translation will therefore be,—“it must not be required that *we* stand by the judgment of that very thing which is itself called up for judgment.” And so Mr. Wood has very properly anglicized the expression,—“it is not to be required of us to submit ourselves to the judgment of the very method we ourselves arraign.” The Rev. T. Smith, of Calcutta, whose version of the *Organon* is generally more creditable, has incurred an error in *this* aphorism, too, from not observing the idiomatic use of the passive verb in the third person. He translates—“It is not to be expected that *it* should stand by the judgment of that very thing, which *itself* calls into judgment.” The version prepared for the Pandits has all the incorrectness of Mr. Smith’s, besides a superabundance of awkward and unstructural battology. “It is not to be demanded of *it* that *it* should acknowledge the jurisdiction of that very thing which *it itself* calls into judgment [for the purpose of having *it* condemned].”

Again,—Aph. xliii.—The phrase “se vindicare,” is a difficult one; but that is no excuse for repeating Mr. Smith’s equally difficult and *more* indeterminate expression “to vindicate themselves.” Especially as Wood’s much more determinate expression “definitions and explanations, with which learned men are wont to *protect* themselves,” was equally available, and might have been adopted, with a proper acknowledgement, if nothing better could be made of the passage. We suspect, however, that *this* is not the exact shade of meaning; but rather—“Definitions and explanations which the learned *get under cover of* (*se munire*); and so restore themselves each to the other,” or, “patch up their differences.”* If this be the correct explanation of the passage, it is almost the exact reverse of what “will generally be considered implied by the expression “learned

* The fuller expression, “se ad suos vindicare,” occurs, much in this connexion, in Cicero’s defence of Rabirius Postumus. Rabirius was an important money-lender at Rome, and appears to have jeopardized a good deal of his friends’ coin, as well as his own, in accommodations rendered to Ptolemy Auletes. To repair his losses, he accepted the post of Treasurer at Alexandria;—“Stultissimum facinus,” says Cicero,—but yet expedient to retrieve former follies;—“Perpetienda illa fuerunt, ut se aliquando ad suos vindicaret.”

men have been accustomed to *fence and vindicate themselves*," which nine persons out of ten would take to mean—to *justify* their differences.

We will note but one passage more—and that a very remarkable one, and, except we err, a signal evidence of how incompletely the most recent of his translators have grasped *all* the stupendous learning of Bacon:—we allude to the expression in Aph: xl. "*Doctrina de Sophisticis Elenchis*." But we had better give the Latin paragraph:—"Doctrina de Idolis similiter se habet ad Interpretationem Naturæ, sicut doctrina de Sophisticis Elenchis ad Dialecticam vulgarem." The first approach to accuracy, in rendering this passage, was made, to the best of our knowledge, by Peter Shaw, who, in 1773, expressed the words above italicized by "*the doctrine of the confutation of sophisms*." Wood expresses Bacon's idea by words of precisely similar import. Mr. Smith has rendered it—"the doctrine of *sophistical fallacies*;" and the last translator (sure to be misled in translating from the Latin, if there be but one to mislead him) has written, "the doctrine of *fallacies*."* Now, if there be one thing more sure than another, we hold it to be that the *Sophistical Elenchus* is not a *fallacy*, and therefore that all the recondite references in the new Commentary to the "subsection hetwābhāsa" of the "Nyāya section on Deduction," however accurate in themselves, are here only calculated to mislead. The *Sophistical Elenchus* is any thing rather than a fallacy—being, in fact, that very process by which fallacious conclusions are scattered to the winds;—the "cross-examining exposure,"—as Mr. Grote† has accurately described it:—the *ordeal of argumentative single combat*,—as we ourselves would say:—that "best and surest cathartic for the mind,"—to borrow the language of the Guest in the *Sophistes*,‡—"which though, at the outset, it act like the torpedo, and inflict a numbness, and a sense of paralysis, is yet succeeded by a wonderful *appetite* for knowledge,—inasmuch as, in the transition state, between

* Mr. Smith, we feel sure, can have been only temporarily oblivious of the words, Πίστις ἑλέγχος ὁ βλεπομένων; and we are surprized that Dr. Ballantyne's researches, in the Dialectics of all ages, in the West as well as the East, had not long since discovered to him that the scope of Aristotle's treatise "Περὶ σοφιστικῶν ἑλέγχων" is to explain a logical instrument by which to arm his School against fallacies.

† Conf. Plato. Edit. Ast. vol. ii. p. 248. Also a passage in the *Meno*. vol. ix. p. 220. of the same edition.

ignorance and wisdom, the *desire* of knowledge does always insinuate itself."—"Exactly such," saith Bacon, "is the Doctrine of Idols in its reference to the Interpretation of Nature"—the *way* on reaching whose further gate, the wholesome relish for instruction begins;—as for example, (to adduce a familiar instance)—the experimental exposition of what dew *is not*—(as it was held by ancient error to *be*)—sharpens the zest for information on which dew really *is*.

Much as we respect the talents, the industry, and the zeal of Dr. Ballantyne, and reluctant though we be to draw upon our own heads the censure that we are divided against the Editor of the "Missionary," and the Boden Professor of Sanscrit in the University of Oxford, in our appreciation of his labours, still, if the truth must be said, we consider that we have largely vindicated our opinion that seldom has such an excess of rash impetuosity—(for surely it is not incompetency)—been exhibited as in this new version of the Organon. In Bacon's language, there is not often much difficulty; and up to the point at which Dr. Ballantyne has arrived, except a few phrases apparently borrowed from various eras of Latinity, there is nothing which should detain an ordinarily well-educated school-boy. How such an accumulation of error, and of apparent misconception of the very elements of Latin construction, can have crept into this small book, is, to us, perfectly unaccountable. It is evident that much of the Commentary must be vitiated, from mere misapprehension of the text which it is designed to illustrate. Other portions, and these the very best of the illustrations, are simply adopted from the notes of Mr. Smith and Mr. Kerr's editions. Such are the observations on the part which *man* takes in melting metals; the excellent example of the incompetency of the syllogism to compete with the subtilty of nature, derived from the failure of the attempted substitution of steam for air in blast furnaces; the reference to the old dogma that Nature abhors a vacuum, and the quibbles which it led to; and others. Some sentences are, in our opinion, decidedly incorrect;—such as the attribution of "two meanings" to the word "subtily" in the course of half a line; and the opinion that whereas "the notion of the *four* elements deserves *no quarter*; the Hindu notion of the *five* elements was *about as philosophical an hypothesis as could well have been taken to begin with.*" We must be allowed to say that one hypothesis seems to us to be just about as philosophical as the other; and that if to the Hindus must be ascribed the merit of "bold distribution of the yet unexam-

ined field of Nature," "the most admirable which could have been made," for their anticipation of five, and only five, "constituents of Nature," on the ground that there are five, and only five, senses; and if it be "a view assuredly not to be despised" that these five elements be severally apprehensible by the five senses;—then to the sages of the West must be ascribed the merit of somewhat bolder distribution of the yet unexamined field, for that, having recognized two white constituents of Nature, a dense and a rare, in Water and Air; and one black element in dense Earth; they anticipated its rare and coloured correspondent "rutilo immiscerier igni."* It is really discouraging to see, and to have to comment on, a page and a quarter, of small print, got up at the public expense, "for the use of the Benares Sanscrit College by order of Government N. W. P.," but containing no single idea beyond what we must think a most superficial admiration of the Hindu doctrine of *five* elements as so much more philosophical, at the tentative stage of the world's investigation, than the doctrine of *four* elements; notwithstanding that, as a fifth, a mere imaginary substance was named, whose very existence (if it do exist in the remote interplanetary spaces) may be said up to this time to be almost totally unknown to us.†

Other parts, however, are better compacted; and not a few adaptations from Whewell, Herschel, and others, display that

* In point of fact, it is not impossible that this may have been the actual line of ratiocination. The Pythagoreans (Plutarch, de Plac. Philos.) held that there were four generic colours—white, black, red and pale-yellow; and that all other hues were derived from certain *mixtures* of the elements. It follows then, that, the four *generic* colours must be sought in the elements. And it must have been early observed that in fire may be discriminated those very two generic colours which are not discriminable in water, air or earth. A. Von Humboldt, however, writes, (Cosmos; vol. iii.; p. 34.) "As the 'elements' of the Ancients signify not so much diversity, or even simplicity or indecomposability of substance, as 'states of matter,' the idea of the upper æther (the fiery celestial atmosphere of the Greeks) "had its root in the first and normal antitheses of 'heavy' and 'light,' 'under' and 'upper,' 'earth' and 'fire.' Between these two extremes are two 'middle elementary states': water, more nearly akin to the heavy earth, and air, nearer to the light fire."

† This was exactly Aristotle's opinion on the ætherial element, of which we know positively scarce an atom more than he anticipated. Dr. Ballantyne, indeed, tells us that the "notion of the four elements" was, "perhaps, bunglingly borrowed from the East." As far as the idea of a *derivation* of doctrine is concerned, we might suppose that he followed the venerable authority of Alexander Von Humboldt, except that, unlike Humboldt, he appears in a state of utter unconsciousness that at least the more important of the Greek Schools maintained that there were five elements just as much as the Hindus—only, in a much sounder method than they, delivering that, be-

happiness of illustration, for which, as we have said before, Dr. Ballantyne is remarkable, when discussing an aphoristic sentence with the language of which he is familiar. But we recommend him with all earnestness to devote himself assiduously to the language of Bacon, before he hazards any further fasciculi of his "Commented Version of the Novum Organon." That such books as the last should go out to the world, with the *imprimatur* of the North-Western Government, for the use of the most conspicuous of its Colleges, and with the well-understood endorsement of the Principal of that College, is a stain on all parties concerned. An English version of the Aphorisms recording the doctrines of the Indian Darshanas is a highly discreet undertaking, for which we sincerely thank Dr. Ballantyne. It would be very difficult to name a work of modern scholarship to which learning and ingenuity may be more felicitously devoted, or in the execution of which the advantages of office and locality might be brought to bear more effectively. But the Novum Organon is far more dangerous ground to break.

In the earlier part of this paper we were so happy as to speak with commendation of certain lectures on the relations of the sciences delivered by Dr. Ballantyne in the session of 1848-49. Of these Lectures we have lately received a *refacimento*; forming the Second and Third Books of what is now called "A Synopsis of Science." It has the additional advantage of presenting some of the leading facts of Natural Philosophy in concise Aphoristic expressions; the *bulk* of the "Lectures," and also some supplementary facts, being thrown into the form of comment. This has been, perhaps, judiciously done; but not so, in our opinion, the *First Book* of the said "Synopsis;" which is nothing less than a *refacimento* of the First Book of Gotama's Aphorisms. In his "Lec-

sides the four grosser elements, there was "*πέμπτον τί σῶμα ἀθέρειον ἀμετάβλητον*." We had made considerable preparations and collections in order to a demonstration that the Hindu and the Greek doctrines on the elements have not a single point of coincidence, except that *numerical* one which Dr. Ballantyne abandons; and that it is absolutely beyond the range of possibility that the latter could have been borrowed from the former.

In the midst of our labour—one for which both our strength and our appliances would have proved quite insufficient—we received from a learned friend some recent issues of the *Zeitschrift der morgenländischen Gesellschaft*; and in those it was our good fortune to find the thing already done, in a masterly way, by Dr. Max Müller. We have the more pleasure in introducing the researches of that scholar on "KANADA'S THEORY OF THE ELEMENTS," from the satisfactory proof they afford of the correctness of some other of Dr. Ballantyne's opinions on Hindu speculation.

tures"—(we must let Dr. Ballantyne explain himself)—he had adopted the arrangement of Dr. Arnold in the Address of that scholar to the Rugby Mechanics' Institute: touching earliest on the sciences of observation and experience; then proceeding to a brief examination of number and matter, form and motion; but when, in the next place, he came to metaphysics, his audience contended that all which he had before delivered—(and, he admits, would still deliver first, in an introductory course)—had been disjointed and out of place; and should have been dove-tailed into a composite like the Nyāya,* which, leading off from those topics, of the mass to be submitted, which are purely metaphysical and

* Nevertheless Dr. Max Müller declares emphatically; "Es ist leicht aus dem Systeme Kanāda's zu erschen, dass es nicht seine Absicht war, eine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften zu geben. Die Frage, die ihn beschäftigte, war eine höhere; nämlich die: Was können wir wissen, und wie können wir es wissen?" And the view which he is disposed to take of the system of Gotama, appears not to be, *so far*, in any way different; for he writes, quoting a passage in one of the earlier volumes of the *Bennett's Magazine*, "Ballantyne bemerkt sehr richtig, dass die Nyāya-Philosophie eigentlich 'de omnibus rebus, oder vielmehr 'de omni scibili' handelt." Of the mutual relation of the two Schools, Dr. Max Müller writes,—"The doctrines of Gotama and Kanāda are very often taken together, and handled as one system, to which the name 'Indian Logic' has been appropriated. And it cannot be denied that the Vaiśeṣika-system of Kanāda has more in harmony with the Nyāya-system of Gotama than with the other four Indian Schools; and that the Hindus themselves have sometimes blended the two systems, and have even patched up the one from the other. Nevertheless the Schools were originally different, and it is still a question whether of the two was the older. It is remarkable that the Nyāya system is not mentioned either in the text of the Vedānta Sūtras, or in its Commentary; although Kanāda's doctrine is repeatedly there spoken of, as was noted by Colebrooke. (Misc. Essays; I. p. 352.) Philological grounds have been alleged for the opinion that Gotama belonged to an era anterior to Pāṇini. But they cannot be maintained. At the same time the occurrence of the word Nyāyāvika, and Kevalānyāyāvika in Pāṇini (I. 1. 49) seem to point to the anterior existence of the Nyāya School. Now that name is properly appropriable only to the School of Gotama; whereas the adherents of Kanāda are called Vaiśeṣikas, because they bring the category of *Difference* (Viśeṣa) to bear on the atoms which compose substances; which category the other School denies. As our reason for this minute discrimination, we must explain that Dr. Ballantyne, after the precedent of Colebrooke, treats the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika as one system. Colebrooke's Essay 'on the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika Systems,' by confusing the two Schools, was the cause of such misty and false views upon Indian Logic, that even such scholars as Ritter were not in a position to expound with any systematic clearness upon the subject." If this be the case, perhaps it will hardly be considered just that Ritter be held up in the General Report of Public Instruction N. W. I. 1850-51, p. 53, as "a libeller of Hindoo Philosophy, coolly denying the existence of what he happened not to see." The more especially as Dr. Ballantyne is by no means yet clear of perpetuating the error which led Ritter astray. He knows the distinction as well as any one—but yet continues to designate his edition of the Tarkasaṅgraha (a Vaiśeṣika book) as "Lectures on the Nyāya Philosophy."

logical, introduces, subordinately, and as occasions serve, such physical developments as may without much harshness be introduced in what is mainly an analysis of the objects to which our intellectual instruments are applicable, and the several states of intellect which are either motives, or impediments, to advancement in learning. Now, we are far from saying that the Nyāya is *without* a method; and we consider that Dr. Ballantyne has, to our perception, demonstrated that *of such a system*, the method could hardly be improved. But then, as the system is, so is the method, gravely and radically vicious; and no ingenuity of handling whatsoever—no substitution of the facts of physical science for the absurd cosmical theory which has excreted of the psychological process—can ever render it a congruous and harmonious frame-work for an encyclopædic body of doctrine.* To the Nyāya we believe the words of Bacon to be most specially applicable;—"ars illa dialecticæ ad errores potius fingendos, quam ad veritatem aperiendam valuit. Restat unica salus ac sanitas, ut opus mentis universum de integro resumatur." And if we have to deal with persons prejudiced, the best of all plans appears to us to be, first to elucidate the shortcomings of the ignorantly worshipped instrument, and then to advocate its displacement by a better;—for yield it must, at last, as far as form is concerned, if any consistent subordination of the subjective to the objective, the vague to the real, the speculative to the experimental, is to be insisted on in our educational processes. And the practice of Dr. Ballantyne has proved his experience of this necessity;—else, why, after re-writing the first book of the Nyāya Aphorisms, merely substituting, in the physical sentences, truths founded on experiment for barren theories, did he note, on the beginning of his second book, that he will *no longer follow the order of Gotama*? Why does he revert to the much sounder arrangement of his more elementary lectures of 1848-49? Or, if a complete change of method *must* be pursued in the subsequent, why adopt at all the, for all the purposes of *real* science, *obsolete* plan of the first book of the Synop-

* "The assemblage of incomplete dogmas bequeathed from one century to another,—the system of physics made up of popular prejudices,—is not only injurious, because it perpetuates error with all the obstinacy of the supposed evidence of ill-observed facts, but also because it *hinders* the understanding from rising to the level of the great views of nature."—*Alexander Von Humboldt*. In fact, the whole introductory chapter of *Cosmos* is simply an elaborate, earnest, and eloquent protest against exactly those applications of wrong physical theories to which the College at Benares is to a large extent dedicated.

sis? Why—to press the matter closer—combine in a single section, and really within a very few lines, matters psychological, ethical, biological, physiological and chemical? The answer given is, because it is a “fact that a mind can be taught only by means of the knowledge that is already in it; and a piece of knowledge in any mind—more especially in a mind unfavourably prepossessed—is an obstacle to the reception of any system which, by neglecting to recognize, appears to deny that piece of knowledge.” It is very true that, in order to any progress in scientific investigation, there must be an acknowledgement of certain first truths, which are the mind’s property by intuition;—and *so far*, certainly, the inherency of knowledge is a necessary preliminary to advance in knowledge; but we by no means are persuaded that *beyond* these intuitive articles of belief, the *exact order* of previous inculcations is necessary to be taken note of with a view to progress; nor do we see why a piece of knowledge should be by any thought to be *ignored*, because it is not recognized as holding *exactly that place* which it occupies in a mind prejudiced by a vicious system of education. We would abandon and discourage every attempt to “*sweep away*” any portions of the “adamantine truth,” in however faulty collocations they may have established themselves in the Hindu systems; but we would bear in mind from the very outset that (as it has been wisely said,) “the knowledge of a true scientific method is a science resembling other sciences, and the ideas and views which it involves have been in some measure gradually developed into clearness and certainty by successive attempts.” It should be remembered that while the harbinger and pioneer of the “Great Instauration” of scientific enquiry held in proper estimation the *mighty intellect* of Aristotle, with his *methods*, no, not for all Europe, would he have *any thing* to do; but “went right onward in his course, unmoved by the disapprobation of men who turned from enquiries which they neither encouraged nor understood; and seeing through the mists, by a light refracted from below the horizon, that knowledge must be *raised on other foundations and built with other materials** than had been used through a long tract of many centuries, he planned his immortal work upon which

* These expressions of Basil Montagu appear to us to indicate that his opinion would have been that the correct interpretation of “instauration” would be rather “institution” than “rebuilding,” as maintained by Dr. Ballantyne.

he laboured during the greater part of his life, and ultimately published, while he was Chancellor, saying, 'I have held up a light in the obscurity of philosophy, which will be seen for centuries after I am dead.' It should be borne in mind that this he never conceived of consummating by making common cause with the Schoolmen, and pursuing through the mazes of their sophistry such small scintillations of light as lay immured there; but by proclaiming a new era, and by persisting in the advocacy of an entire change of method. There is, perhaps, some reason to fear lest concessions to the ancient and vicious method be the foster-nurse of that "peccant humour of learning," which proceeds "from too great a reverence, and a kind of adoration, of the mind and understanding of man; by means whereof men withdraw themselves too much from the contemplation of nature and tumble up and down in their own reason and conceits." More especially, among a people "in whom," it was very well said by the late lamented Mr. Bethune, "dreamy speculation is the prevalent intellectual vice," it is of the last importance to beware lest the fascinations of subjective processes do blunt the appetite, in any, however small a degree, for the stronger nourishment exhibited in the demonstrations of objective philosophy.

But, besides all this, there is, in our opinion, the strongest possible reason for disputing the position that "a mind can be taught only by the knowledge already in it" is in *any such sense* a "fact" as to point to the safety, or even to the permissibility of adopting erroneous or imperfect systems as the "Stand-points" of instruction. There is of course, as we have said before, a certain kind of knowledge which must needs be antecedent to the didactic process;—and moreover, before any effectual disquisition on principles and objects, there must be consent upon the use of terms, or the trumpet will sound uncertainly. But we think that the example of all those whose didactic influence has been the greatest, tends to overthrow the supposition that *faults* of method may be expurged most effectually by assuming that what is *true*, in the same faulty method, represents, in a manner cartographically, the vantage-points from which its *false* positions should be assailed. No doubt there is deep truth in the Baconian Aphorism "*non sapius requiratur informatio de rebus ignotis, quam attentio in notis;*" but we question if any thing further can be inferred from this, than that there is a generative faculty in knowledge, by which it advances from strength to strength; and that the

principles of truth by which a mind is imbued may, by a certain dexterous application and management of them, be applied to convict it of its errors. But *this* "attention to subjects known" seems a very different thing from taking up a system on the ground that it is current, and employing the method of its distribution as an index to the starting-points from which a more consistent system should proceed. All authority which can possibly be adduced does, if we mistake not, entirely discountenance *that* plan. In the most perfect example which we possess of St. Paul's method of dealing with heathen men, the several and inconsistent antagonists of the revealed ideas on ethics and on physics, (his Discourse on the Areopagus,) "every branch and member," as Bentley has shewn at large, "*is distinctly opposed to a known error and prejudice of some party of his hearers.*" God is declared to have made the world and all things—in confutation of the Epicureans and Peripatetics;—to dwell in temples not made with hands, and to need nothing of men's hands—in opposition to the religion and vulgar opinion at Athens;—to have made of one blood all the nations of the earth—that the various atomistic combinations, and the Aristotelian theory of eternal generation, might be attacked in a single clause;—to be not like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven with art or man's device—words clearly antagonistic to the idolatrous notions of the multitude. The Apostle next approached a topic distasteful to his whole audience at once—the resurrection of the dead—and the tumult rose to such a height that he must depart. But not alone—for it is worth remark that among the first whom he carried with him was Dionysius the Areopagite—a man, indeed, of whom we *know* nothing, though there is much reason to conjecture that he was *most eminent*, as Suidas has called him, and at the height of Grecian erudition. The *conciliatory* spirit of St. Paul is undeniable, and unquestionably one of the loveliest traits in his character. And never did it rest upon deeper principle than when he harangued on the Hill of Mars. By it he carried all his audience forward to the climax of his discourse, retaining on his side, till towards its close, the more influential section, at the same time that every sentence which he uttered must have made some uneasy. But the general effect of his oration must undoubtedly have been the sentiment that he had begun the war of extermination against every error of system and opinion in his very promiscuous audience, that even their points of agreement must be devolved by those who

would learn of him to that place and order which they occupied in the speaker's mind, and that the fabric which he assailed he would carry, if at all, by the only engine adequate to its demolition,—a plain, uncompromising, dogmatical assertion of those salient truths which it was his office to inculcate.*

The course which St. Paul takes in his Epistles is manifestly applicable only to a limited extent in the present argument. His adversaries in them—more particularly in that large and important portion of them which is, either directly or implicitly, antagonistic to the Judaizers, were professors of a corrupt form of Christianity, certainly; but Christianity still. However, as far as his letters afford any insight to what might have been his rationale of instruction in mundane matters, ethics and morals, if ever he should have had to treat them apart from the religious sentiment with which he *did* habitually invest them, they appear to us decidedly opposed to the idea that he would have symbolized, even on points whereon they were mutually agreed, with the method of Schools more or less hostile to his own. It is very true that in things which he might righteously regard as indifferent, he varied his behaviour in accommodation to the varieties of men with whom his office drew him into contact; but there is not, that we can discover, the shadow of a reason for believing that he would have deemed it a thing admissible to adopt any one of their systems, as a Stand-point of instruction. On the contrary, a great variety of passages in his letters to the Churches at Ephesus, at Philippi, and at Colosse, are condemnatory of the Jewish error of assimilating with some of the Schools of Oriental Philosophy. His disciples, on the other hand, should be “built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets; Jesus Christ Himself being the Chief Head and Corner Stone:” for in Him are hid *all* the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge;—it was for *that*, the *universal* applicability of those disclosures on the world in its largest sense, physical, ethical and moral, which are *written* in the Bible, though there

* The contempt in which St. Paul held the whole fabric of Greek Philosophy—(though certainly that represented, in many of its Schools, at least a fair and admirable attempt to present a complete and consistent physical as well as metaphysical theory of the universe as that expounded in the Nyaya Books, to judge from Dr. Ballantyne's editions and expositions)—and his conviction of its utter futility, except as a mere instrument for educating the intellect, and indeed of its tendency to deceive and blind the inquisitorial faculties, has been well elucidated by Bishop Warburton. Div. : Leg. iii., iv.

only partially *systematized*, that St. Paul thought it worth all his learning and labour to contend.

At least one thing we can learn from his extant writings; by no means unimportant in the discussion in hand; his eminent mastery of Greek style would have rendered him as proper a man as any in the world, probably, to have produced, had he considered that to be a sound proceeding, a complete "Synopsis of Science," as revealed by the wisdom which is from above, from the Stand-point of the Aristotelian ethics, physics and metaphysics. It is impossible to calculate the effect which such a work, by such a writer—(a master in the several styles of Pericles—Acts xvii, 22—31; of Demosthenes—2 Cor. xi, 22—31; of Thucydides—2 Tim. i. 4—18; and of Aristotle—Rom. vii. 7—25;)—would have produced upon the educated classes in the great Grecian cities. With what persuasion might he have invested an address to the learned of Athens, with, for its key-note, that "position which few are likely to dispute," "Happiness is the last and noblest purpose of man's activity"! Then what appliances had he for expanding the already current idea of "perfect life energized by perfect virtue"! How conclusively might he have circumscribed the provinces of the intellect and the soul, and thence have distributed, in their due gradations, the several theoretical sciences, and the disciplines of faith and practice. Advanced to that point, what an occasion would he have achieved for winning confidence by a just tribute to the precision at which Aristotle had arrived, in his rules for observation and generalization, and in the logical and quantitative sciences. Then, addressing himself to that teaching which was the leading characteristic of his Mission, *ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐδῶμεν τί ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρετή, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἀγαθοὶ γινώμεθα*—what a new light might the point of view from which he discussed them have thrown on the several topics of ethical enquiry,—human responsibility, temperance, liberality, magnanimity, mildness, modesty, justice and the rest. It is needless to descant upon how radically different was the course which the Apostle pursued, as far as we can either collect or infer the details of his procedure from his extant remains.

The instruction which we would draw from this example of profound didactic ability, in an inspired teacher, will be gravely misapprehended, should any suppose that we are advocating the idea of a mere literary Professor in a heathen College of secular instruction rushing precipitately into the domain of theology, or leading an assault against the several

wrong notions of his disciples on the nature of God. Illustrations, whose parts of details are not transferable to methods constructed in order to a widely different end, do yet very frequently signalize a principle which it is of the last importance that those methods recognize. If it can be shown that *no* great teacher, in *any* age, or with *whatever* end in view, or preparation for the encounter, has *ever*, for motives of conciliation, or because "the mind can be taught only by means of the knowledge that is already in it," undertaken to elaborate the science of which he is the master from the Stand-point of another method and system, confessedly more or less false in its doctrines, and imperfect in its distribution, then it seems almost a thing of course that the advocate of such a novelty be called, or at least be invited, to yield to the authority of examples from ancient precedent. "Africanos mihi, et Catones, et Lælios commemorabis? Et eos fecisse idem dices? Quamvis res mihi non placeat, tamen contra hominum auctoritatem pugnare non potero."

We will now pass on to the example of him, to whom St. Paul was so remarkably likened in the matter of his accusation,—the "Fons et Caput Philosophiæ,"—the author of a process, in the words of Mr. Grote, "of eternal value and universal application,"—Socrates. If any thing may be gathered from the examples of the Elenchus which Xenophon and Plato have so happily preserved, it is this—that the inventor of that Elenchus, Socrates, would have added a clause of limitation to the doctrine whose universality we have already expressed our doubts upon; for the lesson which that instrument most unquestionably points to is, that "a mind can be taught" *its own ignorance* "only by means of knowledge that is already in it." The sophistical Elenchus, which we had occasion to speak of when reviewing the Benares Commentary on the Novum Organon, was a process for *purifying* the mind—*negative*, as far as *knowledge* is concerned—and constructed only to *erase the false products* of illicit generalizations, and so *prepare* the mind for advancement in real and positive wisdom. And in the memorable instance of Euthydemus, which Xenophon has so beautifully placed on record, we see it plied with such destructive effect, as to leave the mind, on all ethical enquiries, a *tabula rasa*, and to extort the humiliating confession, "I am afraid I know simply nothing." It was the opinion of Socrates that only *after* such preparation could any positive knowledge be achieved;—that the eradication of the *false* must be necessarily prelimina-

ry to the introduction of the *true*. "To preach, to exhort, even to confute particular errors," writes Mr. Grote, "appeared to him *useless*, so long as the mind lay wrapped up in its habitual mist or illusion of wisdom; *such mist must be dissipated before any new light could enter*." Accordingly, every fragment which we possess illustrative of the method of Socrates represents him as proceeding on principles the very converse of those which are exhibited before the Pandits of Benares, where the plan appears to be, *first* to determine "how far" the Eastern and Western Schools of Philosophy "agree, and in regard to what points" they "differ"; and then, "instead of discussing the points of *difference*, rather to go on to the development of the points of *agreement*, in the hope that in the course of such an enquiry the points of difference may either disappear, or may have such light thrown upon them that we may be the better prepared to deal with them." Such a hope it is utterly impossible that Socrates ever could have entertained.* Assuming the points of difference between himself and his respondents to be errors on their part, and "conceits of knowledge without the reality,"—the "idola" which, as Bacon has concurrently judged, do so blockade the minds of men, that truth can enter only with difficulty, and even if access be granted, is therein met and troubled by them again,—his first care was, in the attitude of an enquirer and not of a teacher, to clear the intellect of its conceits by dexterous cross-examination; which, by exposing the inapplicability of notions entertained on a wide and general topic, to the several specific instances contained under it, involved *him* in inconsistencies to whom all had hitherto appeared so facile and well ascertained, and convicted him of ignorance on those very points on which he had but just before been *most* prepared to dogmatize. And then, and not till then, having probed and cauterized to the very core the wrong notions which he encountered daily, by his searching dialectic, would Socrates begin the positive process of ascertaining, and extending the points of agreement which he might maintain in common with

* "Both Socrates and Plato thought that little mental improvement could be produced by expositions directly communicated, or by new written matter lodged in the memory." (Grote vol. viii. p. 607.) And Bacon, it may be remembered, *censures* those who dare not "*theorias et notiones communes penitus abolere, et intellectum abrasum et æquum ad particularia de integro applicare*." For, as he elsewhere says, "*Frustra magnum expectatur augmentum in scientiis ex superinductione et insitione novorum super vetera; sed instauratio facienda et ab imis fundamentis, nisi libeat perpetuo circumvolvi in orbem, cum exili et quasi continendo progressu*."

those now first prepared to learn of him, "expounding," as Xenophon has it, "most clearly and simply both what he deemed man ought to know, and would pursue with most advantage to himself."

We consider the example of Socrates of the last importance, in connexion with the design of promoting a mutual understanding between the philosophers of the East and of the West. A very cursory examination will be sufficient to show that his position, in respect to his opponents, bore, in many points, a remarkable similarity to that which one learned in the disciplines of Europe maintains towards the Nyâyâyika of the present day. If we wanted words to characterize the Eleatic and Ionic Schools of Greek Philosophy, we could devise no better than those which Dr. Ballantyne applies, to the Nyâya;—that they were "very fair, and in some respects admirable, attempts, on the part of certain speculative philosophers, who had made perhaps as many observations and experiments as they had had opportunity of making, to present a complete and consistent metaphysical as well as physical theory of the universe." Unskilled in those processes of classification and distribution which it is the glory of Socrates that he invented, the two Academies which he found existing in their several sects, like the Nyâya School of India, contemplated, as blent into one undistinguishable Cosmos, ethics and physics, man and nature. The Grecian sophists did, as the Nyâyâyikâs still do, derive their persuasions rather from the atmosphere of a "dogmatic," and, as they thought or think, "inspired philosophy," than from any rigid process of analysis; or investigation of the world, or man, or society; the persuasions of all alike, both upon ethical and physical phænomena, being absolutely and unscientifically taken upon trust, without argument and without experiment. Each, too, was, or is, in its final design, more exclusive than diffusive, theoretical than practical, intent on what should be *known in order to the happiness of the individual*, not on what should be *done in order to the happiness of the race*;*—on the *end* of each man's aim, as he is a unit, rather than on its *direction*, as he is a member of a vast society, into which he is cemented by the inheritance of rights and duties. That "knowledge puffeth up but charity edifieth," is a sentiment that never found place even in the dreams of Gotama. He little knew

* We are glad to observe that Dr. Ballantyne has seen occasion to revise his opinion, that the repudiator of the dogma that the "summum bonum" can be reached only through *knowledge* of the truth must be at once demitted to the category of "hopeless stupidity."

that a man may understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and yet his eyes be dazzled with a false glare, if they should discern perfection to consist *therein*.

We may have read, again and again, of the effect of Socrates's teaching on the mind of Greece;—that (we again quote Mr. Grote) “there can be no doubt that his individual influence permanently enlarged the horizon, improved the method, and multiplied the ascendant mind in the Grecian speculative world in a manner never since paralleled.” That “subsequent philosophers may have had a more elaborate doctrine, and a larger number of disciples who embraced their ideas, but none of them applied the same stimulating method with the same efficacy—none of them struck out of other minds that fire which sets light to original thought—none of them either produced in others the pains of intellectual pregnancy, or extracted from others the fresh and un-borrowed offspring of a really parturient mind.” And what, let us ask, is the first grand aim of education? Is it not to scatter the mists upon the mind, to restore transparency to the medium through which its eye must penetrate to the heaven beyond? Is it not, as the late Mr. Bethune described it, “to improve the faculties, and to strengthen the powers of independent thought,”—and that men may be enabled to apply an unbiassed intellect, and a temper strictly unpolemical, and a mind “thoroughly cleaned and purged from fancy and vanities,” to the resolution of the various difficulties of their future career? And if this be the great and fundamental object, how may it be attained?—by what direct, and as little as may be, excursive line of proceeding?—“*claudis enim, ut dicitur, in via antevertit cursorem extra viam.*” The question of questions is, shall we treat essential errors as matters of opinion, which may be innocently allowed place, pending the development of the points of mutual agreement? Shall we impose right notions over wrong ones, with that complete affiance in the charms of Truth which holds that she needs only to be exhibited, that she be admired? Or, is there any justice in what Cicero has observed of minds not without resemblance to those learned in the Indian philosophies;—*ante tenentur adstricti, quam quid esset optimum judicare potuerunt; deinde infirmissimo tempore ætatis, aut obsecuti amico cuidam, aut una alicujus quem primum audierunt oratione capti, de rebus incognitis judicant, et ad quancunque sunt disciplinam quasi tempestate delati, ad eam tanquam ad saxum adhærescunt.* * * * * Sed nescio quomodo, *ple-rique errare malunt, eamque sententiam quam adamaverunt*

pugnacissime defendere, quam sine pertinacia quid constantissime dicatur defendere." If this be so, and there be *indeed* such a vicious pertinacity of wrong notions, is there *no* ground for apprehension lest, at least on all points which do not admit of ocular demonstration and experiment, (and perhaps, also, on some which do admit of that—as we know that it roused the indignation of Socrates himself that he was supposed to have surrendered his faith in the absolute divinity of the sun and moon for all the meteorosophic demonstrations of Anaxagoras)—*that* unsoundness ensue to which Bacon has referred in the noble preface to the second book of his *Organon*, and the "*adminicula intellectui*," whether logical or physical, he applied *too late*,—"postquam mens ex quotidiana vitæ consuetudine, et auditionibus, et doctrinis inquinatis occupata, et vanissimis idolis obsessa fuerit?" We are quite converts to the doctrine that it is the height of weakness to rely entirely on *authors*;—but we remember too that *TIME* is the "*Auctor auctorum*," and that *TRUTH* is the daughter of *Time*, and not of *Authority*. And therefore the thought occurs to us that a precedent hallowed by the practice of such men as Socrates and Bacon, so remote, the one from the other, both in their era, and in the subjects of their enquiry, should warn any man, of however high a cast of genius, from adventuring, on the responsibility of his own suggestion, a method of teaching which we defy it to be shewn is not as nearly as possible the exact converse of their's. For, be it remembered, Bacon's whole machinery of Negative Instances is, though undesignedly perhaps, yet in fact, nothing else than the *Elenchus* of Socrates in its application to physical experiment. In such a case, then, we may most safely take up the language of a great one to whom we have often before been indebted—"auctoribus quidem uti optimis possumus; quod in omnibus causis et debet et solet valere plurimum." It is, in our humble judgment, far too hazardous a proceeding, when applied to the acutest sophists which can be trained by the scholastic methods which flourish best, perhaps, in the Sanscrit College at Benares, to defer discussing our points of difference with them, and go on to the development of our points of agreement, in exact counterpoint to that purely negative process which always has the lead in all the examples which Plato has accumulated of his master's method of instruction.

But entertaining, as we do so far, a difference of opinion on the plan most available in order to render the Sanscrit Department of the Benares College a School of profitable

instruction, we are not of those who consider the present arrangements of that institution open to all the strictures which have been arrayed against them. Mr. Kerr, in the second volume of his "Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency," (p. 154—55,) expresses himself as follows :—

No one will be disposed to deny, that a knowledge of Hindu systems may be turned to good account by a skilful instructor, or that a comparison of the analogous truths of the European and Oriental systems may, in its proper time and place, be very useful. The only question is, *how far* the Sanscrit element ought to be introduced. Are we to use it only for illustration and occasional reference, or are we to enter on the dangerous ground of Hindu metaphysics, wasting our time upon frivolous questions to which, by an error of the human mind, too much importance is attached, and vainly striving to solve questions which are incapable of solution?

It would appear, if an opinion may be formed from the Examination questions proposed in 1848, that Dr. Ballantyne has ventured too far in this last direction. The following are some of the questions, slightly abridged, but not otherwise altered.

1. What answer do you give to the proposition, "if the Divine Spirit be devoid of qualities, it cannot be made subject of meditation?"
2. What answer would you give to the question, "whether an elephant seen in a dream, is or is not produced at that particular time?"
3. How do you prove that gold is identical in substance with light and heat?
4. Explain the erroneousness of the opinion, of the soul's being in the form of an atom.

The feeling that naturally arises in perusing these questions, is that they are unworthy of serious attention. Bacon, in advancing learning in Europe, did not choose to enter into the subtle questions of the schoolmen. He alluded to them only to condemn them, and contented himself with pointing out a more excellent way.

Examine the third of the foregoing questions, and it will plainly appear that it belongs to the subject of Chemistry, and that if it should be ever settled, it must be by experiment, and not by metaphysical reasoning. Or, take the fourth question, which is to shew the erroneousness of the opinion that the soul is in the form of an atom. The attempt to prove or disprove such a question is equally absurd; and it can only be compared in extravagance with those frivolous questions, which occupied the minds of European Pundits in the dark ages, when it was gravely proposed to determine "whether more than one angel can exist at the same moment, in the same physical point;" and again, "how many angels can stand on the point of a needle."

To make the whole more ridiculous, it appears that what a Pundit is in one room establishing by "irresistible arguments," a Pundit in the next room is attacking by arguments equally irresistible. What, may it be supposed, is the state of the student's mind, after all this wrangling? Either he must be completely bewildered, and reduced to a state of scepticism; or, if of a dogmatic turn of mind, he becomes a keen and unfair reasoner.

The worthlessness of most of these topics of enquiry cannot admit of much question; but the inference intended to be led to from the example of Bacon would be, we think, illicit. Dr. Ballantyne has himself remarked that his duty, on receiving charge of the Sanscrit College, was to acquaint himself with its constitution and history "with a view to introducing whatever improvements might be found consistent with the retention of its character as a seat of Sanscrit learning, not unworthy of its classic locality." Whether such an institution be worth preserving or not, was a question not referred to him;—that a College should exist in Benares, and be permanently sustained, "for the cultivation of the laws, literature, and, (as inseparably connected with the two former) religion of the Hindus," had been already settled. It is therefore quite beyond his power, even if his desires were in that direction, to interdict the cultivation of so large an element in that literature as is represented by the several sects of dogmatic, and, in the Hindu's opinion, inspired philosophy; his efforts must be limited to directing the argumentative acumen which *they* may be the handmaids to, into other and more wholesome channels. Now, it does so happen that every one of the debates referred to by Mr. Kerr, frivolous though they be, are subjects of the gravest doctrine in the Theological and Logical Schools of India; and although the practicability of turning to much account a system under which the identity of gold and light is made a matter of simple argumentation, may well admit of discussion, yet no man could properly avoid a topic of such prominence and peculiarity, whose duty it is to examine the proficiency of the Nyāya disciples in so renowned a text book as the *Siddhānta Muktāvalī*. It is true that Bacon, with a boldness, as has been well said, which was truly remarkable, pronounced the philosophy which he abandoned, in the face of its adherents, to be the infancy of knowledge, given to empty loquacity, and immature for generating, because fruitful of controversy and barren of effects. But he was then Lord High Chancellor of England, and at the very summit of his amply-earned reputation; and therefore under no constraint of position to indoctrinate in those methods of wit and abstract thought by which he owned that the ancients had shewn themselves worthy of imitation.

But a most pleasing contrast to the methods of Dr. Ballantyne's advocacy, for the Sanscrit College of Benares, is, in our opinion, furnished in the Report of the enlightened Pandit, and admirable Sanscrit scholar, Eshwarchandra Vidyāsagar, the present Principal of the sister institution of Cal-

cuttā, to the Council of Education in the Lower Provinces of Bengal.

"The Sanscrit," he remarks, "is in itself a very difficult language; and to begin its study with a difficult grammar seems, in my opinion, not to be a well chosen plan. Experience shews what difficulties one has to surmount when studying his grammar in this style. Young lads who begin to study Sanscrit, on account of the extreme difficulty of the grammar Mugdabodha, only learn by rote what their instructors say, without being able to understand the contents of the work they read. Thus five years pass in the study of grammar alone, without getting any essential introduction to the language itself. It seems to be an astonishing fact that one should be studying a language for five years and scarcely understand a bit of it.* Under the present system, the first five years of a student of the Sanscrit College are almost lost; and after all his toil and trouble his acquirements in grammar are very imperfect." (The Principal goes on to express his opinion that the "Root-book, and the Kosha, or Dictionary," when mastered, are "of some assistance in the study of literary works;" but that "the advantage gained is not at all commensurate to the time and labour required to get them by heart.) * * * * The system I would propose is this: The boys, instead of beginning the grammar at once in the Sanscrit language, should learn some of the most fundamental rules dressed in the easiest Bengali;† then they should go on with 'Readers,' to be compiled, consisting of easy selections from the Hitopadesha, Panchatantra Ramayana, Mahabharata, &c. This will take the students some two years. After this they should begin Siddhanta Kaumudi, and continue onward to the highest class of the grammar department; with those treatises they should study Raghu Vansha, parts of Bhāṭṭi Kāvya and the Dashakumārā Charitra, (poetical and dramatic,—and the Vṛttaratnākara, a highly esteemed work on prosody.)" (This, Vidyāsagar computes, would occupy two years longer, and bring the student to the termination of four years.) In the fifth year, he advises that the students come up from the Grammar, to the General Literature Department, and read the great poems and dramas, either whole, or, where there are objectionable passages, in selections; at the same time practising essay-writing in Sanscrit and Bengali. Thus two further years would be occupied. He advises that Rhetoric be then pursued, by study of the Kāvya Prakāsha and the Dasharupaka, as the books of highest autho-

* The opinion of this scholar is widely discrepant from that of Dr. Ballantyne, who maintains that having studied a native grammar a pupil is "thoroughly prepared" to avail himself of the rich treasures of Sanscrit philology. However, we do not suppose that the Laghu Kaumudi, with the copious apparatus with which Dr. Ballantyne has furnished it, can be quite so abstruse and enigmatical as Vidyāsagar states the Mugdabodha to be. Still, we are convinced that we do not err in saying that it must occupy any student of ordinary intelligence, who would master it, and whose pursuits are not limited to Sanscrit, for a very long period; except it should be illustrated, by the continual application of its rules, to writings, pursued simultaneously, of a more alluring cast.

† It seems proper again to notify that something has been done at Benares towards familiarizing the Vernacular and English Students with the elements of Sanscrit Grammar. This is, so far, well;—but it is the application of the learning acquired in those departments which we think injudicious.

riety in that discipline; and with them, treatises on Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry, to be compiled from the best English works on those subjects. "The higher branches of Mathematics," he adds, "should be translated afterwards, and, when ready, adopted as class books." He further recommends the compilation of "a popular treatise on Astronomy, such as Herschel's, in Bengali, to be read in the mathematical class." Throughout the period of *all* these studies, he would introduce the perusal of Bengali Books treating on useful and entertaining subjects; "which should the Council introduce, the students of the Sanscrit College will, with very little difficulty, acquire great proficiency in Bengali, and, through the medium of that language, useful information; and thereby have their views expanded before they begin their English studies." And here, he considers, the curriculum of the junior department should terminate.

In the ninth year he proposes that the students come up to the Law class, pursuing social, civil, and criminal jurisprudence in the most eminent treatises, but discontinuing the reading of the *Tatwas*, or *Fortis* of Religious Ceremony; as, "though of use to the Brahmins as a class of priests, they are not at all fitted for an academical course." The study of Law, he considers, should occupy three years. Lastly, he would advocate the advancement of the alumni to a class devoted to the study of the philosophical systems of India, which he would pursue to the close of the fifteenth year of study, the time considered requisite for a finished Sanscrit Education. The concluding part of this admirable Report, which both for brevity, and in consideration of the general reader, we have been obliged to condense considerably, we give nearly in Vidyāsagar's own language.

"No one can be considered to have a perfect knowledge of Sanscrit learning who is not familiar with all the systems of philosophy prevalent in India. True it is that the most part of the Hindu systems do not tally with the advanced ideas of modern times; yet it is undeniable that to a good Sanscrit scholar a knowledge of them is absolutely required. Should the Council be pleased to follow the suggestions which I will submit in the succeeding part of my Report regarding the English Department, *by the time that the students come to the Darshana or Philosophy class, their acquirements in English* will enable them to study the modern philosophy of Europe. Thus they will have an ample opportunity of comparing the systems of philosophy of their own, with the new philosophy of the Western world. Young men thus educated will be better able to expose the errors of ancient Hindu philosophy than if they were to derive their knowledge of philosophy simply from European sources. One of the principal reasons why I have ventured to suggest the study of *all* the prevalent systems of philosophy in India, is that the student will clearly see that the propounders of different systems have attacked each other, and have pointed out each others' errors and fallacies. Thus he will be able to judge for himself. His knowledge of *European* philosophy will be to him an *invalid* guide to the understanding of the merits of the different systems."

"As to the English studies in the Senior and Junior Departments of the Sanscrit College, the students should not be allowed to commence English till they have acquired some proficiency in the Sanscrit language; the pupils of the same Sanscrit class should go on with the same English studies: the study of English, instead of being optional, should be compulsory; should there be any one very unwilling to be taught in English, he should be given to understand that he will not

be allowed to commence English at any subsequent stage, as to create for him alone a separate class is altogether out of the question. I beg to propose that the study of English be commenced in the 'Alankar (Rhetoric) class. In that case *all* the students will be able to devote nearly double the time to English that *only some* now do, and their minds having received culture, they will not have to begin with such trite subjects as less disciplined lads need commence with. From the 'Alankar class to the last year of study in the College is some seven or eight years; and a diligent student in the course of that period will have ample opportunity of making himself familiar with the English language and literature."

It is our decided belief that the principal points for rendering the Sanscrit Colleges of India Schools of progress are very ably indicated by Pandit Vidyāsāgar, and that his ideas are, altogether, very much sounder than those propounded from Benares. We learn from Mr. Kerr's "Review" that the pupils of the Grammar classes in the Sanscrit College of Calcutta are generally mere boys; and supposing, what we believe nearly to approximate the truth, that the age of twenty-four would be considered that at which the degree of *Pandit* might be conferred, the age of eligibility to the College may be set at nine. The period from that to fifteen being devoted to the vernacular, in conjunction with the Sanscrit grammar, and poetical and dramatic books, a very tolerable infusion of English ideas might be accomplished in the initiatory years of education, were the subjects of translation into the Bengali only moderately well selected; and great competency in the vernacular language be attained, with which the alumni would be further familiarized by the study of the mathematical treatises recommended for perusal, simultaneously with Sanscrit Rhetoric, and the initiatory English course, in the seventh and eighth years of pupilage. We rather doubt whether, in such an institution, the study of English should be rendered strictly compulsory.* But the error—in it be an error—is decidedly on the right side, and far preferable to the plan adopted at Benares, of continuing their scholarship allowances to the senior students whose period of study has expired, and who probably range between

* The Sanscrit College at Benares, and we presume that at Calcutta also, was endowed "for the cultivation of the laws, literature, and (as inseparably connected with the two former) religion, of the Hindoos;" and, with this before one, it is a point of casuistry to decide how far it would be *right* positively to expel a student, who was proceeding satisfactorily in the designated disciplines of the College, simply because he objected to study English. But we think it might be safely ruled that a refusal would be visited by loss of stipendiary enrolment.

the ages of 23 and 25, on condition that they "overcome their repugnance" to read English. Some personal experience leads us to doubt very much whether an accurate knowledge of any language of the West can, except in cases of very rare ability, be communicated to men of those years totally unfamiliar with any thing beyond the very differently constructed tongues of Hindustan; and all experience tends to corroborate our misgivings. The General Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal were induced, in 1824, to offer an augmentation of 6 or 8 rupees a month to the stipends of those pupils of the Mohammedan College of Calcutta who would undertake to learn English; and some of the elder came forward. But two years later the Committee was under the necessity of reporting to Government the failure of the experiment,—the students—who were believed in general to be *too far advanced in life* to commence the study of English,—abandoned it "as soon as the monthly allowance made to them for the purpose of procuring instruction was applied to the object for which it had been granted." Similarly, in the Sanscrit College of Calcutta. In February 1826, the Secretary to Government addressed the General Committee:—

"I am desired to take this opportunity of stating to the Committee the anxiety of Government that early measures should be adopted for establishing the English class, which it has always been proposed to attach to the Government Sanscrit College. That Institution having now acquired stability and reputation as a seminary of Hindu literature, the annexation of the English class cannot, it is presumed, interfere with the regular course of study therein pursued, nor diminish its credit in the estimation of the learned Hindus; whilst its future intimate connection with the Hindu College, on the removal of the students to the new building, will be highly favourable to the success of the proposed experiment."

A grant was made—a class formed—forty pupils joined it—All of whom had to commence the alphabet. And though there was a time when it was *said* that "the pupils of the highest class possessed a thorough knowledge of History and Geography" and could translate into English correctly, yet the fact stands, that in 1835 the English Department ~~was~~ abolished, "not until it had been established, by the results of a long trial, that it will not answer, as a general rule, to teach two learned languages to the same students in this country." From this sentiment we entirely disagree. We believe that by a judicious distribution of opportunities, and thoroughly competent instructors, Sanscrit and English may just as well be carried on simultaneously here, as

Greek and Latin in our Home Grammar Schools. But when a mature age has been reached, and the inducement is only pecuniary, and even after the bond has been signed, and the proposed studies are to begin—the disciples “attend reluctantly” only after “the failure of every device for evading attendance,” it may be safely said that only an enthusiast can hope for much. It is very true that in the third year of their English studies, we are told that the seniors of these young men read “portions of the works of Bacon and Shakespeare,”—the *Novum Organon* “having been selected as a class-book as soon as they had gone through the elements of English Grammar.” This, it is obvious to remark, is the exact counterpart of the plan which Dr. Ballantyne adopts in introducing Sanscrit studies in the English Department of the College. No sooner have the lads learned the very simplest rudiments of the Grammar, than he begins to lecture them on—what Vidyāsagar would reserve for a considerable maturity of scholarship—the Nyāya, Vedānta, and Sāṅkhya philosophies! What Vidyāsagar calls, (and, in a philological point of view, most correctly calls) the *main* part of Sanscrit literature—the epics—and the dramatic and lyric poems of the *era* of Kālidāsa—seem treated as though they were not, in the Anglo-Sanscrit class of the Benares College. When the Government of the N. W. Provinces adopted the opinion that “the study of Sanscrit by the English pupils in the Government Colleges might be made to furnish a means of mental discipline analogous to that which the Greek and Latin furnishes in Europe,” many rejoiced to see a sentiment adopted, as it was very well said, “likely to occur to minds scholastically educated in Europe, and thence transferred to an Indian arena.” But it did not occur to them that all the philological apparatus would be confined to a small tract of “First Lessons in Sanscrit Grammar, on the plan of Ollendorff.” This, however, is all that we can discover to have been done towards the foundation of correct Sanscrit Scholarship in the English College of Benares. Not one of the graceful episodes of the Mahābhārata, or of the rich and judiciously metrifed cantos of the Raghuvansa,—not a line of the more intricately constructed, but romantic “Cloud-Messenger”—or of the fine descriptive passages in Māgha’s epic,—or of any one of the nobler dramas—seems to have been attempted:—but only some dogmatical books, whose position, relatively to the golden age of Sanscrit literature, just corresponds with that

occupied by the old translators of Aristotle, in comparison with the authors of the Augustan era; concerning whose versions Lord Bacon has been reported to have said somewhat sharply that "had he any control over them, he would cause them all to be burned, for it is a loss of time to study them, and a cause of error, and a furtherance of ignorance beyond what can be well expressed." Whatever "pearl and gold" there be in the sentences of these oracles, their language is most assuredly "barbaric." How barbaric, an idea may be formed of by consulting the version of the *Novum Organon* constructed professedly upon their model, but only now and then approximating to their baldness. We have already given a specimen where about one word in every six is the monosyllable *it*:—we presume, for want of seeing any better reason, in rivalry of the equally elegant employment of the analogous word *tut* in some of the teekas.

In fact, every scholastically educated man will perceive in a moment, that, in a philological point of view, the plan introduced in the English Department of the Benares College for the study of Sanscrit is the very worst that could by any waste of ingenuity be devised—far worse than the native method of getting up the grammar and the lexicons by rote—which does administer to a copia verborum, and a theoretical knowledge of structure)—it is precisely analogous to the attempt to teach Latin by lectures on such books as Aldrich's *Logic*. Were it resolved, by the present respected Principal of the Mooghly College, to instruct the senior class of the Mohammedan pupils in the English Department of that institution in the Arabic language, as a means of mental discipline, which, he had very properly "pointed out, might fitly take the place of the classics in Europe," we can imagine with what astonishment the learned Visitor, Dr. Sprenger, would receive the proposal that the rarest and most recondite treatises of his magnificent Sufi Collection be translated, and printed with the original text, and the *imprimatur* of Government, in furtherance of that resolution. And yet this is a case in every respect parallel to the practice of making the "First Lessons in Sanscrit Grammar" the immediate antecedents of the *Tarka Sangraha*, the *Bhāṣha Paricheda*, and the *Siddhānta Muktāvalī*. And then, in the Sanscrit Department of the College, the idea of taking grown-up men, who have been for the first fifteen or sixteen years of their intellectual life instructed only in the letters of Hindustan, and beginning the English alphabet with them,

because they have “reached a point of mental culture at which they have become worthy of being reasoned with on the comparative merits of the civilization of ancient India and of modern Europe!” It is as clear as day-light that only in very rare instances will either the philological habit, or the susceptibility for complete conviction, remain in that intensity which is normal only in the youthful and the unbiassed mind. The Reports upon this “English class of Pandits,” published in the statements on Education by the North-Western Government, are, were there nothing else, quite enough to confirm our scepticism as to any real accomplishment having been made by any one of its members, in serviceable English literature;—they are the most inconsistent and self-condemnatory documents which we ever set our eyes upon;—it is to us extraordinary how any man of common intellect, with account to render of the work with which he is charged,—or how any officer authorized to draw up a memorandum on the advance of Education from year to year, could possibly utter any papers open to such severity of criticism. In the year 1846, the Principal of the Benares Sanscrit College “impressed upon the attention of the students, the fact, that they know no language besides Sanscrit and their mother tongue,” and “that they can write correctly no language but Sanscrit.” At the same period “the anxiety manifested by the senior pupils to retain their scholarships beyond the age of twenty-three suggested the feasibility of a fresh attempt to introduce the study of English into the Sanscrit College.” Forthwith, several men, “liable to be dismissed at the end of the year” as beyond the age at which, under existing regulations, scholarships might be held, sign a paper to undertake the study of English, if Government will pay them for it. Government, in 1847, contracting its part in the covenant, pupils use “every possible device for evading” theirs. “Apprehensions of a disadvantageous comparison with little boys who had been reading for a year or two gradually wearing off,” Principal “commences writing Sanscrit lectures on English Grammar, calculated for an audience of Pandits.” This remarkable little book, now lying before us, was published in December, 1847. After two twelvemo pages of remarks on the analogies and differences between English and Sanscrit Grammar, it proceeds to A. B. C.:—the parts of speech—including declension of pronouns, and conjugation of the verb “to pull,”—*I pull—I do pull—I am pulling—I am pulled*—and so on through the *mays* and *mights* and *shalls* and *woulds* and

*coulds**)—and winds up with a short treatise on Syntax, in six pages of *twelves*. Duly studying it—(not in English, but in Sanscrit)—these young men pass pretty much out of view, till some time after April 30th, 1849; between which date, and April 30th, 1850, however, we find the Principal “feeling quite satisfied with the earnest diligence and progress of several” of them, and “tolerably confident that in the minds of the most intelligent amongst them, there has now arisen a spirit of enlightened enquiry, which will neither suffer itself readily to be discouraged, nor be lulled into torpid slumber.” They read (besides “the History of Greece and Pope’s Homer;”) the two highest classics in the English language, “Bacon and Shakespeare;” and among the papers given in by them are “some clever renderings of Shakespeare into Sanscrit verse.” These, we may assume without much risk of error, were of passages previously expounded by them, or to them, in Hindi: and therefore a better test of their *English* scholarship would have been the rendering of a piece of idiomatic Sanscrit into English prose. Next year, their “*progress*” is still “most gratifying”—but, strangely enough, Bacon, Shakespeare, Pope, and the History of Greece seems all to have been suddenly dropped for one of the Calcutta English Readers, some portions of Dr. Ballantyne’s Lectures, some Reigns of the English Monarchs as they have issued from the school-book ‘manufactory’ of Messrs. W. and R. Chambers, and the first book of the Paradise Lost, which was, we have heard on good authority, written into prose for the purpose by Mr. F. E. Hall, just as Macbeth had been a year or two before, by Dr. Ballantyne.†

* We must not omit a specimen of this singularly constructed volume “calculated for an audience of Pandits.”

I did pull	ये दिद् पुल्	आक्राक्षम्
Thou didst pull	दौ दिद्त्त पुल्	आक्राक्षीः
He did pull	ही दिद् पुल्	आक्राक्षीत्

† This book is now generally pronounced to be the most tasteless and blundering travesty that ever was perpetrated; it proves its author to be about as able a commentator on Shakespeare as on Bacon. The paraphrase on the “rat without a tail,” in the third scene of Act I., has become a standing joke in Bengal. Dr. Ballantyne tells us (quoting no authority) that “a witch, when she assumes the form of a quadruped, *never has a tail*.” The passage in the “Defiance” (Act III. Scene 4.) now so finely amended from the recent Shakesperian discovery;—

“If trembling I *exhibit*, then protest me
The baby of a girl!”—

Lastly, from April, 1851 to April, 1852, "*progress*" (again) had "*not* in every case been *perfectly* satisfactory;" and all they seem to have accomplished during the whole Academic year was the perusal of "about 200 pages of the Calcutta English Reader, No. 5"—(150 pages of which they are reported to have read in the previous year)—their knowledge of English structure and idiom having by this period grown so utterly insignificant, that it was judged expedient that "the pupil read a sentence of English and then turn it into Hindi:" then that "the drift of the sentence and the topical propriety of every word of it calling for explanation be pointed out:" finally, that the Principal's "Coadjutor" "express the sentence in English in other words throughout than those in which it is put in the class-book." Most assuredly the Authorities in the Benares College have the strangest idea of "*progress*" that ever was heard of. Bacon and Shakespeare in 1849, and Calcutta English Reader No. 5, read sentence by sentence, done into Hindi, and lastly reconstructed in the original, in 1852! We are at a loss to calculate what progress towards perfection these promising stipendiaries may make in 1853.

The matter requires no comment, and we leave it, to enjoin with that earnestness which the importance of the subject will vindicate the attention of all charged with authority in our educational institutions, to the vastly superior advices of the Bengali Pandit. Let a simple Grammar of the Sanscrit language be prepared as an initiatory book for our Sanscrit Colleges. Let classical selections from the easier books be made, and really useful manuals be constructed in the vernacular languages. Let the fine philological discipline dependent on the study of Pāṇini be pressed to its farthest limit; and the great poems and dramas be perseveringly pursued. Let the native disciplinary books, in rhetoric and the art of writing, succeed, in combination with European treatises on the exact sciences. Let the study of the vernacular never for a day be intermitted up to this point, nor its supersession by the English ever be deferred beyond the commencement of the seventh year of the curriculum. Let no subsistence allowance, of any kind, be continued from

but which stands in older texts,

"If trembling I *inhibit* thee, protest to me &c."

affords, in its paraphrase as fair a sample as possible of Dr. Ballantyne's usual style of illustration:—"If I then keep back, instead of going out to meet you, you may declare that I am *not merely a baby—but one which, when it is grown up, would prove a girl and not a man (!)*"

the College chest to any who decline the commencement of their researches in the literature of the West at that period. Let special care be had that the inculcation of the higher disciplines be intrusted to well-learned men of scholastic training, that the danger of new-fangled devices be as far as possible counteracted. And let not too much be committed even to such—or to an apathetic—sometimes—at others an ill-judging—Local Committee, of which the official Secretary is the mouth-piece; but whereas there is, in all the most enlightened lands, a determinate ulterior end in view—the same in all the greater disciplinary foundations—the primary schools tending upward to the gymnasia—and they to the Universities, in which the qualifications for admission to the faculties are regulated by a strict and national Collegiate code;—so here, while *something* is left to the judgment and professional ingenuity of so eminent a man as he should be who is Master in a Collegiate House, let the defining of principles, and, to a large extent, of detail also, be committed to a high Official, responsible only to the Government—not in danger of collision with any second potentate—as has ere now been here;—the campaign in this department is not of a date so distant as to be out of the memory of any in Bengal who look inquiringly into measures for the popular weal;—but a Minister of Education in the highest sense of the phrase—a dignified Academician, with duties strictly academical; superior to the interferences, and out of reach

* SKETCH OF THE HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION OF THE EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT OF BENGAL.

This appears an appropriate place, with a view to the information of our distant readers in Europe and America, to give some account of the constitution of the Educational Department of Bengal and the North Western Provinces.

The supervising authority, under the Governor-General of India, from 1823 to 1843, for the whole Presidency of Bengal, was the *General Committee of Public Instruction*, a body of gentlemen in which were enlisted, from time to time, the most distinguished servants of the Crown and of the Company, —Judges of the Supreme Court, Law Commissioners, Members of the Supreme Council, and other great Departmental Officers being associated with the most intelligent of the native noblemen and gentlemen in and around Calcutta, “for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public education, and of the public institutions designed for its promotion; and of considering, and from time to time submitting to Government, the suggestion of such measures as it may appear expedient to adopt with the view of the better instruction of the people, to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and to the improvement of moral character.” It had been usual with this body, since the year 1835, to submit a Report of progress to the highest authority in Bengal, annually; it also corresponded, by its Secretary, who

of the jealousies of Councils, and Secretaries, and Local Committees of Instruction; but of that weight of character and depth of erudition which would itself be the vindica-

received a fixed stipend, with various Local Committees, appointed for the superintendence of the provincial institutions.

In 1843, however, several important changes were introduced. The "general and financial" part of the undertaking, including selection and removal of Masters, arrangements of studies and examinations, all changes of rule, and every item of expense, was, no one knows why, placed under the immediate order of Government; and the *Committee*, (its designation being very properly changed to that of *Council*;) from having been an executive, became a merely deliberative and *counselling* body. At about the same time the charge of all the institutions for education in the North West was transferred to the Lieut.-Governor of those Provinces, with whom they have ever since remained.

In a little time, the Bengal "Council," finding that it had dwindled into what was merely "*magni nominis umbra*," made an appeal to Government for a restitution to its former functions, grounded on the inconvenience of "a position of responsibility but no real power;"—and the result was the restoration of the Presidency, and some of the provincial Colleges, to its control, "entirely and without reference to higher authority." In the North West, there exists no "Council of Education," but only "Local Committees," purely deliberative and counselling bodies. Of the Committees in the Collegiate Towns, the College Principal is the *ex-officio* Secretary; and at the seats of the smaller institutions, the Junior Civilian of the station. These correspond directly with the Secretary to the Government, and all measures recommended through them by the Committees must receive the express sanction of the Lieutenant Governor. It is obvious, when the nature of these Committees is considered, composed, as they must almost invariably be, of gentlemen, highly educated, and invaluable in their several departments, but still with little or no professional knowledge of the science of Education, and therefore very accessible to the pangsibility of their Secretary, that they will be ruled almost entirely by *him*, if he be the Principal of a College; or *he*, if he be not, by a head-master of any finesse, whose organ he may happen to be. And the Lieutenant-Governor, of course, with his most important and zealously accomplished executive, legislative and financial duties, cannot be reading all the school books submitted in MS., and in some half dozen different languages; or weighing in the balance of his unbiassed discernment the ultimate results of every measure, which the Committee may recommend to his adoption. The result, then, as, if we mistake not, we have placed beyond all question in the instance of the Benares College, is, much very debatable policy, and many very worthless books. To express no premature opinion on the scientific publications, in Sanscrit, it is not to be supposed but that more than one of the European gentlemen on the Benares Committee might have searched the few Aphorisms which have been translated from the *Novum Organon* to exactly the same purpose as we ourselves have done.* And

* A suggestive example of the way in which these sort of labours are got through in India came to our own knowledge not long ago. We had the pleasure of a visit from one perhaps as well able to pass judgment on a Comment on the *Novum Organon* as any man in the country. He had recently been at Benares, and, naturally enough, the subject of our breakfast talk were, the glories of the New College and the wonders which are therein. We ventured, among other things, to doubt the feasibility of teaching the Christian religion from the Stand-point of the Nyāya Philosophy, which we were told was in contemplation. "But do you read the books?" asked our guest—"Oh—of course you do—well—have you seen the Commented Version of the *Novum Organon*? Don't you think that admirable?" We expressed our opinion just about as freely as we have here recorded it with its justification. "Oh!" said our friend—"that's easy enough to say—but hard to be believed." "Have you looked at the Latin?" asked we—turning to our book-shelves for the "Commented Version," and the ninth

tion of every act which he originated. A nobler field for the employment of the most varied attainment that the Schools of European can administer to, it is impossible to

if not, why then on Local Committees of Public Instruction? They are mere blinds and dummies between their Secretary, the Principal, and the ultimate authority;—useful only for misleading *him*.

In Bengal, the Committee, or Council, has, from the beginning, been much distracted in carrying out the views on educational points held by successive Governor-Generals. From 1823 to 1835, the larger institutions, with the exception of the Hindu College of Calcutta,* were almost exclusively Oriental in their character. Stipends, in the most lavish profusion—three hundred and fifty nine in the Delhi College alone—were bestowed without any discrimination on nearly every individual who either was, or professed to be, under instruction in the establishments. The most extraordinary premiums—thirty-two thousand rupees in a single instance—were conferred on translators into the learned languages of India; and if at last their translations happened to be unintelligible, it was sometimes proposed to retain the translators on a liberal salary to explain them. Then came Lord William Bentinck's Resolution, March 7th, 1835, decreeing "that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone;" and without going the length of "abolishing any College or School of native learning," objecting to the stipendiary practice, and the reckless squandering which was constantly perpetrated in the translation department; and ordering that "whenever any Professor of Oriental learning vacate his situation, the Committee report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government be able to decide on the expediency of appointing a successor." There was a storm of opposition from all who professedly existed on the abolished system, and from many who at least made no such profession. Mr. Shakespeare resigned the Presidency of the Committee. Mr. Macaulay filled the vacant chair. English literature took its place, in all save the three Oriental Colleges, on a uniform plan of his arrangement, or revision. It was doubted even whether the vernacular languages must not be entirely excluded from the curriculum. The General Committee promptly corrected the misapprehension. "In the discussions which preceded the order, the claims of the vernacular language were broadly and prominently admitted by all parties, and the question submitted for the decision of Government concerned only the relative advantage of teaching English on the one side, and the *learned* Eastern language on the other." But in regard to these, the order was most vigorously carried into effect. No opportunity was lost of transferring appropriations, originally made in favour of Arabic and Sanscrit, to the English classes in the several Colleges. No *separate* classes, even for the vernaculars,

volume of Basil Montague's edition. But our friend had never thought of *that*—he had only read it in his palkee! No—and if he *had* thought of it, who would venture on any thing so independent, with the impress *Benares College* before his eyes? One might as well presume to assail the judgment of Coke upon Lyttleton or of Firo upon "Pandect."

* The Hindu College of Calcutta was founded in 1816, as Mr Kerr very properly writes, by a spontaneous impulse of the native mind, and to meet the growing desire for instruction in English. It has subsequently been very much extended by large grants from Government, which, in consideration thereof, assumed a part in its management not at all times very consonant with the ideas of its original promoters. The most decided step was the last—only just consummated—to open the doors of the College, not to Hindus merely, but to all manner of men desirous of its advantages. So complete a reformation led of course, and (though much rejoiced at the decree, yet) we think not unwarrantably, to a good deal of discussion and some excitement and disappointment. It has ended in the foundation, by the Hindus themselves, of another English College, for their peculiar use, opened on May 2nd, 1853. We are much pleased to learn that all hostility to the Government is disavowed; the new foundation having been determined on merely on the consideration that the Hindus of the Metropolis are a body of wealth and importance enough to warrant their possession of an exclusive place of English education.

conceive of. Without constraint of any kind "to bring all our educational institutions to one standard," let the discretion of confirming new methods, new disciplines, new operations,

were allowed—they were to be taught simply as "adjuncts" to English. Lord Auckland came, and for four years extended his usual patient and persevering attention to the working of his predecessor's order. On the 24th Nov., 1839, he issued a "Minute on Education" of singular breadth and ability, to which was appended a scarcely less important Note by His Excellency's Private Secretary, Mr. J. R. Colvin. These papers advocated, that "in the Oriental Institutions, a decided preference be given to the promotion of perfect efficiency in the Oriental department." That accomplished, it was stated that surplus funds might be devoted to English instruction; but the remuneration of the Oriental teachers must be adequate to command the most eminent talents; the stipends of alumni must be revived on an improved system; publications be proceeded with, and a Visitor appointed to inspect the institutions. In the English Schools and Colleges, His Excellency could recommend no *present* deviation from the principle of combined English and vernacular instruction; but deemed that the case might be altered when a good series of vernacular class-books had been prepared. Still, he suggested that further experience was requisite to the solution of that question, and considered that the *two* great experiments in progress should be thoroughly developed—in Bengal, on the adequacy of the English, and in Bombay on that of the vernacular, for complete instruction. Lord Auckland's views, however, were limited to the extension of learning among the upper and middle classes of the people; and did not embrace the village population, which, he admitted, must be instructed, if at all, through the vernacular. The smaller Anglo-vernacular schools were therefore abolished, and the funds devoted to the improvement of the Colleges, which, it was hoped, might be and by send able missionaries through the breadth of the land, to diffuse the benefits which they had received through all classes of the population.

His Excellency further directed that the Committee of Instruction organize a scheme of scholarships framed with a view to enable the more promising alumni of the Colleges to embrace the opportunities for complete education. Fifty-two thousand Rupees a year, from the funds of the State, were sanctioned for that purpose, the Court of Directors unanimously confirming the enlightened recommendations of their Governor-General; the only *great* deviation which has yet been made from them being the establishment of Schools for purely vernacular instruction, in Bengal, in 1844, with very inconsiderable success; and in the North Western Provinces, where, since the year 1850, the system has been prosecuted with, we venture to say, a promise of complete efficiency under the enlightened visitation of Mr. H. S. Reid, C. S. The payment of tuition fees has been enforced with much vigour in the English Departments of the larger Colleges of Bengal;—(in the Hindu College it has sometimes reached above thirty-four thousand Rupees a year)—but in the Oriental establishments, and in the institutions of the North West generally, it is either totally, or comparatively, inert. In the North West, too, since the transfer of the Schools and Colleges to the supervision of the Lieutenant-Governor, the deviations from Lord Auckland's design have been of a far more decisive character. Uniformity of system does not prevail to any thing like the extent which is current in Bengal, and the whole tenour of these Notes is the expression of our persuasion that far too much has been conceded in favour of undigested novelties.

So long ago as 1839, it occurred to Lord Auckland, (wearied, we believe, by the incorrigible *vis inertiae* of the Educational Councils and Committees) that "the day" would "come when unity and efficiency of supervision will be better secured by having a single Superintendent of our Government Semi-

remain with him, in consultation with such assessors as his judgment might recommend to him; and let every book, prepared expressly for our Indian Colleges, severally or collectively, bear his *imprimatur*. So shall we see, in our

naries, with an adequate establishment," than by retaining a staff acting gratuitously in the intervals of business, and so numerous as necessarily to impede dispatch. And "it is satisfactory to us," added the Court of Directors, "to find that the sentiments of the Governor-General are in unison with our own. We are decidedly of opinion that much time and trouble would be saved, and much additional efficiency be secured, by the superintendence of Public Instruction at the Presidencies being exercised by their respective Governments, through the instrumentality of persons of competent acquirements, experience and ability, whose whole time and talents should be exclusively devoted to the duty."

Accordingly, after one ineffectual trial of the device of making the Principals useful, for inspecting, and reporting to the Council, on the school-masters;—and again a gleam of light, breaking on the Council, and then dispersing, as to whether the Secretary for the time being—(now an Assistant Surgeon on the Bengal Establishment—a gentleman of high professional attainments, but, we believe of no scholastic erudition, beyond that which perseverance, backed by ordinarily sound initiation in some grammar school, may acquire in the theatres and clinical wards of a Hospital)—might not "*more effectually than any other person*," visit, and report upon, the disciplines pursued in Sanscrit and Arabic and other Colleges—an Inspector was appointed—how much to the distaste of the Council at the Presidency may be judged of from the fact, that though an eminent and honoured Graduate of the University of Cambridge, (a Wrangler, we believe) "his functions"—we quote from Mr. Kerr—"were not permitted to extend to the Institutions in Calcutta and at Hooghly, which were under the *immediate* jurisdiction of the Council of Education." Here was a mistake! Could *this* by any possibility have been Lord Auckland's meaning, or that of the Court of Directors, when they agreed in thinking that the superintendence of Public Instruction at the Presidencies should be deputed to competent persons whose whole time and talents should be exclusively devoted to the duty? Could they have designed that the great Colleges should be supervised by *no* "single Superintendent"—but that the "Staff, acting gratuitously in the intervals of business, and so numerous as to impede dispatch" should be *retained* for them—and, at the head of its executive, a paid Secretary—a soldier, or a civilian, or, as in the present instance, a "General Practitioner"—certain to have other numerous spheres of duty—and scarce less certain to be an unacademic man, whose thoughts and talents have never been singularly, and in the discipline of a College, directed to the investigation of comprehensive and systematic ideas on Education? Upon all ordinary principles of judgment, one would imagine that from the day which saw an academical man and professional educator fairly installed in his office and committed to the duties of "unexpected visitation and searching inspection"—"constantly travelling about and examining into the state of the schools,"—and "with an adequate establishment;"—the paid secretariat at any rate, if not the Council, might have been rendered obsolete with equal advantage to the Department and its finance. Could it ever have been dreamed of that the *two* men—each corresponding with the Secretary to the Government of Bengal—the one, an Assistant Surgeon and Lecturer, we believe, on Materia Medica and Medical Jurisprudence, with laborious duties in the way of Hospital practice, and we know not how many offices besides—reporting progress on the important Presidency and the Hooghly Colleges:—the other, a scholar by profession, who, having worn the gown at one of our national universities, and graduat-

Oriental Colleges, the disciples trained, long before their initiation in them, to grapple with and discard the vain

ed in the highest rank of honours, had been selected by Mr. Macaulay or Dr. Mill as eminently qualified to serve the cause of Education in Bengal—reporting progress on the new and comparatively undeveloped institutions at Dacca, Kishnaghur and Moorshedabad, and on the initiatory Mofussil Schools—could it, we ask, have been ever dreamed of that these two gentlemen could work harmoniously? Why, there'd be war in Heaven if they managed things in this way. Just so there was here—perpetual sparring between the two officers, and an unmistakable inclination to under-rate each other's office and usefulness, and even each other's ability and character. The Inspector took no pains to conciliate the Secretary—the Secretary, it may be fairly said, at least *appeared* to regard the Inspector as a rival who must be *put down*. Unfortunately there was room for some discussion on the relative functions of the Council and the Inspector, which made an outbreak only the more inevitable.

In course of time the Inspector opened the campaign with what was considered a smart attack on the Secretary, in his character as Book-Agent for Bengal. He had visited the College at Kishnaghur, where it was his opinion that the library had been supplied with inferior editions of books, at excessive prices. He—(as, supposing *that* to have been his *conviction*, certainly seems to have been his duty)—reported thereon. The offence was neither forgotten nor forgiven.

Large grants had recently been made in the Department for the buildings at Dacca and at Kishnaghur. The funds were, naturally enough, under at least temporary embarrassment. Retrenchment was advocated in the Council. The Inspector's office was now considered about the least indispensable branch of the Department. Its abolition is mentioned in the Report of 1849–50, with the re-annexation of all Government Educational Institutions in Bengal under charge of the Council. So they continue to the present day. The services of Mr. Lodge were transferred, we believe at a considerably reduced salary, to the Hindu College, the Principalship of which had just become vacant by the displacement of Capt. D. L. Richardson. There he remained for a year and ten months; and then, it is said in dissatisfaction and disgust at intrusions and interferences most harassing to one of his energy and sense of duty, wended his way homeward to seek a fortune, if less remunerative, still more agreeable to a man of scholarship and of independent mind.

It need not be concealed that by his Colleagues in the Educational Department, Mr. Lodge is considered an injured officer. To us, he seems to have met with but small consideration—not at all such as was due either to his office or his attainments. We saw him but once—and then for only a couple of hours—but the impression left was that he was a very superior man indeed. The Lieut.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces is known to have trusted much to his wisdom and discernment. There never was but one opinion among educated men, of the great ability and uncompromising courage and honesty, with which he discharged his difficult duties. Still he never got more than one Report, in any thing like a perfect state, into the annual publication in the Instructional Department—and that a Report—though somewhat curt here and there, still of such unusual excellence as to cause us to lament that we have no subsequent records of his enlarging experience in determining what general principles should be developed in our disciplining institutions, but merely some detached observations on the several establishments which he inspected. And it is disagreeable to be convinced that had he been a man of fewer gifts, less energy, less intrepidity and openness of character, he would have reaped a better harvest in the Educational field of Bengal. We shall notice but one other topic, and that briefly;—we mean Lord Hardinge's celebrated "Merit-fostering Minute." It was published in Gene-

dogmas of their false philosophies; and a harmony established between them, and their contemporaries more exclusively learned in the sciences of the West, not on the poor,

ral Orders dated 10th October, 1844. It pronounced a Resolution "that in every possible case a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions," as well of Government, as of private individuals and Societies; "and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment." Annual Returns were to be made from all the provinces subject to the Government of Bengal, of students fitted, according to their several degrees of merit and capacity, for public employment; and the Governors and Managers of all other scholastic establishments were to be invited to make similar Returns of meritorious students; which were, after due and sufficient enquiry, to be incorporated with the Returns from the Government Institutions. No opportunities were to be omitted of providing for and advancing the candidates thus presented to public notice; controlling officers, with whom rests the confirmation of appointments, being directed "to see that a sufficient explanation be afforded in every case in which the selection may not have fallen upon an educated candidate, whose name is borne on the printed Returns."

Sanguine men thought they saw, for this Resolution, a success commensurate with its evidently benevolent design:—but the more practical perceived at once that it was encumbered with difficulties of a very formidable character. And the event proved that they had judged correctly. Before the first attempt to work it, a number of Rules of detail were prepared by the Council of Education, and sanctioned by the Government, which smothered much of the *παντέχνου πυρὸς σέλας* in the originally comprehensive idea. Lord Hardinge ruled "that it is highly desirable to afford every reasonable encouragement to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded";—the Council, on the other hand, that no such opportunity should be afforded, except to persons *at the time of examination students*, and between the ages of 18 and 23. The first order was that the Returns embrace the names "of students who may be fitted, according to their several degrees of merit and capacity, for such of the various public offices as, with reference to their age, abilities, and other circumstances, they might be found qualified to fill";—and that the periphery of these Returns embrace meritorious alumni of all scholastic establishments, to be received from their Governors or Managers, and after due and sufficient enquiry, incorporated with the Returns from the Government Institutions. But the Council ruled that it, or Examiners appointed by it, be the sole arbiters of merit; which was to be assigned only in two degrees, and according to one uniform standard—a standard, in the opinion of the Court of Directors, "that can only be attained in the Government Colleges, and therefore giving them a monopoly of the public patronage." Lord Hardinge decreed that "an invariable preference" be shown to passed students, "over those not possessed of superior qualifications";—but it was soon found in practice that the embrace of "superior qualifications" was very wide indeed. The Court of Directors were "not disposed to regard a high degree of scholastic knowledge as constituting an essential qualification for the public service." They "would not insist throughout all India on even a moderate acquaintance with the English language." The Managers of the several Missionary, or Private Institutions, through their spokesman, the violent and voluble Dr. Duff, were loud in remonstrance—deemed that, in order to render it a fair test of qualification, the "standard must needs undergo an organic alteration or enlargement;" impressed upon the Council that they were not "professional educationists, but unprofessional amateurs;"

illiberal principle of a common indoctrination in systems of merely "*imposing* methodical completeness," and of expertness in coping with an artificial dialectic; but on the deeper and nobler foundation of an agreement on the sources, and the criterions of mutually-received Truth.

By disciples thus forearmed, we hope and believe that the several systems of Hindu philosophy may be investigated without any considerable detriment to the intellect, and possibly with some improvement of the faculty of order, and the propensity to classify scientifically. Possibly, too, the pre-acquired freedom of investigation and superiority to national prejudices, applied to scrutinize the wretched sophistries and ill-spent ingenuity which are more or less characteristic of all the Darshanas, may occasionally edify the habit of discrimination. And as curious results of subtle speculation, their study is essential to all who would be masters of the several phases of the philosophizing mind. But higher use than this we consider it impossible with any jus-

suggested that the Christian Institutions be represented in the body of examiners, whose élèves "*reading Polluk and Montgomery*" (rejoined the Council) "*and discarding Shakespeare and Pope*" (1) — "*may be vastly superior, as regards useful and ennobling scholarship, and vastly more worthy as regards their settled principles of life and conduct.*" The discussion was not conducted with much courtesy or respect of persons on either one side or the other; and ended only in rebuffs and disappointments. And what with these, and the differences of opinion between the Council and the Court, and the exclusion of the Oriental Colleges from all examination and "*Return*" of students, and the obligation of all who would be examined and "*returned*" on the Council's Lists as candidates eligible for public employment, to present themselves, from the most distant parts of Bengal, in the Town Hall of Calcutta; and to pay a fee of five Rupees for registration for an ordeal, which, they are made perfectly to understand, "*implies no pledge on the part of Government for their future employment,*" even in the event of their success; there can be no hesitation in saying that the whole affair has been a failure, as every thing else will and must be—except the mere advancement and accomplishment of élèves, (a matter quite independent of the Council, and its Secretary) during the existing constitution of the Educational Department. Of course some few of the "*passed*" candidates have been selected into the Public Service; — just as, perhaps, the same men would have been had they undergone no examination. But it is notorious that the immense majority of the superior officers dispense their patronage without any reference to the provisions of the "*Merit-fostering Minute*;" and of three or four schemes now lying before us — the several suggestions of as many very able "*unprofessional amateurs*," with a view to a better enforcement of the provisions of Lord Hardinge's Resolution, it is not difficult for the practical eye to discern that no one could be brought to advantageous and generally acceptable effect. Worst of all, it is admitted in his "*Minutes*" placed at our disposal, by one of the ablest and most indefatigable friends of Native improvement in Bengal, that the corrupt practices of the older native officials act as a positive barrier to the introduction of youths educated in higher principles and standards of morality to the subordinate offices, repulsive alike to their inclinations, and their real interests.

tice to award them. To say nothing of the miserable hair-splitting of the atheistic school, and of the pantheism of the theological, the Nyāya itself, which Dr. Ballantyne professes such an admiration of, accounting it the "*Philosophia Prima*," which he would make "the nucleus and centre of the whole Sanscrit Department," begins with, and, by his own shewing, proceeds upon, a principle destructive of every proper ethical idea, that the "*Summum bonum*, or 'chief end of man' can be reached only through *knowledge* of the truth." Now, in this very sentence is contained, as any one may be convinced by a very slight reading in the history of the purer forms of ethics, the weighty difference which must ever prevent the possibility of there accruing from the study of a system commencing with such a doctrine, those moral benefits of which the Schools of Aristotle and of Plato have been prolific. For here is the great and cardinal distinction;—that whereas Gotama would instruct "the virtuous," *by knowledge*, to "get over the whole darkness that is *within them*," the others would train up their disciples, *by practice*, to mitigate the whole darkness which is *in the world*. The very character of the founders has transferred itself to their Academies—Gotama, the bald ascetic, intent only on his own deliverance, from the scorching suns of Prayāg, or the eternal winter of the Himalayas*—Plato and Aristotle, abroad

* We are quite aware that it has been seriously maintained by Mr. John Brande Morris—(see his "*Essay towards the conversion of learned and philosophical Hindus*," p. 143)—that "doubtless the austere habits of the ancient Indian seers" is "one reason why, in their ancient books, there is kept up a part of an ancient tradition, which contains the true doctrine more or less disfigured." "For," argues the same writer, "by abstinence from the good things of this life, the soul is purged to see the good things of another life." And "calmness of the mind, with fitness for receiving the good things of another life, cometh out of the devotion of the *Sannyāsi*, who leaves father and mother, and houses and lands, and all that is dear to him, for the mere hope of seeing what he believes to be truth." And the ancient Indian sages "*through Tapas*, attained to the sight of much holy truth, being fitted for the transmission of it from the discipline they observed, and able to see and understand it, because they were not a dissolute set, like the Greeks, whose very priest class were frequently licentious, and did not seek chastity and holiness by stern discipline, but by sundry devices which it is shameful even to speak of." Mr. Morris quotes St. Cyril, too, apparently to establish the doctrine that every philosophical sentiment broached by the Greeks had been before established either by the Indian Brahmins or the Syrian Jews. But however this may be, or may commend itself to the judgment of Dr. Ballantyne, it is an opinion which has hardly yet become so current as to warrant our assuming it as the foundation of our scholastic disciplines. Besides, the frequent occasions which Dr. Ballantyne finds to dissent from Gotama are themselves the confirmation of his conviction that however much "holy truth" that ascetic may have "attained sight of," and however "fitted" he may have been to "transmit it," he has nevertheless

in Athens, wistful of the national degeneracy, and intent chiefly on applying to the remedy for it the two best proportioned intellects of the palmiest days of Greece. "There never was a time," it has been thoughtfully and with great truth observed, "when human reason was so acute and profound—when there were such opportunities of seeing it laid bare in all its evil forms—and therefore when great and good minds were roused to grapple with it with such vigorous and noble exertions," as in that era of really high and elevating speculation, when that same human reason, with the sole object of diffusing largely the increase of human improvement, was called by the strongest of all motives on the virtuous and philanthropic breast, to contemplate the laws of the human mind. And so it elaborated just what, under such advantages, might have been expected from it, a philosophy, not perfect, not oracular, but yet exhibiting the nearest approach to harmony with the Divine oracles which the unassisted understanding has ever attained to;—and only *less* important and instructive than they;—for whereas, among the Divine oracles, we must tread reverently, and refrain the too inquiring touch and gaze, in the "glorious palace" of the only *less* perfect Greek, "the curious eye and adventurous foot may wander without doing harm, and practise the art of discovery as boldly and adventurously as they choose, and sharpen the intellectual faculties, and learn the truth, but innocently and safely." Now, if there be nothing of this kind—no real ethics—no social philosophy, no drafts from man in what Aristotle calls his state by nature—the state of polity,—but only reflex considerations on the individual, and unprofitable, because unreal and untenable, cosmical doctrines,—(and we believe it to be impossible for Dr. Ballantyne to shew that this is not the true description of the Nyāya Philosophy)—it needs not much depth to answer his enquiry *how its* method could be much improved. The Nyāya presents no normal place whatever for the most thrilling and eventful debates which have ever occupied the mind of man. Its world-scheme is very puerile and inane—its logic, real, but ponderous and indiscreet—its procession of argument, just what by *prima facie* probability one might expect from an acute mind bent inward, upon self, or outward, upon an hitherto unexamined Nature,—and with a merely imaginary antagonist:—it is a highly suggestive ex-

"more or less disfigured" it throughout with a very promiscuous interfusion of error.

ample of how much the large intellect of a wild man can achieve, in the forests and on the mountains,—but to use it, in this nineteenth century, as an educational instrument, is, we verily believe, as extrême a folly, and as vicious a self-imposture as ever entered into the heart of man.

And yet this is the scheme which a Lieut.-Governor has been found to panegyric before a vast and influential concourse, and to profess openly his readiness to encourage, by the preparation of a noble edifice, by printing and circulating publications framed in reference to it—by the dedication of not much less a sum than half a lac a year, from the public exchequer, if not exclusively, still mainly, to its development ! And this is the plan which he compares to “the whole character of our administration in this country”—“in our systems of Police, of Civil and Criminal Justice, and of Revenue management”—where, it is argued, “we have first examined the existing systems, retained whatever of them we have found to be right and just, and then engrafted on this basis new maxims derived from our own institutions.” Is it not patent on the most superficial glance that the analogy is merely rhetorical ? Do we open Inns of Court and erect Chairs, and entertain Counsel learned in the ancient Territorial Codes to harangue and expound upon by-gone systems of administration, deferring the executions incurred by branches of our own Regulations, until we have “removed mutual misapprehensions,” and, “by the development of the points of agreement,” done our best, that “the points of difference either disappear, or have such light thrown upon them as that we may be the better prepared to deal with them” ? Do we not rather argue with defaulters—“Nay, friend—ignorance is no excuse for transgression—our books are open—you may live and learn your duty of us—it is not alone for doing your fathers’ deeds, but for wilful negligence of what might have guarded you from the peril of it, that these things are visited upon you” ? Who ever said that we should *not* retain, and be thankful for, and make the most of, *all* that is eligible, in the Hindu systems, whether of law, or of philosophy ? Who ventures to dispute Vidyāsagar’s position, that to “the perfect knowledge of the Sanscrit language,” that one should be expected to attain in “a period of fifteen years of study,” a familiarity “with all the systems of philosophy prevalent in India” is essential ? Who would close the Halls of Oriental Learning against *one* who would sit there munited with the defences of our armouries ? Who would deny him any thing beyond encouragement,

though he disdain our sword and helmet, and go forth with his sling and stone? But is this the same thing as *withholding* the mightier weapons, till perfect skill has been attained in the ruder tactics—as letting men go on, from the age of eight, to three or four and twenty, utterly unskilled in the learning of the West, except so far as that is represented by some mathematical exercises got up in Hindi or in Sanscrit?—as “deprecating the omission of a single treatise of the regular Nyāya course,” introducing no counteractive of its follies until they are settled into the constitution, and then using it as the “Philosophy which treats of whatever, like a common trunk, belongs to the sciences before they branch off in their several radiations”? Is not this to reverse the common order of human proceeding, and, when men have well drunk, to bring in the better wine?*

We have conscientiously endeavoured to render Dr. Ballantyne the strictest justice. The position he has assumed in the country, as an educational reformer; the extensive and radical changes which he has suggested and promoted in the institution over which he presides; the considerable erudition in the learned tongues which stands asserted for him in the vast variety of his publications; the fact that those publications are no private adventure, but are defrayed by grant after grant from the treasuries of the State, or of Societies; the further fact that the large majority of them bear upon their very front the *imprimatur* of the Government of the North-Western Provinces of India, and are designed to test a theory, honestly propounded, no

* To prevent all possibility of misunderstanding, we here insert, from the General Report of Public Instruction, N. W. P., An. 1846-47, extracts from Dr. Ballantyne's own sketch of what should be the constitution of the Sanscrit College of Benares,—views—to the best of our belief,—entirely unaltered up to the present day:—

“III. The highest rewards shall be reserved for those, who, *having attained* in their own Shastras all that is necessary to gain the respect and the attention of their fellow-countrymen, shall manifest by their application and consequent attainments, a real desire to pursue the search after truth to the furthest limits to which access is provided for them.

“IV. *Without being called upon to learn English*, a student shall be allowed to go through the *whole curriculum of Sanscrit study*, and to hold the scholarship to which he shall have annually renewed his title, until he is 23 years of age. A student of English, however, provided *he have attained* the highest grade of Sanscrit scholarship, and continue to prosecute his studies in at least one branch of Sanscrit learning, shall be eligible to be retained indefinitely.”

If there be any meaning in words, nothing can be clearer than that Dr. Ballantyne would *exclude English studies altogether* from the Sanscrit College, except in cases where a student, having passed the age of 23, shall have attained the highest grade of Sanscrit scholarship.

doubt,—but just as certainly regarded as unsound by some of the most practised educators in the country ; the inaccessibility of a large number of his books to general scrutiny, and the superficial examination on which we have found that others are commended, we presume upon their author's reputation as a linguist and a literarian ; above all—the serious loss of capital, and the more serious waste of talent and capacity which must accrue, should his prepossessions prove at last but a vanity and an infatuation ;—all these circumstances combine to render him, if ever there was one, a fair mark for candid, but unindulgent criticism. “*Scito tu justum gemina suspendere lance ancipitis libræ,*” is an admonition which we profess to have listened to throughout ;—but if, by any false glosses, we have made “the wits mount upward, and the hairs subside,”—if in a single instance we have been iniquitable, or have accumulated venial instances of inaccuracy or of error,—if we have imputed one untenable offence against literary propriety, or have sustained one unnecessary objection by merely plausible sophistry, or have misrepresented any expression or proceeding on which we have animadverted, our sorrow will be unfeigned, and we say with all sincerity, that nothing will be more acceptable to us than to see those arts exposed through the very channel by which they have themselves been promulgated. If, on the contrary, we have done none of these things, but have confined ourselves to the exposition that, for what is merely curious, and interesting to the speculative enquirer ;—or for what may be only of remote, or of but little, practical service for the education of the Hindu mind ;—the wholesome and ennobling disciplines of Europe are, where they might be serviceably developed, wholly or to a large extent, sacrificed or set aside, we have a confidence that our plea of justification will be admitted by all to whom these pages come. We have stated that in our opinion the Government Reports themselves are testimonies to the inferiority of the Benares College to any other institution of similar capabilities in Bengal, in sterling literature and science, in the English as well as the Oriental Departments. What then, it may be fairly asked, is the substitute ? Government answers—(General Review, 1848-49.)—“The *endeavour* to work upon the minds of the Sanscrit Students through the medium of their own literature.” (Do. 1849-50.) “The *expectation* of important results from the system pursued.” (Do. 1850-51.) “The engagement in the study of English, and in the acquisition of European learning, of a class of Pundits” and “the

preparation of various works connected with the Sanscrit language and philosophy." (Do. 1851-52.) "Unabated vigour" in "*efforts* to impart knowledge and enlightenment to the learned classes of the Hindus." Admirable intentions, doubtless—better no place was ever paved with—but let us glance at the prospects from a more practical point. Others can judge as well as we of the results to be expected from the republication of such books as Bishop Berkeley's "*Principles*," and Mr. J. S. Mill's *Logic*, for about a dozen men who, after four or five years' instruction in the English language, drift back from the enjoyment of Bacon and Shakespeare, to instruction in the "topical propriety of every word that calls for explanation" in the "*Pieces*" of Calcutta English Reader No. 5. But is there not the "*Laghu Kaumudi*, with versions, commentary and references," all for making Pāṇini level to those who can give but a fraction of their time to Sanscrit;—and doesn't Professor Wilson say "it will be of infinite use to those who wish to learn substantially and in earnest," and "I went through the text with one of my Oxford pupils, to his great satisfaction and advantage"? Just exactly what we should have expected from Dr. Wilson, whose pupils, with their considerable classical and philological erudition, and acquaintance with the methods of Europe, are the persons to appreciate such an edition of a native Sanscrit Grammar, and to whom, unquestionably, its publication is of the highest possible utility. None would break a lance with Dr. Ballantyne, for preparing *such* works, in the intervals of business, if they saw the grand objects of enlightenment, for which the College at Benares has been established, advancing. But of what use is it *to the Hindus*? How many have ever gone through it, or ever will—who *of them*, with the assistance of a Grammar Pandit, could not read the original book, with as much, or more advantage? The *Laghu Kaumudi* is a work which all *Hindus*, who are to read it at all, should have at their fingers' ends, long years before they can read it in the translation. But are there not the philosophical tracts, the translated Aphorisms of the Darshanas, of which Dr. Max Müller writes, "it is much to be regretted that they should remain almost unknown in Europe, at least on the continent?" To be sure: who *should* say so but he? They are of essential advantage to the curious in Oriental speculations *there*. But *to the Hindus*, we ask. Do we want more men *here*, than those who can investigate them in the Sanscrit, to pore over the ritualism of the Mimāṃsa, or the devoteism of the Yoga, in sentences which "no Pandit in

these days professes to teach"? Yea—but may they not “subserve the attempt to determine accurately the philosophical terminology of the East as regards that of the West”? In Europe possibly they may; but here, as far as we have seen, they are not very likely to conduce to an intelligible nomenclature of the European sciences. In illustration of this opinion we may mention that Dr. Ballantyne, in his nomenclature of Chemistry, has called the several oxydes of Nitrogen, *Vikàras*. This word puzzled us greatly, and not us alone, but learned Pandits to whom we submitted our difficulty. Not one of them could help us, or form the least idea of what it meant. At last, by the merest accident, we happened to recollect, what we believe we hadn't read for years, that *Prakṛiti* and *Vikāra* are, respectively, the technical terms for the elementary existences, and the product of their combinations, in the Sāṅkhya Philosophy.

We may be wrong, but our honest belief is that all this refinement of Hinduism already pretty nearly obsolete is of no practical use or purpose whatsoever. And this, and the unscholarlike inaccuracy* of other of Dr. Ballantyne's books, which, were they of the character which we had expected from him, might have been extremely useful in the Senior English Class, confirm our impression that it is utterly hopeless to expect any result from the College at Benares.

* It would be an easy thing to show that neither Dr. Ballantyne's original publications in Sanscrit, nor his translations from that language, are any thing like so correct as they should be. We have heard numerous complaints from those better qualified to urge them than ourselves of the unidiomatic structure of his “Synopsis of Science;”—of the inaccuracy of his translated Aphorisms, we will give one instance so exceedingly palpable, that it is indeed a marvellous thing how it can have escaped his notice during the whole of those four years in which he has been repeating it. The twelfth of the Nyāya Aphorisms runs thus:—

Ghṛāparasanaśakṣustwakrotrāṇḍriyāṇibhūtebhyaḥ.

And its translation is, as will be made clear by a reference to the chapter on the *Dravyāni* in the *Tarkasaṅgraha*,—“The nose, the tongue, the eye, the skin, the ear”—(each being identical in substance) “with the element” (of its own proper apprehension) “are the organs of sensation.” That this, and this only, is the sense of the passage will further appear by reference to Dr. Max Müller's earliest observation on Kaṇḍa's Theory of the Elements. Dr. Ballantyne, however, renders the passages “The organs of sensation (originating, or not differing,) from the Elements, are smell, taste, sight, touch, and hearing.” Is it not quite evident that these are not *organs of sensation* at all, but *senses*? The same inconsistency, in a variety of forms appears in each edition of the translated *Tarkasaṅgraha*. We will just add that, according to Kaṇḍa, there is a *particular part* of the grosser nose, tongue, eyes, skin and ear, which is, in a special degree, the *sensitive organ*. Thus he tells us that the “organ of sensation” which is “apprehensive of smell” is called “*Ghṛāna*,” and is situated “on the tip of the nose.”

except by a radical change of the system pursued there, both in the English and the Sanscrit Departments.

We shall not disguise that we have very recently received a fresh impulse to comment thus fully on Dr. Ballantyne's *cutcha* scholarship, as well as on his measures generally, from an impression very current among those most interested in the subject in Bengal, that it is in contemplation to depute him to visit the Sanscrit College of Calcutta, with a view to his reporting to the Council of Education on the efficiency of the Principal and other Officers of that Institution; and on how far it might be advisable to substitute arrangements more in harmony with those of his own introduction at Benares, for the methods contemplated, and recommended, by Eshwarchandra Vidyāsāgar. Surely it would be the height of injustice to subject the recommendations of an accomplished and promising Educational Officer to the revision of one who, in Oriental learning, must needs be so very far his inferior, and the fair issue of whose abnormal designs must still be pronounced to be so exceedingly problematical. Surely, if common sense be impotent to pronounce upon which of the two plans which we have given so large an exposition of be the more hopeful, yet common equity will suggest that the peculiar features of neither be defaced or mutilated by the intrusion and animadversion of the advocate of the other. If the suggestions of a Hindu scholar, of however much intelligence and superiority to vulgar prejudice, *must*, merely because he is a Hindu, be submitted to a deputed individual, let that individual be a man of proven attainments, or at least above the suspicion of that poor vanity of erudition which commits its harbourer to offices beyond his skill, and the presumptuousness of which is too palpable to be disguised even so loosely as that he be himself deceived.

Of the several Madrissas, or Mohammedan Colleges, we cannot pretend to speak of our own information. How completely disorganized the one in Calcutta was until recently—how absolutely two and twenty thousand rupees a year were wasted upon it, no one knows for how long a period,—is proved past all extenuation by a Memorandum of the Education-Council presented to Government in March, 1850. "Not the slightest advance had been made since the days of Warren Hastings, either in the system of instruction pursued, or the amount of study accomplished." "The Arabic Professors and the English Librarian practised in the City as Hakims, and were scarcely ever present in

the Mudrissa." "The monthly returns of attendances and studies were quite unworthy of trust." It was considered high time to place the Institution under "an European Principal, with duties and responsibilities similar to those of the Principals of other Colleges;" and the Council strongly recommended Dr. Sprenger "as the fittest officer in the country for the proposed situation." A better move could not have been suggested. Not only is Dr. Sprenger distinguished throughout Europe as an Arabic scholar, but during his most able Presidency over the Oriental College at Delhie, he brought up a considerable number of men who now rank among the first Moulavees in the country. On joining his appointment, Dr. Sprenger discovered abuses even greater than the Council had contemplated. Not only was no student ever reported absent, but few ever thought of attending at all, and those few only for an occasional couple of hours. All were "miserably defective" as well in other disciplines, as in that of Theology, for the prosecution of which the Madrissa was avowedly founded. With characteristic energy and right-mindedness the new Principal applied himself to the work of reform; but ere the first session of his rule had terminated, the strong hand with which he resisted contumaciousness and incapacity, and the unpalatable measures which he wisely visited on the refractory, brought upon him the usual appeal of his subordinates, to the Council of Education, and, we may add, that painful sense which must be evoked in every upright man of learning who feels that no sufficient reluctance is manifested to entertain the complaints of his underlings. A Committee was convened and the "differences," as the Report calls them, "adjusted;" but we feel quite sure, to the material damage of the Principal's authority, and the delay of that revision of which he was, and continues, the efficient advocate, and the encouragement of certain scribblers in the Hindustani prints, whose object is to transfer the management to the hands of certain low-minded Mohammedans, printers and book-venders,* who fear to find their occupation gone

* One's disgust is naturally and properly excited to hear on unquestionable authority of a chela of the Government, intruding whole columns into the native Journals, and managing their reproduction in an European Newspaper of talent and of circulation, with the sole purpose of uttering unprincipled animadversions on one of the best-read among Arabic scholars, and among the kindest of men,—and of advocating the election of Mohammedan gentlemen into the Council of Education, with the chance of himself securing a seat which might influence the retention of the otherwise, perhaps, to

from the thorough re-organization and revised plan of study, we are most happy to say, projected by the Council, and to be brought into active operation immediately after the current summer's recess. The success of this re-organization, we have not the slightest hesitation in predicting, will be exactly commensurate with the extent of its adoption according to the original cast of Dr. Sprenger. We believe it must be acknowledged that there is only one (and he an absent) member of the Council of Education who can make the smallest pretension to Arabic scholarship, and we have heard it roundly declared by those who, if there be any wisdom of choice exerted in officering our Institutions, *ought* to be the best qualified of all to judge, that, admirable as the several members are in their official, and their private characters, there is not one of them who, in the practical tact of the educator, is qualified to examine even an infant school. Let not then either the *gaucherie* of the well-intentioned, or the arts of the designing, defeat the result in which it is but natural that Dr. Sprenger should be the more interested, in proportion as the Council's confidence is extended to his recommendations.

As to the Colleges for Western learning in Lower Bengal, they appear to be proceeding, under their generally able Principals, Professors and Head Masters, as well as their extremely defective organization admits of—rather in spite of it. It is not possible that any Body *without* can entirely baffle the exertions of officers *within*, if their heart be only in their work. Still we are very certain that it is the opinion held by the most eminent and practical educators in India that the advance of sound learning has been impeded by the constitution of the Counselling Body, and the previously unheard-of subordination of the Instructive Department, even in its very highest grades, to it. It is positively acknowledged, in the most undissembled language in the last Report received by us, on the 13th of February last, in an

be abandoned stock of books of his own impression. But what is this to the more notorious and longer discussed fact that even the shelves of some of our English Colleges absolutely labour with a collection of worthless lumber, bought up, ere now, at the expense of Government, to meet the interests of private friends, whose already antiquated collections would have been sold for a mere song at the public outeries? We do not know—we hope the days of all this jobbery have long been numbered; but after the many, and in our opinion, most trustworthy, instances of bygone years which have been confided to us upon various authority, the matter must not pass without our alluding to it.

Official Minute, submitted by the Secretary to the Council, and by the Council to the Governor-General of India, that even the Principals and Professors of Colleges have never yet been "armed with sufficient authority to maintain discipline." They are subject to all sorts of idle and vexatious appeals against their decisions by any refractory native teacher who *should be subject* to them, or any urchin whom they find occasion to impose a task upon. And the Secretary, at the same time that, in his condescension, he advises the Council that they, the Principals and Professors of the Colleges, are, "from *his* personal knowledge" men who may be "safely entrusted with such power" as is "sufficient to maintain discipline, and decide all ordinary questions" in their respective charges, "*without any fear of its being abused,*"—(these gentlemen, be it remembered, are Wranglers and Senior Optimes of the University of Cambridge, we presume with the customary College Testimonials, of important weight for their admission into Holy Orders, or any of the highest walks of professional life;)—suggests at the same time that the old extravagancy of appeal be admissible "against their decisions," "so that, *even supposing partiality or any improper feeling to exist, no real injustice could result from its exhibition.*" We remonstrate against the expediency of introducing such a sentiment before Young Bengal, in a published Report, purchasable we believe for a Rupee or two, or if not, accessible in every College Library, and all the larger Government offices in the country.

Then again, changes of discipline, changes of arrangement, changes of study, changes of examination for scholarships, changes of qualification for ditto, are pushed through pretty much "per vices annorum." We were told, in the Report of 1849-50 that "a consideration of the apparent facility with which so large a number of scholarships was gained had led to a careful revision of the whole Scholarship scheme and standard"—"the Hon'ble President, with the sanction of the Council, inviting the Principals and Professors of the Hindu and Hoogly Colleges to a conference on the subject. A programme, it seems to us of much excellence, was drawn up, which "met with the unanimous approval of the gentlemen consulted;"—but it is only fair to add that the *present* Principal of the Hindu College *now* considers that "some reform must necessarily take place" in that system of *Senior* Scholarship administration. No sooner comes the Session of 1851-52, than

the Secretary, "varium et mutabile semper," "ventures to propose, for the Senior Scholarships, AN ENTIRE CHANGE OF PLAN AND SYSTEM"! Now why is this? The matter lies in a nutshell. "As long as Mr. Bethune was alive, the only high official man who has taken a zealous part in our College management since Mr. Cameron's day, the word was,

σιγᾶτ', Ἀχαιοὶ, σίγα πᾶς ἔστω λεώς·

σίγα, σιῶπα· νήνεμον δ' ἔστησ' ὄχλον.

But in the very document which records his death and embodies his almost in every respect admirable Addresses at Dacca and at Kishnaghur, (the Report of 1850-51.) Lord Dalhousie is advised that "the *object*" which Mr. Bethune's standard of study "was intended to attain is good;" but "the result of its introduction has been somewhat unfavourable to the number of scholarships gained and retained;" so next year, "in reference to the *defects* of the existing plan of study and mode of awarding scholarships," something else must ooze out—quite a fresh lactage from the Secretary's own Kāmaduk. We agree with Mr. John Newmarch, of the *Citizen*, (Feb. 14, 1853,) that there is much in the Minute which meets a hearty approval, and we join him in the hope that it "is the preamble to a fiat of abolition against the Local Committees of Instruction," satisfied as we are that "no man of decent intellect and education will submit to the interference of a committee-man who classes Mathematics among the occult sciences." We agree with him too, in opposition to Mr. Harrison of the Kishnaghur College, that there need be no apprehension of favouritism working unfair results in an examination of *their own pupils* by the Professors and Masters of the several Government Colleges, and that it is wholly incorrect and without foundation to believe that the slightest suspicion of favouritism was ever breathed against any authority in our Home Universities, in his judgment on the "collections" of his own College. But from the practical tendency of the Minute, in a disciplinary point of view, we dissent entirely, and feel quite convinced that any attempt which may be made here to organize our schemes of study on the model of the Cambridge Triposes cannot fail to do harm. A moment's consideration will shew that the condition of the alumni, at Cambridge, and at the Colleges here, is entirely and organically different. The former, perhaps for ten years, in one of the foundation or endowed Schools, or of the ten thousand very passable Houses of initiatory

instruction, which there now are at home, have laid in a good foundation of solid literature and philology, and it may safely be left *to them* to consult the bias of their mind on the point of which discipline it might be most convenient for them to go out in, at the final University Examination. But under the Bengal Government, it is notorious, there is not now a single good School:—they have been growing worse and worse ever since the unhappy abolition of the Inspector's office; they are managed on such a scale of false and niggardly economy, and in nine instances out of ten, are so imperfectly superintended, that the youths come up from them to the Colleges almost totally ignorant of the very rudiments of learning. What *must* be the result, then, if the youths in these Colleges, having acquired merely the "very elementary knowledge of science" exacted in the Junior Scholarship standard, are allowed the choice of deserting, or at any rate of *almost* deserting that discipline? (For, in the final, and honour examination, it is contended that "the amount of" scientific "knowledge required *need not be great*," provided "high proficiency in literature entitle the candidate to have his name returned in the" other "tripos list.") Why, the very "committal to memory of a mass of matter on various subjects, without the exercise of the judgment or the reasoning faculties"—the "species in fact of mere cramming" which Dr. Mouat deprecates, and seeks to obviate, will abound more and more. The exaction of considerable proficiency in pure and mixed mathematics, in all the candidates for honours in our Colleges, is the very thing which has hitherto operated to mitigate the evil of "cramming," already, in our literary disciplines, far too virulent. Pure science is the very thing which *cannot* be "crammed;" and *therefore* which, the instant it is made *un-obligatory* for honours, will become *unpopular*. It is the "painful following of the successive steps of demonstration, each resting on what went before, and patiently built up from the most elementary propositions of Euclid, to the sublime speculations of Newton," which is our very defence and armoury against the flimsy attainments and insufferable superciliousness which would otherwise be almost universally the characteristic of our Bengali élèves, *and the more, the more completely they have crammed* their glossaries, and margins. Perhaps the Council of Education never did so wise a thing in its existence, as to determine that "no present change" be made "in the Senior Scholarship system and standard;" and we sincerely hope to

hear that, as often as ever Dr. Mouat brings forward this truly pernicious infringement of a scheme framed by, perhaps, the ablest Director of Education that we have ever had among the Public Servants of Bengal—(a scheme, too, which met with “the unanimous approval of all the gentlemen, Principals and Professors, of the Hindu and Hooghly Colleges, whom” Mr. Bethune consulted)—“labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.”

On the whole review, there can be no hesitation in saying that Public Education in Bengal is in a wretched state. In the whole of the institutions, including those of Assam, Aracan, Tenasserim, the S. W. Frontier, and the Vernacular Schools, there are not eleven thousand persons under instruction. There are only four Houses, under the Council, in the whole Presidency, where any thing beyond the most absolutely rudimentary acquirement can be made. Perhaps no other School in the territory except the Branch Schools at Calcutta and at Hooghly, which are under the immediate eye of the Principals of the Hindu and the Hooghly Colleges, can be fairly said to be in any thing like a satisfactory position. There is an ardent desire for instruction in English, but the miserable pittances in most cases assigned to the Educators will not command men either of tact or of attainments. The most injudicious changes are every now and then made in the School establishments,—(as lately in the case of the Head Master of the Branch School at Calcutta)—with the mere view of evading the retention in them of successful Masters at that advance of salary which they find they can command in other positions. Though Lord Hardinge invited special co-operation in the extension of “sound and useful” elementary instruction imparted “in the Vernacular language;” and “trusted” that the Board and local Revenue Authorities “would enter upon the duty with that interest and zeal which its great importance demands,” yet only £2,238 a year was ever sanctioned for the whole of Bengal, Behar and Orissa ! It seems that this paltry pittance was distributed over a hundred and one different Masters ; and the Board of Revenue “urged” on Commissioners, Collectors, and their subordinates, “zealous co-operation in promoting the present enlightened scheme, by evincing a steady interest in it, and by instigating the more opulent natives to a liberal support of the proposed Institutions, as being one of the surest means of showing that they merit elevation and distinction from Government.” How-

appointment of Book Agent,* in consequence of the responsibility and laborious nature of the duties." Never was there one so polypragmatical—not Caleb Quotem himself—clerk, smokejack, grave-digger and undertaker,

"Who physic sold, and cured the mumps
And little school-boy jackies."

To come to the North West. Of Vernacular Education we have there, as we have said before, a better account to give. Mr. H. S. Reid, no pluralist, and on a very moderate income, according to his works, his service, and his standing in it, is really and indefatigably devoting himself, totis viribus, to the great and philanthropic design. His Report, though not very artistically put together, is still, with all its superfluity of detail, extremely able and interesting;—his measures unexceptionable, and exhibiting much of that tact and practical wisdom by which men are won. We have no space for particulars,—we refer either to the Report itself—which we sincerely hope has found its way to England—or to a valuable article by a well-known hand in a late number of the *Benares Magazine*. We heartily give Mr. Reid God-speed in his good work and self-denying labour of encouragement of native industry and improvement of native character.

Of other Schools there are but few left; only two, it seems, by the Report of 1851-52. The Lieut.-Governor's design appears to be to merge them altogether, or nearly entirely, in the Colleges of the larger cities.

Of Colleges for general education there are four; that of Bareilly of only very recent erection—it had previously been a School. It is, and must remain for many years to come, hardly adequate to its designation; but it is said to be under judicious Government, and Lord Dalhousie is record-

* It must nevertheless be admitted that there perhaps never was another office the records and statistics of which furnished such a meagre clue to the average of its operations. We will shew this in the case of a single Collège—let it be that at Hooghly, and its dependent Institutions. From Oct. 1845, to Oct. 1846, not a single anna was realized by the sale of Books, from the Book Agency, to the students. The same was the case next year. But between Oct. 1847 and Oct. 1848, a sum of Co.'s Rs. 594-12-6, is recorded. The next year, Co.'s Rs. 21-0-0. 1849-50, No Returns. 1850-51, Co.'s Rs. 1018-10-0. 1851-52. Nil. But the most unaccountable thing of all is, that although in Appendix E. of the Report for 1850-51, the sum of Co.'s Rs. 1018-10-0, is recorded as realized from the Hooghly Institutions between Oct. 1st, 1850, and Sept. 30th, 1851; in Appendix H. of the same Report, we are advised that not one anna was received between 1st January and 31st December, 1851, for volumes from the Govt. Book Agency sold in Hooghly College.

ed to have expressed himself, in January, 1852, "well pleased with all he saw of the College of Bareilly, its direction, its success, and its promise of increasing usefulness."

The Agra and Delhie Colleges are doing their work with some efficiency. The Mathematical standard of the former is highly respectable—its literature but indifferent. Its staff has lately received a valuable accession in the appointment of Mr. L. Clint to the post of Head Master—a gentleman who has graduated at Cambridge, and heretofore has done good service in the Colleges of Bengal. Of the Mathematical attainments of the Delhie alumni the recent Report gives us no sufficient means of judging. We should fear, from all we can gather from what the Principal, Mr. Cargill, has written, that there was a failure. Some of the literary papers, however, are creditable—that one on the History of India decidedly the best of the year in the Colleges of the North West. And with the enlightened sentiments which Mr. Cargill expresses, and what we hear on all sides of his attainments and qualities, the Delhie College ought to rise and flourish under his direction. "The educational establishments of this country," he remarks, "by whatever name they may chance to be dignified, are as yet but schools, and scholars ought not to be allowed to read and paraphrase Shakespeare and Bacon before they understand thoroughly the first six books of Euclid, nor ought they, on the other hand, to be permitted to penetrate the mysteries of the Differential Calculus and Astronomy before they can understand a piece of plain English." These points, and others either analogous to them, or flowing from them, kept in view, our Colleges will go on and prosper. Benares College, where very much the opposite plan is adopted—where the élèves advance from the very elements of *English* Grammar to Bacon and Shakespeare, Locke, Berkeley and John Stuart Mill;—and again before they are up to Sanscrit inflexion, to the philosophies of the six Darshanas:—where the only Mathematical paper which has been uttered in the Reports for years, "*proposed by the Principal*," begins with the Calculus—then proceeds to an easy question of simple Arithmetic—next advances to some *very* simple Equations—then—(oh! we are sick and tired of all this trash)—to the Binomial Theorem—(most indifferently worked)—Benares College*—where to ask Herodotus's account of the raising of the Pyramids of Egypt is considered to propose a *question*

* See Report for 1846-47, Appendix, p. xxi.

of *Natural Philosophy*, and the Principal himself, with his deep and multitudinous avocations, is yet too unskilled in English to explain correctly such an expression as "*the baby of a girl*,"—is naturally enough as bad as bad can be, and must, except under a total change of discipline, as we said before, shortly go to pieces, or continue to be supported as a mere State-encumbrance.

We use great plainness of speech, trusting that a just consideration will be extended to the vastness of the interests in behalf of which we enlist ourselves, and record our conscientious, and not hastily formed judgment. We yield to none in sympathy for, and love of the land of our predilection, in which we hope to spend our strength, and, when the fiat is pronounced, to repose our head. Our heart's desire and prayer is that the Hindu people go on to perfection, in wisdom and in knowledge, and in all that is right and true. A well adjusted, well watched, liberally encouraged scheme of national education we believe to be, *in the present state of India*, to this end and consummation, of all instruments the most powerful—powerful beyond even the preaching of the Gospel itself. For so, we believe, the land will be *prepared* for those times of refreshing when the Lord shall call the nations from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof. It is *because* we have a faith that God will again, as in the olden times, choose the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, that we yearn for the period when simple intelligence, and deliverance from vain superstitions, shall be diffused among the humble poor. The only human means whereto is such a large organization for elementary instruction, in the dialects of the land, as can be accomplished only by liberal concessions of the public wealth, and by the large-hearted and self-denying co-operation of the pillars of society. It is *because* we are convinced (as Archbishop Tillotson has it) that "all error, as well of practice as of judgment, is endless, and when a man is once out of the way, the further he shall go on, the harder he will find it to return to the right way," that we lift up our voice for the discouragement of all who seem to us to be persevering in meretricious, but delusive attempts. It is *because* of our persuasion that the simplest man, if he be but sound, is better to us beyond all compare than he whose mark is for ever beyond his measure, that we strip the mask from off the visage of a feigned universality of learning. It is *because* we feel the arduousness of the duty which must devolve on him to whom shall be entrusted the working of our apparatus for Hindu regeneration—that the burden will all but overpower

the stoutest shoulders on which it can possibly be fastened,—that we appeal for one of eminent gifts, accomplishments, and experience, and with power and influence commensurate with his responsibilities, to be the Superior of the Presiding Officers in the Colleges of each of the great divisions of the State. To such a man, we can affirm of our knowledge, several of the best of these would feel it a privilege to yield implicit confidence and submission; whereas how poor must seem to them the submission of *the Council*, their recognized authorities, *under* whom they serve, that overwhelmed with other labours, and “not professional educationists but unprofessional amateurs,” they “record their opinion that they are not themselves properly qualified”—not to govern and harmonize the proceedings of a group of Colleges—but not even to “conduct an examination.” Personally, we have no interests whatever to consult; of friends we have but few among all whom we have written of—we testify conscientiously that we have felt as the foe of none; few of all should we recognize were we to meet on the way. With no interest of ours to promote, we have at the same time no penalties to fear; and therefore we have presumed to speak uprightly.

There are one or two more points to which we desire to advert; on the chief of them Mr. Kerr has written, for the most part, ably and wisely. A vast difference of opinion, it is well known, exists, as to how far the Christian Religion might properly be made an element in our Government scheme of Education. Sir Erskine Perry recorded on a public occasion at Bombay, in his character “as a Judge, as a Citizen, and as a Father,” his opinion that of the *two* systems, Government and Missionary, the former is *the right* one, in which, as Mr. Kerr delivers, “religion, strictly speaking, forms *no* part of the course of instruction.” The learned Judge alleges that the opinion which he has formed is, “that the Government system, with the total absence of religious instruction, is not only the most expedient one in this country, but the *only* one which accords with” his “sense of what is just and right.” He considers that the doctrine which he enunciates is “indisputable, that it is tyranny of the worst kind on the part of the State to interpose between the father and his child in the inculcation of religious opinions not approved by the parent.” “And,” he adds, “if it is wrong to do so on the part of the State by the exercise of mere power, it is almost equally wrong on the part of an individual to take advantage of the plastic mind of youth

to introduce religious impressions by the exercise of temptations which a very poor and rather cunning people are not able to resist, or are not unwilling to encounter." He would advocate, even by Missionaries, a restriction "to intellectual and moral training, so long as the child is immature and *in statu pupillari*; and religious instruction only when the field becomes an open one, and the youth is emancipated from the parental authority;" and he seems earnestly convinced that "more truly Christian virtues are produced in the young men under instruction" by the Government Preceptors, than by the Missionaries. Dr. Duff, on the contrary, declares that though "Hinduism, which is so large a compound of all that is false, monstrous, and extravagant, could not long resist the vigorous onset of European science, if conducted on a scale of *national* magnitude," yet to judge from all historical precedent, "in the sudden demolition of established systems and established forms, and in the *absence of positive principles* of counteractive power, the newly awakened spirit might spring at one bound into the opposite extreme—manifesting itself in new actions and events, from the dim and distant contemplation of which, even in imagination, the mind most gladly retires." He imagines "the sceptical and irreligious spirit stripped of all vital energy;" and "the very excesses of incredulity and indiscriminate outrage producing a *powerful reaction in favour of the ancient creed*." "In a word," he adds, "the temples might be repaired; the idols reseatd; the offerings and sacrifices renewed; the rites and ceremonies resuscitated; and the festivals celebrated with greater pomp and magnificence than ever. In either case, whether viewed in its direct operation, simply as the destroyer (without supplying a substitute),—or in its reaction, as the restorer of a system like that of Hinduism, what," he asks, "becomes of the boasted power of mere human science to raise a people circumstanced as are the Hindus to the enjoyment of a sort of millennium of temporal bliss? Alas, alas, from first to last—from beginning to end—it is all mockery and delusion, as pregnant with disaster as with disappointment and shame!" And so he argues that at the same time that we encourage and countenance every direct attempt to increase the amount of general intelligence, they all be prosecuted *pari passu* with the evangelizing process, as "beyond all means the most potent in its operations and extensive in its results." Here, then, are the poles of opinion, both, as usual, equally removed from the safe and pleasant *via media*. If we may not "interpose be-

tween the father and the child," if conservation of religious tenets inculcated by the parent be a moral duty, then better . shut up all our Colleges at once, and confine ourselves to mere reading, writing, and mahājāni, for there is scarce a subject *beyond* which we can teach irreproachably. "Don't teach my nephew geography," said an influential Hindu to the Master of a Government School in Bombay,—“it swamps all our religion;”—and evidently for precisely the same reason he might have protested against the cultivation of nearly every one of our sciences and philosophical disciplines. The fact is, moreover, that it is not true in one case out of a thousand, or of ten thousand, that the Missionaries, as individuals, or in any other capacity, “take advantage of the plastic mind of *youth* to introduce religious impressions by the exercise of temptations;”—the temptations, such as they are—(and they consist of, in several of the larger Missionary institutions, a very excellent general and scientific education without money and without price)—are held out to, and grasped at by, *the parents themselves*. *They know* the stipulation,—and they look upon it as the bad feature in the bargain—that instruction in the doctrines of Christianity *must* be received as part of the Missionary system; but they submit—because *with it*, their boys receive what they have learned to consider as absolutely essential to their future success, and they, the parents, save their money. This, we think there can hardly be an instant's doubt, is the leading motive upon which the Missionary Schools have filled:—in the *present* state of things, with the high character which many of these establishments have acquired, and the eminent accomplishments and systematic moderation of the several able men who devote themselves to the good work in them, we do not mean to say that if half a dozen such institutions as the Hindu College, large enough to satisfy the desire of all Calcutta, or of all Bengal, for English instruction, were to throw open their doors to-morrow, it would make very much difference in the rolls of the leading Missionary Schools. But it can hardly be a matter of doubt that if, on the day on which Dr. Duff and his staff, as unknown and untried men, commenced their operations in Calcutta, with the profession that, as skilful educators, scholars and scientists, they would train up all who chose to enlist themselves under them, in the knowledge they possessed, without fee or reward, provided only that all accept daily instruction in the Christian religion, the chances are, we say, that there would not have been found a single heathen parent in all Bengal to listen to the proposal, if, at the same

time, Government had come forward with an offer of the same advantages, unencumbered with the repulsive stipulation. Now, on the justifiableness of any such enforced concession as this, even in order to the promulgation of Divine Truth, there will always be a serious difference of opinion among earnest and right-minded Christians. It is very true that the truths which we desire to communicate to all mankind, to promote their happiness and ameliorate their hearts, we shall make accessible to all, by laying them in their way, by placing them in their houses, by obtruding them on their eyes every where. But whether *the written document*, the *very Word* given unto Faith by Divine Inspiration, is, if not to be placed by force in the hands of the heathen, yet to be studied by constraint, not for its own sake, but at the positive sacrifice of inclination, and merely as the barter for worldly substance, which *of*, and *only* of, sordid avarice, it is refused to exchange by the penurious guardian for the *only* wisdom which he deems essential for his ward ;—instead of which, he is content to submit him to influences which in his ignorance he holds as noxious, and desires only that they may not prevail—this, there can be no possibility of doubting, is a very different matter indeed. We are not afraid to say that, in our humble judgments, no such appropriation of the Sacred Scriptures can be defended on any argument whatsoever. We desire, we trust,—(we will not say as much as any—for *that* must be according to the measure of grace)—but with all the intensity of which we are the possessors we would that the knowledge of the Lord cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea. But His Word, while we would not deny it unto any, even the unconverted, who will read it with desire and a willing mind, we deem profaned by its introduction in a scheme of study, as (just as *really* so as were it *nominally* made) the penal substitute by whose acceptance infidels and unbelievers can satisfy their thirst for *other* knowledge, and appropriate the vile coin which, *without* the Word of God, must be the purchase-price of that *other* knowledge. We hold that the teaching of the Word of God is the office of those only who are lawfully called to exercise it, as of parents to their children, masters to their households, tutors and governors to their scholars and wards, and all these in strict subordination to God's own Church and Ministry. We hold, too, that it should be opened freely unto all who would exercise themselves therein with gravity and with humility. There being, near the sites of most, or all, of our Colleges and other educa-

tional establishments, a Minister of the Word of God, (often many such,) a Chaplain, or a Missionary, we see not why the Government, and under it, the Council of Education, should hesitate for a single instant to open the doors of their seminaries, with proper regulations as to time and duration of the duty, to any recognized Teachers of the Gospel who will lend themselves to that work and labour of love; under whom all who would might sit, hearing them, and asking them questions. We can say for ourselves, and we believe for others also, that no privilege of our office would be more cheering or more delightful, or, it is our heart's conviction, crowned with a richer reward. Many, we are of opinion, would at once avail themselves of such opportunities, offered, but not enforced, by the authorities under whom they are;—curiosity be gradually awakened, and the Bible classes be well attended; and with that, and what Mr. Kerr tells us, and we have ourselves the best possible reason to know, “the teacher left at liberty to speak to his pupil, on religion, on Christianity, on its distinct evidences,” and to instruct him, moreover, to enjoy and love our Bacon, our Milton, our Johnson, our Addison, all replete with holy references and scriptural illustrations;—and to unfold to him the deep things of our sciences, each of them, in its way, the antidote to error;—and, besides, to trace in our ethical and moral volumes, the humanities of our religion, the “existence and attributes of the Deity, the relations of men to God, the probability of a Divine Revelation, the nature and province of Faith”—all this done on the national scale which India demands of us, we believe that nothing beyond, save the direct and public preaching of the Gospel, would be wanted for, in God's good time, the regeneration of the land.

The only topic which remains to be touched upon has already ceased to be a matter in dispute—the question has resolved *itself*. Shall we, it *used* to be asked, address ourselves to the masses, or confine our operations to the comparatively affluent few—shall our methods be pursued exclusively, or almost exclusively, in the Vernacular languages, or in English? Experience has already answered these questions—*each* method is only the complement of *the other*; and beyond them *both*, the learned Oriental element must be introduced, if we would have *complete* efficiency in our instructional apparatus. Without a thorough and extremely copious European education, we never can have men of Hindu race to attend the march of progress and gradual scientific enlightenment;—but this, as in every, the

most civilized, country, is for the *gifted*, and the *few*, to whom the *other* objects of the world seem not worthy; who, in indifference about *its* treasures, and concentration in the sphere of thought, will dedicate substance and endowments to the cause of sublime research. Others there are again, *egregie cordati homines*, but whom the necessities of worldly circumstance compel to employ their talents in the line of personal remuneration. To such men we must look to organize our higher classes of District Schools, to improve our Vernacular literature in its School-Books, in its Magazines and Journals: to popularize the love of knowledge in our Mofussil towns, where there is no such ready ear for purely English edification as at our Presidencies. We have had instances of such men in the Framjis and Naorozjis of Bombay, who have been heard to appeal to audiences of delighted hundreds on the grand results of the investigations of European philosophers. To these men we must offer facilities of almost equal extent, and moreover a constantly progressive developement of the Vernacular element. But that, for such purpose, is even at the present day all too poor;—therefore for the enrichment of its several dialects, no less than for a conservation of the noble vehicles of thought which they are respectively, in themselves, must we encourage Sanserit in our Vidyāsālās, and Arabic in our Madrissas. Still there is a class of men less professionally literary, the scions of our native gentry—the salaried deputies in our Government, our professional and our mercantile establishments—hundreds of them holding offices of trust and emolument, for their capability in which a large infusion of truly English ideas is positively indispensable. For a succession of these we must provide in the general literary and scientific classes of our Colleges, exacting value of them for the education which is to render them serviceable in after life. But are the masses to be left alone—is *no* thought to be taken how the reign of improvement and the discouragement of ignorance may radiate through the length and breadth of the land, and the humble man,—for such a dole as he will distribute from his scanty superfluity—aye—and the poor man too, for all his poverty—may bless the strangers who shall guide their children well? Surely not—to these ends we must dedicate our Scholarships and other eleemosynary endowments—inviting those whose hearts are *on* the land or their fortunes *of* it, to swell their number and degree, and distributing them systematically to youths of promise, prepared to devote themselves, under stipulation of a future

and very moderate provision, in case of diligence and correct behaviour, to such a course as is calculated to prepare them to be the pioneers of improvement to the benighted millions in our tahsildaries. So, and by the countenance of a wise and merciful Government, and by the generous courtesy and visitatorial encouragement of the local authorities, would grow up gradually, in our villages and country towns, the ready ear and the enquiring eye;—and in our cities, the several sources of refreshment—the rill which scarce can trickle no less tributary to the commonweal than the gushing fountain, or the flood which lifteth up its voice; and altogether crowned with the blessing God has promised to those whose zeal is according to knowledge, by faithful desires, and genial encouragements, and unobtruded opportunities of holy edification, not one is there among us but who might still live to see the desert blossom, and the wilderness rejoice.

Note.

It has been brought to our mind by a very interesting article, published in the *Calcutta Review* about a year ago, on the "Early History of Native Education in Bengal," that we have omitted to do honour to DAVID HARE, a humble and illiterate man, but of great energy and enthusiastic devotion to the idea which he first comprehended, the education of the people of India by the English tongue. "Mr. Kerr," writes the able Essayist, "is quite mistaken in supposing that the Hindu College was founded 'by a spontaneous impulse of the native mind.' The scheme was entirely foreign to the native mind; was forced upon it from without, and, again and again, would have been abandoned in despair and indifference, but for the determined, enthusiastic, solitary perseverance of David Hare." Few have there ever been who, from such small beginnings, have lived to see their cause so thoroughly triumphant. Mr. Hare saw the School in which all his thoughts were centred open in an obscure dwelling, on the 20th of January, 1817, with only twenty pupils; and about ten years later, the Hindu College was complete, and he a constant and always grateful guest in the Court where his statue by Bailey now stands, a monument of the respect and regard of those for whose welfare he yearned, and with whom he was far more at home than with his own countrymen.

V.

KANA'DA'S THEORY OF THE ELEMENTS.

FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. MAX MÜLLER.

This short Theory of the Elements presents many points of interest. We observe first of all the old notion, not unknown to the Greeks, that the organs of perception consist of the same transient substances as the things which are perceived, a notion which has become current among us from Goethe's fine paraphrase of Plotinus:—

Wär' nicht das Auge sonnenhaft,
Wie könnten wir zur Sonne blicken?
Wär' nicht in uns des Gottes eigne kraft,
Wie könnt' uns Göttliches entzücken?

The eye is *light*, the skin is *air*, the tongue is *water*, the nose is *earth*. Whether the ear is *ether* remains doubtful,* and must be answered in the negative, if, as the Tarkasangraha says, ether exist only as an eternal element. It is indeed remarkable that the organ of hearing is entirely passed over here. In the Sutras of Kanāda nine *substances* are alleged, as in the Tarkasangraha. But, instead of twenty-four *qualities*, we find only seventeen:—namely—Colour, Taste, Odour, Feel, Number, Mass, Individuality, Conjunction, Separation,

* Except there be a discrepancy, which we do not anticipate, between the Elemental Theories of Kanāda and of Gotama, it seems probable from the 12th of the Nyāya Aphorisms, (quoted in the note to p. 336,) that an identity of substance is maintained in ether and the sensible organ of hearing.

We had believed from a passage in a recent number of the *MISSIONARY* on the Pantheism of the Sufis, that the Gulsheni-Ras presents a curious coincidence with the doctrine of the Vaiseshikas on this point of identity of substance, in the sensitive organs, and the objects of their respective apprehensions. "If you take the matter rightly," the accomplished editor quotes from the German Translation of the Gulsheni-Ras, by Von Hammer, "*the eye and the light are both the same.*" The translation of Von Hammer, however, being in rhyme, is considered by competent scholars to convey only a very imperfect idea of the original, of which he seems also now and then to have mistaken the import. On referring to Dr. Sprenger on this particular passage, that gentleman obligingly attached a translation, which we are thus enabled to supply, with the original Persian:—

چو نیکو بنگری در اهل این کار * همو بیننده هم دیده است
دیدار

"If you rightly look at the root of the matter, He (God) is the seeing One, He (God) is the Eye (i. e. Man)—and He (God) is the object reflected (i. e. the World)."

Dr. Sprenger's ingenious paraphrase of the context, and vindication of the above version, is hardly sufficiently in point for us to record here, the

Neighbourhood, Distance, Percipien-
cies, Pleasure, Pain, De-
sire, Aversion, Will.—Sound, therefore, Weight, Fluidity,
Visciditv, Virtue, Faultiness, and Retropension* are deficient.
The Commentary says that these seven qualities, though not
mentioned expressly, (kaṇthatas) must nevertheless be reck-
oned, as generally agreed upon. Still it is very likely that
they were added subsequently (to the original series of se-
venteen). Moreover, in the Bhāṣhā-paricheda, *ether* does
not succeed *air* as the fifth element, nor, in the catalogue of
qualities does *sound* succeed *feel* as the fifth in number; but
is set down last of all. Nevertheless, in the Tarkasaṅgraha,
sound ranks fifteenth among the qualities; and is subse-
quently expounded as a quality which is contained in the
ear, and has place only in ether. On the process of its per-
ception, however, nothing is said beyond what the Bhāṣhā-
paricheda adds—Sound resides in ether; but is then first
perceived, when it is brought forward to the ear. This
'bringing forward' some assimilate to a current of waves;
others to the blossoms of the Kadamba, which are protrud-
ed in corymbs of some ten flowers each, successively, in the
order of the points of the compass.

Lastly, the senses apprehend not one substance with
which they come in contact; but only the qualities of those
substances. The substance itself is perceived only by in-
ference. In like manner the atom-form of substance is a re-
sult of argumentation, as we shall by and by see.

Humboldt thinks it likely that the hypothesis of four, or
five, different material elements, which is a component in
every discourse on Natural Philosophy from the didactic
poem of Empedocles to the very latest periods, is of Indian
origin.† If there be any old authority for the Greek tradi-
tion of a journey of some very ancient philosophers to India,
the opinion has much in support of it, especially as regards
the systems in which *five* elements are enumerated. The

more specially as we hope soon to have a comprehensive analysis of the
Sūfi doctrines from his able hand. Meantime we may just mention that he
has not detected the opinions of the Vaiśeṣhikas on the elements and
the organs of sensation to be current in the Arabic or the Persian philo-
sophical Books.—Tr.

* The original word is *Sanskāra*. Müller renders "Anlage," and re-
marks, "Man am besten durch die Eigenschaft des Sich-selbst-wieder-setzens
übersetzen kann." In the *Tarkasaṅgraha*, there is the expression, "Sān-
kāramātrajanyaṁ jñānum smṛitī"—"the knowledge produced only of Sān-
kāra is Memory." The word "Retropension," then, seems to convey the
proper idea.—Tr.

† *Cosmos. Sabine's Translation*; vol. iii. p. 11.

doctrine that the elements are *four* in number, proposes itself too naturally to empirical observation and systematic arrangement, to need any supposition of a derived origin. We have scarce a right to consider even the *Fourhood* (Vierzahl) of the elements, as maintained by Empedocles, to be a derivation from the Pythagorean Tetraktys.* The *Fivehood* (Fünfzahl) of the elements, on the other hand, is a view of a decidedly individual character; and one which would point with much probability to a derivation, were the apprehension in both lands really the same. But this harmony is not yet established, even so far as regards the number itself. The Pythagoreans were brought to their doctrine of five elementary bodies, (ether being the fifth) not on physical grounds, but through their peculiar views on number, of which there is no trace in the Indian philosophy.† The ether of the Ionic School cannot at any rate be that which the Indians in technical language express by 'Akāṣa. What is called ether by Anaximenes is called also αἴρ; and is nothing more than one of the ancient elements under a new designation, whereby Anaximenes would solve the problem of the world's origin, as Thales sought to do by water, and Heraclitus in an eminent extent by fire. Here, ether is not a fifth element, besides the other four, but from it all things arise, by rarefaction and condensation. To be sure, the αἴρ of Anaximenes has a higher philosophical meaning than the water of Thales: for he represents it as the Interminable, the God-like, and the All-creative.‡ But on that very account, too, it belongs to a much higher sphere than 'Akāṣa, the elemental medium of sound. Empedocles recognizes only four elements, which he even reduces to a duality, inasmuch as he sets the fire of Heraclitus against the three other elements: and these Empedoclean elements represent well enough the eternal substances (nityāni dravyāni) of Kanaḍa, especially when we consider how, in Greece too, the atomic form of substance unfolded itself

* ZELLER. *Die Philosophie der Griechen*. vol. i. p. 172.

† See Boekh, Philolaus, S. 160; quoted by Zeller, I. 173. According to Plato, the primary form of Earth is the cube; of Fire, the tetrahedron; of Air, the octohedron; of Water, the ikosahedron, of Ether, the dodecahedron. II. 258. These elements are, consequently, perfectly immaterial. (stofflos.)

‡ Zeller says, "that Anaximenes, by these expressions, has discriminated between Air, as a general principle, and atmospheric air, (as Brandis has alleged—*Gesch. der Griech. Röm. Phil.* S. 144; and Ritter—I. 217—) is no consequent from the passages which they adduce in proof;—what is here said of the interminable air will apply equally well to the atmospheric."

both historically and naturally from the Empedoclean elements.* But the ether of Anaxagoras belongs to an entirely different sphere. No Indian would recognize his own 'Akāṣa in that ether "whose substance is fiery, and which, from the force of its rotatory motion, tears rocks from the earth and kindles them into stars."† Aristotle remarks, that Anaxagoras should not have used the word αἰθήρ, intending thereby "fire," for its original meaning is "the uppermost region." Humboldt has given an emphatic prominence to these different acceptations of the "World-ether" in the several stages of the history of the rare and thin upper air (im Fortgang der Geistesgeschichte) in *Cosmos*, vol. iii. p. 34. If we follow the report of Megasthenes in the matter of the Indian 'Akāṣa, then certainly the fifth element of the Hindus may seem to correspond with the ether of Anaxagoras,‡ as the heaven and the stars must have derived their origin from it. But this is evidently a mistake of Megasthenes, and a transference of Grecian ideas. The origin of the Indian ether, as we find it in their philosophical systems, is simply this.§ The Hindus, as we have seen, suppose that the organs of sentient perception are composed of the same substances as the things which they perceive. For four out of the five senses, correlative substances readily suggest

* ZELLER. I. 104-95.

† PLUTARCH. *De Plac. Philos.* II. 13. and *Cosmos*. *Sabine's Translation*; Vol. I. Note 89.

‡ FRAGM. MEGASTH. XLI. 17. *Edit. Schwanbeck*. Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς τέτταρσι στοιχείοις πέμπτη τις ἐστὶ φύσις, ἐξ ἧς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ τὰ ἀστρα.

§ The common meaning of the word 'Akāṣa must be discriminated from its technico-philosophical acceptation. There can be no doubt that the latter is the more recent meaning of the word, which originally, *before* its employment in philosophical language, merely denoted the higher region of the atmosphere. 'Akāṣa was originally the clear upper atmosphere, and so far agrees with the Greek term αἰθήρ. Indra is called 'Akāṣesa, Lord of Ether—a form just correspondent with that of *Iliad* xv. 192;—Ζεὺς αἰθέρα ναίων. 'Akāṣa, too, occurs in the acceptation of common air. In the Naighantuka 'Akāṣa is given as, in the language of the Vedas, a synonym for antariksha, which Bopp has translated by the term "durchsichtig," "transparent,"—inasmuch as the Hindus derive it from antar, within, and riksha, a star. The etymology of 'Akāṣa is clear enough,—it means "luminous." But others derive it from the negative ā, and kaṣ, to go,—because ether is not mobile like the other elements, but is invisible. In unphilosophical usage αἰθήρ (from αἰθεῖω) is allied with 'Akāṣa. It is wrong to assimilate αἰθήρ, phonetically, with āshtra, as Buschmann proposes, after Vans Kennedy. The root αἰθ corresponds with the Sanscrit edh, and has no analogy with

themselves :—light, (or fire) for the sight of the eye ; water for the taste of the tongue ; air, for the feel of the skin ; and earth, for the smell of the nose. But a fifth element was needed still,—for the hearing of the ear. The most natural thing had been, to announce that air is the medium of hearing. But the Hindus had evidently taken note of the fact, that sound can penetrate the thickest substance, which is absolutely impenetrable by air. Sound can penetrate not merely air but water ; and even the most compact material, as gold itself, cannot resist it. Aristotle declares decisively, that air is the medium of sound ;* just as he supposes a medium of sight, and smell ; for which however, as he says, he gives no name. The exception which the Hindus would make against embracing this statement of doctrine, even after its more complete establishment by Newton's theory of Undulations and Oscillations, is manifestly the same which Bacon made ;—namely,—that “ a word quietly uttered which at a distance, perhaps, of thirty feet can be heard, will yet hardly stir the flame of a candle that is held within a foot of the mouth.† On the same principle, by which the Undulation theory of light demands a fluid which is subtler than air, or a kind of ether, the Hindu demands a similarly subtle medium for the undulation of sound ; and even the observation that by the exhaustion of the air in a room, sound is put an end to, would not prove to him that air is the vehicle of sound ; but only that, with the air, one exhausts the 'Akāsa too. And therefore he says expressly that 'Akāsa does not occur in an actually testable form (in die Wicklichkeit), like earth and water, light and air ; but has merely an eternal (nitya) existence.

This train of thought, as far as we are aware, does not occur in either of the systems of ancient Greece, and it may therefore be of doubtful propriety to identify 'Akāsa, at any rate in its technico-philosophical meaning, with the ether of the Greek Schools. There need be no suspicion of the derivation of the Greek from the Hindu elements, notwithstanding the assertion of Görres (in vindication of which,

ash. The five elements may be traced in the Brāhmanas. These, however, are anterior to the period when philosophy systematically developed the idea of “ Firehood.”

* *Ἡσπεὶ Ψυλῆς*. II. 7.

† This we presume to be the passage alluded to by Dr. Müller. It occurs near the end of Bacon's Treatise on “ The History and first Inquisition of Sound and Hearing.” † But if so, it is hardly *translated*, in the German Essay, nor can we put our hand upon any other passage which agrees better with Müller's text.—Tn.

however, he has cited nothing) that the word 'Akāsa is to be found in Aristotle.*

Moreover, as regards the other four elements, there are some very characteristic differences between the Greek and the Indian notions. If we examine the views of Aristotle, we find, on this point, in the first place, substance (ὕλη) without any quality whatsoever; a notion very much at variance with the view of eternal substances (nityāni dravyāni.) Kanāda has left it uncertain whether the so-called eternal substances, as earth, fire, and so on, may be viewed apart from their several characteristic qualities, and as already decomposed and separated into their atom form. One perhaps may assimilate the εἶδη of Aristotle, each of which lends its peculiarity to the *hyle*, with the Guṇas of Kanāda; but a parallel between στέρησις and the category of action (karma) is entirely inadmissible. That is rather analogous to the category of difference, (visesha,) if such approximate analogies between different philosophical points of view be not irrelevant. The scheme of the elements in Aristotle is, it is true, derived from sentient impressions; but by an entirely different method from that adopted by Kanāda. Aristotle proceeds from *this* point—'all bodies are feelable, (αἰσρά.)'† Then, the fundamental differences (Grundunterschiede) of feeling are these—feeling of the cold, the warm, the dry, the moist. Properties are set one against another, cold annulling heat, and dryness moisture. The combination of these four things produces not six, but only four positive resultants; the two others are negative, and neutralize themselves. These four combinations are, according to Aristotle, the four elements;—namely—earth, dry and cold;—water, moist and cold;—air, moist and warm;—fire, dry and warm. The mobile theory of the elements is another thing again. That which tends upwards is fire; that which tends downwards is earth. Between these stand—air next to fire in rarity, water next to earth in density.‡ In these theories there is no word

* GÖRRES, *Mythologie*. I. 131. "Ausser den vier Elementen aber (sagt Megasthenes) gäbe es noch eine fünfte Natur (Akash, ἀκοτονοματον, akas nominatum des Aristotiles)." May it be that ἀκοτονοματον is a conjectural reading for ἀκατονόμαστον?

† See ZELLER, ii. 462.

‡ So Plutarch, *De Plac. Philos.* I. 12, 3. "Ἀριστοτέλης, βαρύντατον μὲν εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἀπλῶς, κορυφατόν δὲ τὸ πῦρ· αἶρα δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως."—TR.

of ether. *That* has nothing whatever to do with determinations towards the earth, or with the vicissitudes of origin and disappearance, but sustains a sort of half mythic character,* being the only matter in the heavenly sphere, and acting its part only in the perfectionated movement of the sphere of the universe. All *above* the moon is ether; the elements take their origin *below* the moon. Aristotle's ether, moreover, is no element, in the sense of a *πρῶτον στοιχείον*; but is, as he terms it, *ἕτερον σῶμα καὶ θειότερον τῶν στοιχείων*, an exalted, eternal, immutable, impassible entity, which, reposing above the elemental war, is the God-like one of the material existences.†

If we compare with these opinions the elementary doctrine of Kanāda, their fundamental differences will be perfectly patent. The five qualities which he discriminates in things are arranged as savour, odour, colour, tangibility and sonorousness. Savour, according to him, has place only in the earthy:—odour in the earthy and the watery:—colour in the earthy, the watery and the fiery:—tangibility in the earthy, the watery, the fiery, and the aery. But sonorousness has no place in either of these elements; and therefore must a fifth be assumed, namely, 'Akāsa, that sonorousness may have wherein to be. Earth has four qualities, water three, light two, air and ether one each.‡

* Ritter and Martin deny Humboldt's assertion, that Aristotle does not ascribe to ether the name of a fifth element.

† *Meteor.* I 3. 340. b. 6.—τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνω καὶ μέχρ' ὅτι σελήνης ἕτερον εἶναι σῶμα φάμεν πυρός τε καὶ αἰέρος.

‡ The scheme of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy is somewhat more systematically constructed, its doctrine being (Tattwa Samāsa, 28.) Śrotrum śabdaviśayam budhyate, twak sparśaviśayam, chakshūrūpaviśayam, rasanā rasaviśayam, ghrāṇo gandhaviśayam;—and again—(32.)—śabdasparśarūparasagandhavatī panchaguṇā prithivī; śabdasparśarūparasavātyaschaturguṇā āpa; śabdasparśarūpavattriguṇam tejah; śabdasparśavāniti dwiguṇo vāyuh; śabdavadekaguṇamākāśam. "The ear apprehends the sensation sound; the skin, feel; the eye, colour; the tongue, taste; the nose; smell."—and "Earth has five qualities, sound, feel, colour, taste and smell; water four, sound, feel, colour and taste; light three, sound, feel and colour; air two, sound and feel; ether only one, sound."—We must say again that is a marvellous thing that Dr. Ballantyne, after so many years' dedication of his talent to the Hindu philosophies, should still so strangely misconstrue these simple passages. The same error runs through his editions of Sāṅkhya books, as we have already noticed in the Nyāya. "The '*hearing*' apprehends its object '*sound*;' the '*touch*,' '*tangibility*;' the '*sight*,' '*colour*,'" &c., &c. Does *twak* mean the *touch*, or *chakshus* the *sight*? We have always considered the one to be the sensible cuticle, and the other the eye.—Tr.

We have perhaps dwelt on these points longer than their importance may appear to demand. But Indian subjects suffer such damage from inappropriate comparisons, that it is worth while to place their characteristic peculiarities in the most prominent point of view. If we *will* be for ever treating of the language, the speculations, the investigations of the Hindus, as merely analogous or supplementary to those of the Greek and Roman world, then we lose all perception of their national individuality. Even the words and technical expressions of our language, which, in the historical development of their meanings, we have received in such abundance from Greece and Rome, cast, often involuntarily, a false light on Indian ideas. When one is told that the Hindus hold that there are four, or five, elements, the word *element* immediately calls up a series of conceptions, in which so much of the individual and the historical inheres, that they of necessity gloze over the Hindu notions with a foreign and indefinite colour. This is an inconvenience very difficult to avoid; unless we consent to appropriate a number of technical expressions from the Sanscrit; which itself, again, might prejudice the agreement of the learned. But, in any case, let each beware of instituting comparisons before he is thoroughly master of the differences.*

The tenets on the elemental substances give occasion for many interesting reflexions. But we must at present limit ourselves to a few short remarks.

In regard to light, it is noticeable that light and heat are considered as one substance, whilst unorganic light, or fire (tejas), presents itself not only in burning matter, and in the stars, but also in bodies; and that not as light, or as fire, but as heat.† Again, they divide light in the following manner; according as light or heat, in reference to sight and feel,

* We know not whether this is directed topically. We rather expect it may be. At least Dr. Ballantyne will do well to bear it in mind in his attempts to determine accurately the aspect of the philosophical terminology of the East as regards that of the West.—Ta.

† *Andarya* from *udara* the belly. See Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, I. 274. "Terrestrial light is that, of which the fuel is earthy, as fire. Celestial is that, of which the fuel is watery, as lightning, and meteors of various sorts. Alvine is that, of which the fuel is both earthy and watery; it is intestinal, which digests food and drink. Mineral is that which is found in pits, as gold. For some maintain that gold is solid light, which is rendered solid by mixture with some particles of earth. Were it mere earth, it might be calcined by fire strongly urged. Its light is not latent, but over-powered by the colour of the earthy particles mixed with it."

is manifest or latent. Fire, to wit, they say, may be felt and seen; but heat, as in warm water, may be felt but not seen. The light of the moon, again, may be seen, but not felt, whilst a beam *from** the eye can be neither seen nor felt. It is a familiar fact that the most recent discoveries of chemists tend more and more towards certainty upon the point that, generally, when one takes a medium, light and heat are different affections of that medium. And little as one can think of identifying this result of scientific investigation with the simple and natural intuition of Kanāda, it is yet worth while to observe, how the scientific discoveries of our own day, which to us, with our accustomed notions, derived from old and false systems, sound so unnaturally, do often seem natural enough to the unsophisticated gaze of an unscientific observer. The very heat of bodies, which Kanāda expressly names as the means of ripening, of cooking, and of digesting—the expression *paripāka* having all three meanings)—reminds one of Liebig's physico-chemic investigations, by which he proves that all organic creatures, "whose existence depends upon the absorption of oxygen, possess within themselves a source of heat, independent of external objects;"—and demonstrates how digestion is, chemically considered, a process of combustion, an "act of combination" of carbon with oxygen, which is always "accompanied by the disengagement of heat." On what reasoning the resolution may have been founded to treat gold as unorganic light or fire, is a more difficult question. It may be, perhaps, as was Colebrooke's opinion, that the Hindus had remarked that gold can neither be calcined nor oxydized by heat. Lastly, let us refer to the Hindu notion, that death is a resolution into the five elements—a notion which has passed into a familiar Sanscrit expression, which appears, in Sanscrit, to be said at least much less metaphorically, than is that common turn of language with the Greeks and ourselves—'to return to dust'. The fivehood (*Fünfhum*) of the elements is called, '*pañchatá*' or '*pañchatva*,'—and, '*pañchatvam gata*'—'gone to fivehood'—means, dead. We find the same idea in Homer

* See Colebrooke, I. 274. A very remarkable coincidence of doctrine occurs in Plutarch, (*De Plac* : *Philos* : iv. 13-3.) '*Ἰππαρχος ἀκτίνας φησιν ἀφ' ἐκτέρων τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀποτετινομένας τοῖς πέρασιν αὐτῶν, οἷον χειρῶν ἐπαφαῖς περικαθαπτούσαις τοῖς ἐκτὸς σώμασι τὴν ἀντίληψιν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ὁρατικὸν ἀποδιδόναι.*'—Tr.

(Iliad. vii. 99) : 'Αλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν πάντες ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γέ-
νοισθε—on which the Scholiast says :—Βέλτιον δὲ ἀκούειν ἐξ
• ὧν ἐγένεσθε εἰς ταῦτα πάλιν ἀναστοιχειωθείητε—remarking,
at the same time, what Xenophanes says :—Πάντες γὰρ γαίης
τε καὶ ὕδατος ἐκγενόμεσθα, ἐκ γῆς γὰρ πάντα καὶ εἰς γῆν
τελευτά.

TWO SONNETS.

I.

Life's Autumn strews its sere leaves on the ground,
A world of shadows is before the eye,
And all the past is as a painful dream.
Thicken the clouds upon the fading sight ;
The scene is dark above me, and around
Death's mute premonitors are hovering nigh ;
The sands of life are sinking ; all things seem
To reel and stagger :—but 'twill soon be night.
And O, when on my disembodied soul
The morning of full consciousness shall break,
May the dense cloud of my transgressions roll
• Away, as night's dark shadows, and my weak
And sinful spirit be made strong and whole
When I shall see, and hear the Saviour speak !

II.

When I look back on life's discoloured page,
And (ah, too oft !) discover the foul blot
Of sin, I almost sigh that I am not,
Or that I had not been on the dark stage
Where all debasing passions fret and rage,—
With intervals of holy calm so small
As hardly to let sorrow's hot tears fall :—
And then comes on the solitude of age.
And mine is almost utter loneliness ;
Old friends are dead, or dying one by one,
And as a withered and a leafless tree
I stand alone in my "obscure distress" :—
But when the day of this brief life is done,
My God and Saviour ! may I rest in Thee !

VI.

THE DISTINGUISHING PRINCIPLES OF THE ANGLICAN REFORMATION.

In a former paper we considered the necessity which existed for the Reformation of our Branch of the Catholic Church of Christ, and also the justifiableness of any one national Church engaging in such a work without waiting for the concurrence of *others*. In England, as elsewhere, an indispensable necessity *did* exist. The state of religion which prevailed was ruinous to the souls of men, and a grievous dishonour to the glory of God; and accordingly, in conformity with ancient practice and Scripture analogy, the Church of England engaged independently in the work of Reformation, knowing that there was no probability of *other* Churches working in the same direction with her.

Consequently, the divisions which now exist, so contrary to the will of God, and inflicting such sore injury on the cause of the Gospel, are attributable to the Churches of the Roman obedience. *They* must be held responsible and guilty of the schism. Our Church was willing to continue in communion with *them*, but *they* separated themselves from *us*, by treating us as infidels, by advancing unwarrantable claims on our submission to the Papal authority, and, above all, by their persistency in that system of corruption and error known by the name of Popery.

But it may be alleged that although our Church was right in engaging in her Reformation, yet she carried it on in so illegal a manner that she thereby forfeited her position as a Branch of the Catholic Church, and consequently could no longer be reckoned to be a portion of the Body of Christ. How far this was from being the case will be shewn in the following account.

The lawful, orderly, and wise manner in which our Reformation was carried out, gives complete contradiction to the worn-out, but lately revived, assertion, that the old Church of England ceased to exist at that conjuncture, and that the present so-called Church is a false impostor. Mr. Macatlay, and those who follow in his throng, choose to aid and abet Romanism by styling our Reformers the *Founders* of the present English Church. Neither our authorized formularies, nor the writings of those illustrious men who were the chosen workers of God in that great concern, give any countenance to such a theory. Certain passages may be found, which seem, perhaps, at first sight, to make such an admission,

but side by side with these must be placed the deliberate repudiations of any intention to *separate* from the Catholic Church, or to found any *new* Communion whatever. Such is that one of the 30th Canon; "So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England, to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any other such like Churches, in all things that they held and practised, that, as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies, which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men: and only departed from them on those particular points, wherein they had fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches which were their Founders." Such, too, that of Queen Elizabeth, in answer to those foreign Powers who advocated the cause of certain ejected Clergy; "There is no new faith propagated in England, no new religion set up, but that which was commanded by our Saviour, practised by the primitive Church, and unanimously approved by the Fathers of the best antiquity."—(Collier. vi. 264.) Such, also, is that of Bishop Jewel, "Verily we, for our parts, as we have said, have done nothing in altering religion upon either rashness or arrogance; nor nothing, but with good leisure and great consideration. Neither had we ever intended to do it, except both the manifest and most assured will of God, opened to us in His Holy Scriptures, and the regard of our own salvation, had even constrained us thereunto; for though we have departed from that Church, which these men call Catholic, and by that means get us envy among them that want skill to judge, yet this is enough for us, and it ought to be enough for every good and wise man, and one that maketh account of everlasting life, that we have gone from that Church, which hath power to err; which Christ, Who cannot err, told so long before it should err; and which we ourselves did evidently see with our eyes, to have gone from the old Holy Fathers, and from the Apostles, and from Christ Himself, and from the primitive and Catholic Church of God: and we are come as near as we could to the Church of the Apostles, and of the old Catholic Bishops and Fathers; which Church, we know, was sound and perfect, and as Tertullian termeth it, a pure virgin; spotted as then with no idolatry, nor with any foul or shameful fault; and have directed according to their customs and ordinances, not only our Doctrine, but also the Sacraments, and the form of

Common Prayer." (JEWEL's Defence of Apology; Part VI. Ch. xvi)*

- These extracts shew plainly enough what was *intended*. What was *done* is a question of fact which can be ascertained only by diligent enquiry, in aid of which the following remarks are offered on the distinguishing principles of the English Reformation, those principles to which our Reformers appear to have adhered far more steadfastly than the Reformers in other countries, and which may therefore, as we are of them, be termed *our* principles.

With the *private motives* of some of the individual forwarders of the Reformation, we have nothing to do,—this does not affect the legitimacy of their *acts*. The authority of the Reformation depends no more upon the private motives, or characters, of parties concerned in it, than that of the Ecumenical Councils depends upon those of the prime agents in conveying them. Any *private errors* are the errors "of the Reformers, not of the Reformation; and they are long since gone to God to answer for them." We will consider, then, those principles, the *neglect* of which caused the Reformers in other countries to hurry on their work so irregularly and incautiously, that what was intended for good has been productive of such poor results;—for *these* uprooted with such over-confident zeal, that they lost the precious with the vile, —that they shattered their foundations, and, in consequence, are now strongholds of heresy and infidelity.

I. The first point worthy of notice is the extreme care which was taken to bring about every step *by lawful authority*, so that, in reforming, they might not destroy, and in putting off errors, might not put off their title to be considered as a sound Branch of the Catholic Church.

The first necessary step was of course the renunciation of the Papal Supremacy, and this, an appeal to a General Council from the Pope having been made, was formally proceeded to. The step was absolutely necessary,—not only because of the utter unlawfulness of the Papal pretensions, and their glaring inconsistency with Scriptural truth,—an inconsistency which had made them, and the abuses existing in the monastic Orders, subjects of the gravest discontent among the people;

* The writer of this article begs to state that this quotation is taken second-hand from the notes of Jelf's Bampton Lectures; and also that several other illustrative quotations have been obtained in a similar manner,—and that he has not verified them; courses to which he is averse, but reduced, by reason of the paucity of books in a Mofussil station.

—but also because the arrogated power was the one great obstacle to the reformation of subsidiary errors; no other alterations being practicable until *its* abolishment.

Burnet informs us, narrating the events of A. D. 1533, "In England they had now been examining the foundations on which the Papal authority was built, with extraordinary care, for some years, and several books were then and soon after written on the subject." Of the contents of these books he gives a short abstract, showing that those who supported the renunciation argued from Scripture, from the doctrine and practice of the primitive Church, from the proceedings of the General Councils, and the Sentences of several national Churches.

It may not be amiss to bear in mind what is meant by the Papal Supremacy. Leo X. allowed himself to be addressed as "the Lion of the tribe of Judah," "King of Kings, and Monarch of the world,"—to which was added the ascription, "All power is given to thee in heaven and in earth." Gieseler writes that the Pope's supporters at this period "maintained that the Papal power was above all powers on earth; that the Pope was not only Lord of all Princes, but likewise the source of all episcopal power; that he was above all Councils, which had their consequence only from him, and that, himself infallible, he could prescribe what was to be believed by others." These unwarrantable claims to be supreme in all religious and in all temporal affairs, to give away kingdoms, to make or annul the laws of any country, were what our Church and nation were determined to abjure;—and not that limited primacy, "*primus inter pares*," which would always have been cheerfully conceded to the Bishop of Rome, as the successor in the See of St. Peter, and as the Bishop of the seat of empire. And none of these claims would the Papal party renounce,—but clung to them as to the Gospel itself,—all were required to drink this cup of strange doctrine on pain of excommunication. The renunciation of the Papal Supremacy became therefore indispensable, and it was accomplished in the following manner. The nation did its part by enacting in Parliament various decrees by which the foreign temporal authority was renounced and superseded. "The law of Henry IV., which ordered that heretics might be burnt without waiting for the King's writ, was repealed." It was enacted that no money should be paid for bulls or papal letters of institution to bishoprics, and that no one should in future be presented to the Pope for any see, or procure any bulls,

briefs, or palls from him. Further, that annales, or first-fruits, pecuniary payment for pensions, annuities to the Roman see, portions, or Peter's pence, should never henceforth be claimed for, or paid to, the Bishop of Rome. Furthermore, that all causes concerning wills, matrimony, the right of tithes, &c., should henceforth be determined within the realm of England; and that no manner of appeals should be made to the Bishop of Rome. It was also enacted that no one should sue to the Bishop of Rome for licences, dispensations, faculties, grants, or any other instruments or writings. By such legal enforcement was the temporal authority of the Pope entirely abolished. Soon after the question was proposed to the Bishops and Clergy of England in the Provincial Synods of Canterbury and York; "Whether the Bishop of Rome has, from Holy Scripture, any greater jurisdiction in the realm of England than any other foreign Bishop?" The same question had been previously propounded to the two Universities, and by them, "after long deliberation, and earnest discussion, carried on with all diligence, zeal, and conscience," it had been resolved that he had *not*. In the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury the same answer was returned by a majority of 32 to 4,—in that of York it was affirmed unanimously. And the various Cathedral Chapters, and the Convents of Regulars and of Mendicant Friars, throughout the realm, also signified their assent. And "it was afterwards established in full Parliament, by the free consent of all the estates of the realm, with the concurrence of twenty-four Bishops, and twenty-nine Abbots, then and there present." The whole nation also consented to this. Even those who were afterwards most notorious for their enmity to the Reformation, such as Heath, Bonner, Toustall, Gardiner, and others, gave their full concurrence. None of any note throughout England, save only Fisher, Bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More (who were then in prison) refused to take the Oath of Supremacy. Gardiner himself wrote thus:—"No foreign Bishop hath authority among us;—all sorts of persons are agreed with us upon this point with most steadfast consent, that no manner of person, bred or brought up in England, hath aught to do in Rome." And thus was the Papal supremacy and jurisdiction renounced by lawful authority and with general approval.

All subsequent measures were enacted in the same lawful manner. In the year 1535, Cranmer brought forward a Motion in the regular Convocation for an Address to the

King for an authorised translation of the Bible into English. And the Motion was agreed to by the Assembly. In the year 1548 the Book of Common Prayer was put forth by the common agreement and full assent of the two Convocations, and of the assembled Parliament. An interesting account of the growth and various changes in our present Liturgy is given by Wheatley, who traces its gradual progress from the "Institution of a Christian Man" published in 1537, to the book entitled "the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI.;" and he then recounts the subsequent changes, which he sums up in the following words, so completely confirmatory of our present assertion that all was done by lawful authority, "Thus has been given a brief historical account of the first compiling of the Book of Common Prayer, and of the several reviews that were afterwards taken of it by our Bishops and Convocations; from which it appears that our Liturgy was first established by the Convocations or Provincial Synods of the realm, and thereby became obligatory *in foro conscientiae*, and was then confirmed and ratified by the Supreme Magistrate in Parliament, and so also became obligatory *in foro civili*. It has therefore all authority, both ecclesiastical and civil."

It was the same in the case of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, which were, as their heading declares, "agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London in the year 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing consent touching true religion."—A Royal Commission was issued to prepare declarations of Faith upon those points on which we were at variance either with the Churches of the Roman obedience, or with some of those bodies which had separated themselves at the times of the Reformation, such as the Anabaptists. They were originally forty-two in number, but were reduced to thirty-nine after the accession of Elizabeth. Both in 1552 and in 1562, authority of Convocation was then sought for them, and the consent of both Houses to the latter form was given, in manner following:—"The Articles themselves are inserted in the Acts of the Synod."—After which the subscriptions of the Bishops follow in this form: "These Articles of Christian Faith, contained in the nineteen pages, &c. . . . We, the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces of the realm of England, legitimately assembled in Provincial Synod, do receive and profess, and by the subscription of our hands, do approve as true and orthodox, on the 29th

day of the month of January, in the year of our Lord MDLXII., according to the computation of the Church of England, and the fifth year of the most illustrious Princess Elizabeth." Then follow the signatures of both Archbishops and all the Bishops, the Clergy afterwards subscribing in this form:—"Those whose names follow have subscribed with their own hands to the Book of Articles transmitted by the Most Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, to the Lower House of Convocation: February 5th, MDLXII." (Palmer; Part iv. Ch. xiv.) And in 1571 and 1603 the Clergy enacted Canons in their Convocation, the latter of which were accepted and confirmed by James I.; Queen Elizabeth having deemed the authority of the Bishops, derived from her Supremacy, a sufficient enforcement of the former. Thus the Discipline, the Ritual and the Articles of our Church rest upon no irregular or temporal authority, but on the original sanction and subsequent practice of the whole Church of England proceeding in a lawful and orderly manner to reform herself according to the customs and laws of the Primitive Catholic Church. The Church, by its own proper rulers and officers, *reformed itself*. Nothing was precipitated by men without authority. Whatever was done, was done lawfully, and all the authority that is essential to a right reformation was forthcoming. So that when the work was completed, only eighty of the Clergy were found who refused to conform to the re-established doctrines and usages of the Primitive Church.

It were easy to corroborate the facts which we have been examining, from a long catena of our standard Divines. But we must here limit our authorities to three. And first, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, whose testimony on our Liturgy may be as properly applied to the whole work of reformation;—

"To the Churches of the Roman communion we can say, that ours is reformed; to the reformed Churches we can say, that ours is orderly and decent; for we were freed from the impositions and lasting errors of a tyrannical spirit, and yet from the extravagances of a popular spirit too: our reformation was done without tumult, and yet we saw it necessary to reform; we were zealous to cast away the old errors, but our zeal was balanced with consideration and the results of authority. We were not like women and children, when they are affrighted with fire in their clothes; we shook off the coal indeed, but not our garments; lest we should have exposed our Church to that nakedness, which the excellent men of our sister Churches complained to be among themselves.

"And, indeed, it is no small advantage to our Liturgy, that it was the offspring of all that authority, which was to prescribe in matters of

religion. The King and the Priest, which are the 'antistites religionis,' and the preservers of both the tables, joined in this work; and the People, as represented in Parliament, were advised withal, in authorising the form after much deliberation."—[*Preface to the Apology for Set Liturgies.*]

Secondly, Sir Roger Twisden, in his "Historical Vindication of the Church of England":—

"Upon the whole, it is absolutely false that the Church of England made a departure from the Church which is the ground and pillar of truth, as I am persuaded it is impossible to prove she did make the separation from the Roman itself: but having declared in a lawful synod certain opinions, held by some in our own communion, to be no articles of faith, and according to the precedents of former times, and the power which God and nature had placed in her, she redressed particular abuses which had crept into her."

Thirdly, Sir Edward Sandys, in his "Europæ Speculum," p. 227-28:—

"But in all places their desires and attempts to recover England have been always and still are the strongest. Which albeit in their more sober moods, sundry of them will acknowledge to have been the only nation that took the right way of justifiable reformation, in comparison of others, who have run headlong rather to a tumultuous innovation. Whereas that alteration which has been in England, was brought in with peaceable and orderly proceeding, by general consent of the Prince and whole realm representatively assembled in solemn Parliament, a great part of their own clergy according and conforming themselves unto it. No Luther, no Calvin, the square of their faith. What public discussion and long deliberation did persuade them to be faulty, that was taken away: the succession of Bishops and vocation of Ministers continued: the dignity and state of the Clergy preserved: the honour and solemnity of the service of God not abased: the more ancient usages of the Church not cancelled:—in sum, no humour of affecting contrariety, but a charitable endeavour rather of uniformity with the Church of Rome, in whatever they thought not gainsaying to the express Law of God."

These testimonies fully confirm what has been above asserted. The old rule "Quod spectat ad omnes, ab omnibus tractari debet," was most strictly observed.

The last remark of Sir Edwin Sandys constitutes another distinguishing feature of our Anglican Reformation;—our reformers endeavoured to conform to, rather than oppose the Church of Rome. They were more concerned to follow the old paths, than to avoid Rome, or to copy Geneva. As Dr. Wordsworth says, *Theop. Angl.* 164:—

"The language of the Church of England, when she reformed herself, was similar to that of the Fathers at the Nicene Council in A. D. 325, τὰ ἀρχαία ἐν ᾧ κρατεῖτω, let the ancient customs prevail. This was not the case in all countries where the work of reformation was going on,—where they measured religion by dislike of

the Church of Rome, arguing 'the further from Rome, the nearer to heaven,' and which course some fanatics pursued so far as to declare that the very belief in the Trinity was a part of anti-christian corruption, and that the wonderful providence of God did bring to pass that the Bishop of Rome should be famous for his triple crown, a sensible mark whereby the world might know him to be that mystical beast spoken of in the Revelation, to be that great and notorious Antichrist in no one respect so much as in this, that he maintaineth the doctrine of the Trinity."

And some of these were not wanting in England, to whom the name of Popery was more odious than that of Paganism—who held that every thing must be false and detestable which had been taught or practised by the Church of Rome, and who, under the plea of Popery, would have renounced every order and ceremony, and many Scriptural doctrines of Rome, crying "all Popish orders must be abolished:"—"There must be no communion nor fellowship with Papists, neither in doctrine, ceremonies, nor government."—And yet they would not define their Popery. At first indeed they affirmed that every thing taught or used in the Church of Rome becomes *thereby* Popish; but their own practice soon drove them out of this, and at length, ceasing attempts to justify themselves, they simply reiterated their charges against those who sealed with their blood their enmity to real Popery. *Real* Popery our Reformers held to be "those doctrines held by the Church of Rome, which are either contrary to the written Word of God, or but superadded thereto, as necessary points of faith, to be of all Christians believed under pain of damnation; and all those superstitions and ceremonies in the worship of God, which are either unlawful, as being contrary to the Word, or being not contrary and therefore indifferent, are made essentials, and imposed as necessary parts of worship." And therefore they were content with renouncing and putting away *real* Popery.—They hurried not on with blind zeal to pull down, thus destroying themselves like Samson in the temple of Dagon; but strove to lead back their Church to the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church in the best and purest ages of Christianity. In each matter brought under their consideration regard was had, not to the particular party or Church maintaining it, but to the degree in which it was warrantable. The system of Rome which had prevailed among us did not so much *deny* the Faith as *add* to it, and overlay it with error and superstition. Amidst all, the chief parts of the Catholic faith had been retained, and our Reformers were enabled, through the grace of God, to remove this superstratum of evil without injuring the struc-

ture. beneath, built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ being the Chief Head and Corner-stone. And this was owing, under God, to their careful distinction between what was Catholic and what was Popish, and to their loving the truth rather than hating Rome.—The Puritans urged, “evils must be cured by their contraries.”—Those attacked replied, “He which will perfectly recover a sick and restore a diseased body unto health, must not endeavour so much to bring it to a state of simple contrariety, as of fit proportion in contrariety unto those evils which are to be cured. He that will take away extreme heat by setting the body in extremity of cold, shall undoubtedly remove the disease, but with it the diseased also.” Peter Heylin, D.D., Chaplain to Charles I., gives the following account of this principle of our Reformation. (Introduction to *Cyprianus Anglicus*. 4.)

“In Doctrinals and forms of Worship, there was no alteration made in the reign of King Henry VIII., though there were many preparations and previous dispositions to it; the edge of Ecclesiastical Affairs being somewhat blunted, and the people indulged a greater liberty in consulting with the Holy Scriptures, and reading many books of Evangelical Piety, than there had been formerly: which having left the way more open to Archbishop Cranmer, and divers other learned and religious Prelates in King Edward's time (seconded by the Lord Protector and other great ones of the Court, who had their ends apart by themselves) they proceeded carefully and vigorously to a Reformation. In the managing of which great business, they took the Scripture for their ground, according to the general explication of the ancient Fathers; the practice of the Primitive times for their Rule and Pattern as it was expressed to them in approved Authors. No regard had to Luther or Calvin in the procedure of their work, but only to the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, Jesus Christ being the Corner-Stone of that excellent Structure. Melancthon's coming was expected, (*Regius Literis in Angliam vocatus*, as he affirms in an Epistle to Camerarius) but he came not over. And Calvin made an offer of his service to Archbishop Cranmer, (*si quis mei usus esset*, if any use might be made of him to promote the work) but the Archbishop knew the man, and refused the offer; so that it cannot be affirmed, that the Reformation of the Church, was either Lutheran or Calvinian in its first original. And yet it cannot be denied but that the first Reformers of it did look with more respectful eyes upon the Doctrinals, Government, and Forms of Worship, in the Lutheran Churches, than upon those of Calvin's platform, because the Lutherans in their Doctrines, Government, and Forms of Worship, approach't more near the Primitive Patterns than the others did, and working according to this rule, they retain'd many of those ancient Rites and Ceremonies which had been practised, and almost all the Holy Dayes as Annual Feasts, which had been generally observed in the Church of Rome. Nothing that was Apostolick, or accounted Primitive, did fare the worse for being Popish; I mean for having been made-use of in times of Popery: it being none of their designs to create a new Church, but reform the old.”

Thus did our Reformers seek for truth at the Fountain Head, as Casaubon wrote, "quod si me conjectura non fallit, totius Reformationis pars integerrima est in Anglia, ubi cum studio veritatis viget studium antiquitatis." (Quoted in *Theoph. Angl.* 164.)

Let us take a few instances of her appeals to the Fathers and Customs of the Primitive Church. 1. Preface concerning the Service of the Church. "If a man would search out by the ancient Fathers."—"So here you have an order for Prayer, and for the reading of the Holy Scripture, much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers."—2. Preface to the Ordinal. "It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors." 3. Address to a Bishop about to be consecrated. "Forasmuch as the Holy Scripture and ancient Canons command." 4. Canon 60. "Forasmuch as it hath been a solemn, ancient, and laudable custom in the Church of God, continued from the Apostles' time."

And this conduct of our Reformers evinced both Christian wisdom and Christian charity. A great advantage has been thereby carried against the Romish party, who were withheld from prejudicing, as they strove to do, the minds of men,—at one time, by alleging that this very uprooting of every Catholic custom and practice, under the pretence of Popery, indicated that the Reformers were far more influenced by hatred of Rome and a love of innovation, than by the desire of acting for conscience's sake;—and at another, by making use of *the same* conduct to prove that in removing what we called *evil*, we had lost what was *Catholic*. And hereby also Christian charity was manifested,—our Reformers would fain give scope to men's minds,—they made allowance for those differences of education and constitution which prevent men from complete agreement regarding things in themselves of no great consequence, and they knew that many who had for conscience's sake renounced the Papal party, would yet sustain a violent shock, by having every good and edifying practice removed to which they had been accustomed. And consequently our Church can well bear the reproaches so often cast in her teeth, that she still retains much that is Popish in doctrine and ceremonies, and that she has borrowed much from Rome. That we should have much in common is matter of no great wonder, seeing that Rome is still a true, though a corrupt Church, and that we endeavoured to conform *more* closely to that ancient model, in which the Church of Rome had been moulded, and many

of whose lineaments she still retained amidst all her errors and corruptions.

And now to establish these latter positions and principles from the writing of those of whose agreement with Catholic standards was never any doubt in our Church.

First—he who is *par excellence* the *Judicious*, Richard Hooker. (E. P. v. 28.)

“To say, that in nothing they may be followed which are of the Church of Rome, were violent and extreme. Some things they do, in that they are men, in that they are wise men, and Christian men; some things, in that they are men misled and blinded with error. As far as they follow reason and truth, we fear not to tread the self-same steps wherein they have gone, and to be their followers. Where Rome keepeth that which is ancients and better, others whom we much more affect leaving it for newer and changing it for worse; we had rather follow the perfections of them whom we like not, than in defects resemble them whom we love.

Bishop Saunderson, again, writes in the Preface to his Sermons:—

“The plain truth is this, the Church of England meant to make use of her liberty, and the lawful power she had (as all Churches of Christ have, or ought to have,) of ordering ecclesiastical affairs here; yet to do it with so much prudence and moderation, that the world might see, by what was laid aside, that she acknowledged no subjection to the See of Rome; and by what was retained, that she did not recede from the Church of Rome out of any spirit of contradiction, but as necessitated thereto for the maintenance of her just liberty.”

Thirdly, Hadrian Saravia, “the happy author of many learned tracts writ in the Latin,” as Isaac Walton calls him;—“most of them dedicated to his and the Church of England’s watchful patron, John Whitgift, the Archbishop, and printed about the same time as Mr. Hooker, whose friendship was not denied him, also appeared first to the world in the publication of his first four books of Ecclesiastical Polity.” (See Street’s Preface and Translation. p. iv. 5.)

“It is wonderful to see how exceedingly most reformers plume themselves on this very thing, namely, that they have nothing whatever in common with the Roman Church, as though it contained no relics of the ancient Apostolical Church, which, if they were restored to their primitive state, would furnish forth that primitive Church of Rome, the faith of which is so highly commended by the Apostle Paul. No truly wise man will ever utterly reject gold adulterated with baser metals, but will rather refine it from them and from its dross, so as to make it pure gold, according to that prophesy of Esaias, wherein the Lord makes this gracious promise to His people, “I will turn my hand upon thee, and purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin.” That this has been done in the restoration of a pure worship of God and a pure public Liturgy, no orthodox person will ever deny. I do not how-

ever, by thus speaking, wish with preposterous zeal to make hasty and unreasonable changes in the reformed Churches, but I would wish them to learn to see wherein they are defective, and cease to glory in the error of which they ought to be ashamed; so that they may, in due time, be led to amend what is amiss in themselves, and hereafter not turn a deaf ear to sound doctrine."

And again, in a passage quoted by Dr. Wordsworth, (*Theoph. Angl.* p. 165.)

"Among others who have reformed their Churches, I have often admired the wisdom of those who restored the true worship of God to the Church of England,—who so tempered themselves that they cannot be reproved for having departed from the ancient and primitive custom of the Church of God; and have used such moderation, that by their example they have invited others to reform, and deterred none."

The same positions are even more authoritatively established in a passage from the Thirtieth Canon of our Church, already quoted in an earlier page of this paper.

Thus much, then, concerning *this* principle of the English Reformation, which has procured for us a Church maintaining so happy a medium, and on so Primitive a model. It is very remarkable that two writers of the present day on Church Reformation, one of the Lutheran and the other of the Roman Communion, would have the bodies to which they respectively belong reform themselves much on the same plan.* When they declare their ideal of a Church, they approach very closely to what the Church of England was intended to be, and still could be by her present constitution, were she not shackled and oppressed by the State which ought to maintain her integrity.

But there is yet to be noticed the difference of manner in which the Church proceeded, in reforming *Doctrine*, and in reforming *Rites and Ceremonies*. Scripture alone was the standard for our Reformers' reference, concerning all doctrines necessary to salvation, as has been sufficiently set forth in the 6th Article, "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." This we believe to be the great purpose of Scripture, viz. the salvation of man; and it *must* be competent to fulfil its purpose,—

1. From *Babylon to Jerusalem*—by a Lutheran Minister.

2. *Proposals for a new Reformation*, Dr. Von Hirscher—a Roman Catholic.

it *must* contain all that is necessary to salvation.—A full summary of the arguments in favour of this doctrine is to be found in Palmer's Treatise on the Church, Part III. C. i. Our Church's opinion concerning it is so fully stated in the Article that it is needless to bring forward further testimony, —a few words on the manner in which our Reformers took Scripture as their guide is all that can be necessary.

This object, be it borne in mind, was not a *new* formation, but a *reformation*,—not to create a *new* Church, but to repair and restore the *old*. They knew that this was their only safe course. Any attempt on their part to remodel the building, otherwise than upon the *existing* foundation, and according to the *original* plan, would be to bring down the whole on their heads, burying them in the ruins. Consequently all that they endeavoured to do was to strengthen it where it was decayed, and to pull down only any excrescence that had been subsequently added to the original structure.

"They wished to place," as Bishop Bethell remarks, "every thing, as much as possible, on the same footing on which it stood before the corruptions which they were removing had found their way into the Church of Christ. Hence they did not sit down to the study of Scripture with a view of extracting from it a new form of doctrine" (or discipline); "but they brought every question in debate to the test of Scripture, and allowed no conclusion to be valid, unless it was, as they were persuaded, fully borne out by the authority of the Sacred Volume."

There was a vast difference between *this*, and sitting down to ruminate on a novel and compact theory of *their own*. They did not mean to adopt "a wide and indiscriminate destruction of the previous teaching of our Church." But they brought each existing doctrine, affirmed to be true, to the test of Scripture, and by that touch-stone tried its quality. All that stood the ordeal, were *retained*—all that proved false, were *cast away*. By this ordeal were proven and rejected the doctrines concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration of Images and Reliques, Invocation of Saints, Transubstantiation, Public Prayer in a tongue not understood of the people, and divers others. And step by step they struggled back to the pure faith of the Apostolic Church.

But by "*Scripture*" are we to believe that they meant all those various views of Scripture which *men* take;—that they interpreted Scripture according to private judgment and individual fancies? No, but by Scripture *they* meant the Bible as received in that one unvarying system of faith which, being

the only true and consentient interpreter of Scripture, is found in the witness of the Church in all ages. And in order to ascertain this witness to the voice of Scripture, they searched diligently the writings of the ancient Christians, and satisfied themselves that their own interpretations were confirmed by Catholic consent. In their attempts to separate the precious from the vile, they listened to this Word of the Lord by the prophet Jeremiah," Stand ye on the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest to your souls."—vi. 16. Nor did *they* say, "We will not walk therein."

For proof that the Church of England does hold rigidly to the faith, and does not admit the modern notion that every man's private opinions drawn from Scripture are necessarily correct,—that while she allows *the right of private judgment*, she does not allow *that private judgment needs must be right*, reference must be made to Mr. Palmer's Treatise Part 1. C. v. § ii., and C. x. § iii. And, in like manner, a defence cannot now be entered upon of the mode of interpretation adopted by our Reformers. They who would see how safe and excellent a rule it is to be guided to the sense of any passage of Scripture by the witness of the Catholic Church, are referred to Palmer, Part iii. C. iii. It is sufficient for the purpose of this paper to shew that our Reformers did take such a guide. And therefore there is simply subjoined the summary by Dr. Wordsworth, in *Theoph. Angl.* Part i. C. vii., of the grounds upon which the exposition of Scripture by the Fathers of the Early Church are entitled to especial reference.

"First, because the *times* in which they lived were in immediate succession from that of Christ Himself and His Apostles; next, because the vernacular *language* of many of them was that in which the Evangelists and Apostles themselves wrote; next, because of their undivided *devotion* to the ministry of the *Word*; because also they possessed religious and other *treatises* which are now *lost*; on account of their habitually using *mutual conference* publicly and privately, with one another; on account of their piety and sufferings urging and requiring them to *examine the truth*, as they valued their highest interests, temporal and eternal; and from their needs and prayers for *Divine grace*, which we know to have been especially shed in *abundant supplies* upon the early Church, and lastly from their writings having been approved and held in great respect by the Church."

We shall next shew that our Reformers did form their judgment of the sense of Scripture in great measure by reference to such guides; taking instances, first, from the writ-

ings. of individuals. Cranmer, who made such voluminous collections of extracts from the Fathers, Councils, Schoolmen, and the Canonists, said in his speech on General Councils, "that when all the Fathers agreed in any exposition of any place in Scripture, he acknowledged he looked on that as following from the Spirit of God; and it was a most dangerous thing to be wise in our conceits." Bishop Ridley protested concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, that he did not dispute the doctrine of the real presence founded on the Word of God, and illustrated by the commentaries of the orthodox Fathers." Philpot, imprisoned by the Romish party in the reign of Mary, wrote; "Let us all that be obedient children of God submit ourselves to the judgment of the Church, for the better understanding of our faith and of the doubtful sentences of Scripture. Let us not go about to show in us, by following any man's private interpretation of the word, another spirit than they of the primitive Church had." Bishop Jewel said in his Apology; "We are come as near as we possibly could to the Church of the Apostles and of the old Catholic Fathers and Bishops; and have directed, according to their customs and ordinances, not only our doctrine, but also the sacraments, and the form of common prayer.*

Roger Ascham said, "We take the canonical Scriptures, as the authority by which we desired this whole matter to be decided. But we have applied to the old canons of the Church in its first ages, councils of fathers, decrees of bishops, judgments of doctors, and all modern writers also, Roman and German, which we could find." Ep. iii. 35. quoted by Massingberd; *Engl: Reform*; p. 346.

We may quote to the same purport the testimony of the authorised documents and publications of the Church in sacred Synod. (1) By Holy Scripture she means "those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church." (2) She receives the three Creeds of the Catholic Church, as what "ought thoroughly to be received and believed." (3) The Prefaces to the Prayer-book, the Ordinal, the Articles, the Book of Homilies, and the Canons abound with reference to the authority of the Fathers as witnesses to the meaning of Holy Writ. (4) In her Canons of 1571 she thus instructs all preachers;

*.These quotations are taken from Palmer, Part ii., C. vi., where many more similar testimonies may be found.

"Imprimis vero videbunt concionatores, ne quid unquam doceant pro concione, quod a populo religiose teneri et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrina Veteris atq[ue] Novi Testamenti, quodque ex eâ ipsâ doctrinâ Catholici Patres et veteres Episcopi collegerint."

To these may be added the declarations of two of the temporal Heads of our Church,—that of Queen Elizabeth already quoted, and that of James I. writing to Cardinal Perron :

"Beatus Chrysostomus, cum alibi, tum ex p[ro]fesso in Homiliâ in Acta xxxiii. tractans illam quæstionem, *Quo pacto vera Ecclesia inter plures societates, quæ hoc sibi nomen vindicant, possit discerni?* duo docet esse instrumenta judicandi et quæstionis hujus decidendæ; primo quidem Verbum Dei, tum autem antiquitatem doctrinæ, non ab aliquo recentiore excogitatæ, sed ab ipso Ecclesiæ nascentis principio semper cognitæ. Hæc duo *κριτήρια* REX cum ECCLESIA ANGLICANÂ totâ voluntate amplectens, pronuntiat eam demum se doctrinam pro verâ simul et necessariâ ad salutem agnoscere, quæ e fonte Scripturæ sacræ manans per consensum Ecclesiæ veteris, ceu per canalem, ad hæc tempora fuerit derivata.*

From all which it appears beyond dispute, that while Scripture is the sole Rule of Faith of the Church of England, it is Scripture, not interpreted by every man according to the varying caprice of his private judgment, but Scripture interpreted by the belief and practice of the Catholic Church in and from the earliest times. Some, in ignorance of the real Romish doctrine on this point, will exclaim, but this reference to antiquity is *Popish*. If it were, no matter, so long as it be *right*. But that there is a wide difference between the two Churches is well shewn by Dr. Wordsworth in his letters to M. Gondou. Lett. xi.—

"The Church of Rome, which is only a branch, and a very unsound one, of the universal Church, sets up her *present self* as the standard to which all the teaching of the Apostles, and Apostolic men, Saints, Martyrs, Confessors, and Councils, must bow; the Church of England knows no other standard of Doctrine but Scripture; and she thinks that there is no better exposition of Scripture than the practice and teaching of the universal Church in and from the times of the Apostles. She believes that every one who will honestly apply this rule, under the guidance of reason and of grace, will never go far astray, and will be safe from the pernicious influence of the two *false* systems of Theology, which are now unhappily prevalent; in one of which there is a Pope for every man, and in the other every man is a Pope for himself."

But the scrupulosity observed by our Reformers in matters of Doctrine was by no means followed out in dealing

* In *Theoph. Ang.* p. 174.

with Rites and Ceremonies. A considerable party indeed existed who maintained "that no rites and ceremonies can be lawful for Christians, except those which are expressed in Scripture," because "Scripture ought to be the only rule of our actions," and that consequently the Reformers ought to cast out as popish, antichristian, or superstitious, all for which no command or example from Scripture could be adduced. The cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, kneeling at the Holy Communion, the surplice, are specimens of the matters to which they objected. The judicious Hooker has once for all given full and sufficient answer to these objectors, meeting their general principles in the 2nd and 3rd books, and their objections in detail in the 5th of his immortal Ecclesiastical Polity. Our Reformers were far from being influenced by this party. On the contrary, they held that no rite or ceremony was unlawful unless it was "against God's Word." Their opinions on this subject are set forth fully in the 20th and 34th Articles, and in the Prayer-Book Preface on Ceremonies, which we beg our readers carefully to peruse. It will be seen that they believed that the Church had full power to ordain, change and abolish any ceremonies ordained by man, so that all things were done to edifying. Consequently they took the existing state of affairs as their basis, and finding that "the excess and multitude of them had so increased, that the burden of them was intolerable," some they put away.* But considering on the other hand, "that without some ceremonies it is not possible to keep any order or quiet discipline in the Church," some they retained.

Those that they retained, they selected either because they were Scriptural or Apostolical, such as Confirmation, Ordination, Episcopacy, Matrimony, Reading of Scripture in Church, Absolution, the Observance of the Lord's Day, &c., (customs and rites which ought never to be omitted, and which if neglected at any time, should be restored as essentials;) or because they had the sanction of Catholic antiquity, as appears from this passage of the Preface above referred to:—

* "And if they think much, that any of the old do remain, and would rather have all devised anew; then such men granting some ceremonies convenient to be had, surely where the old may well be used, there they cannot reasonably reprove the old only for their age, without bewraying of their own folly. For in such a case they ought rather to have reverence unto them for their antiquity, if they will declare themselves to be more studious of unity and concord, than of innovations and new-fangledness, which (as much as may be with the true setting forth of Christ's religion) is always to be eschewed."

This was specially the case in all matters concerned with the Prayer-Book and its Ritual,—the Prayers were selected from the old Liturgies,—the Feast-Days and Fasts, the order of reading the Scripture Lessons, and such like, were determined accordingly,—the rule of St. Augustine being followed, who said, “that the custom of the people of God, and the decrees of our forefathers are to be kept, touching those things whereof the Scripture hath neither one way nor the other given us any charge.” Again, others they retained because they were edifying,—such as the Cross at Baptism, for using which they gave their reasons in full in the 30th Canon,—and for doing which Hooker made the following defence :—

“The end which is aimed at in setting down the outward form of all religious actions, is the edification of the Church. Now men are edified, when either their understanding is taught somewhat whereof, in such actions, it behoveth all men to consider, or when their hearts are moved with any affection suitable thereunto; when their minds are in any sort stirred up unto that reverence, devotion, attention, and due regard, which in those cases seemeth requisite. Because therefore unto this purpose not only speech, but sundry sensible means besides have always been thought necessary, and especially those means which being object to the eye, the liveliest and most apprehensive sense of all other, have in that respect seemed the fittest to make a deep and a strong impression : from hence have risen not only a number of prayers, readings, questionings, exhortings, but even of visible signs also, which being used in performance of holy actions, are undoubtedly most effectual to open such matter as men when they know and remember carefully must needs be a great deal the better informed to what effect such duties serve.” (Book iv. c. i. §. 3.)

Lastly, some they rejected, as either non-essential or very much abused, according to the principles set down in the Prayer-Book Prefaces.

Thus did our Church, at the time of the Reformation, according to what she believed to be her power no less than her duty. And it is to these wise and lawful proceedings of our ancestors that we are indebted for the answer which we can give to the taunt, “Where was your Church before Luther?” *In the Bible*, is an insufficient answer; insufficient, because, although the Bible is authority and witness for all truth, there is no authority there for such a self-constituted body, not holding to the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, as ours would be, had our Reformers attempted to build a new Church instead of reforming the old, or had they, in reforming, incurred the just charge of heresy and schism. But now we can answer thankfully and confidently, It was there where now it is. Our Reformation was

no destruction, the ancient foundations were retained; the ancient landmarks sought out and adhered to; whatever in the opinion of the Primitive Church was accounted Catholic, *i. e.*, what was received every where, always, and by all, was professed in our Church. The acts of renouncing an unscriptural authority, and correcting unscriptural errors, and revising with due power rites and ceremonies, did not make Christ's true and original Church in England a new Church,—any more than the clearing away untempered mortar from ancient stones, while walls and foundations remain untouched, makes a new building; or than weeding a garden makes it a different one; or than pruning a vine makes it another tree.—“The English Church after the Reformation was as much the English Church, as Naaman was Naaman after he had washed in the river Jordan: indeed, as his flesh then came again, so was she restored to her healthful self at the Reformation.” And Bishop Hall's language was fully justified when he said; “We profess this Church of ours by God's grace reformed, I say, not new made, as some envious spirits allege. For my part, I am ready to sink into the earth with shame when I hear that hackneyed reproach, ‘Where was your Church before Luther?’ ‘Where was your Church?’ Here, ye cavillers! We desired the reformation of an old religion, not the formation of a new. The Church was reformed, not new wrought. It was the same Church that it was before, only purged from some superfluous and pernicious additaments. Is it a new face that was lately washed? a new garment that was mended? a new house that is repaired? Blush, if ye have any shame, who fondly cast this in our teeth.”

Some may indeed make light of the matter, and argue that as the schism is made between us and Rome, it matters not who made it, or what led to it,—but not so will speak they who reverence the Word of God, by which the Church was charged “to speak the same thing,” “to avoid divisions,” —“to be perfectly joined together, in the same mind, and in the same judgment;” which teaches us that the restoration of unity and harmony was the object of Christ's coming, and that unity is an important agent towards the conversion of the world; and which ranks those who cause divisions, and those who separate themselves, among the worst of sinners.

We are still ready to hold Communion with Rome, on the independent terms of the early ages,—a proof of which is, that a priest of the Roman Church, who becomes a

Member of the Catholic Church of England, is enrolled at once in the order of her priesthood, without any re-ordination. But then they must return to us, we cannot return to them. For them to return to us, would be but their going back to the Ancient Catholic Faith, for upholding which Rome was so famous in days of old; but for us to return to them, would be for us to go back to all the corruptions which we renounced, and more,—for we should have to accept the articles of Faith invented, or developed, as they say, since the Council of Trent. Reconciliation upon these terms we may, and do desire, for unity is a thing to be desired,—and for which sacrifice of all should be made, save of Truth. But of this there is no present prospect, judging by the recent acts of their Church as a Body, and of their members as individuals. It remains then that we be very thankful and very confident. Thankful that our Church took the only way of justifiable Reformation, while others ran headlong into ruinous innovations,—that we, almost alone of Western Christendom, were permitted to retain the Primitive and Apostolic organization of the Church, while we regained the Primitive and Apostolic Faith:—that we are members of a Spiritual Body, a true and pure Branch of the Catholic Church of Christ, built upon the foundations which He set;—thankful therefore that we are not in a barren and dry land where no water is, but in a land flowing with means of grace, where we have no temptation to desert our fold of safety, that we may wander in unlawful pastures:—and confident that where such manifest favour has been and still is poured upon us, God is with us of a truth, and salvation still abideth among us, whereof he who listeth may partake.

VII.

KEATS AND HIS FRIENDS.

CHAPTER II.

ABOUT the commencement of the year 1817—(we have again to complain of Mr. Milnes' omission of important dates)—Keats formally renounced the profession which had been selected for him in an evil hour, and as Haydon had advised, retired into the country to brace his powers by undistracted study. It was a wise resolve, and he never regretted it. On the 23rd of September, 1819, when in great pecuniary want, he wrote to his friend Brown,—“In no period of my life have I acted with any self-will but in throwing up the apothecary profession—that I do not repent of.” With the natural partiality of a disciple, Mr. Milnes endeavours to show that Keats was very diligent as a medical student, and would probably have become eminent in the profession if he had adhered to it,—but in such an opinion we cannot concur. In the face of “the book of very careful annotations preserved by Mr. Dilke,” as a memento of his industry—in the face even of his having passed his examination with considerable credit at Apothecaries' Hall, we are uncharitable enough to give full credence to Mr. H. Stephens, “the fellow-student who lodged in the same house with him,” and who describes him at the lectures as scribbling doggerel rhymes among the notes, particularly if he got hold of another student's syllabus. The heart of the young apprentice was never in his note-book or in his lecture;—it was ever amongst his “doggerel rhymes”;—if his note-book appeared fair and clean, an explanation must be sought in the fact that he frequently bantered his friends Haydon, Bayley, and Dilke for the clumsiness of their penmanship, and always prided himself on his calligraphy; and if he passed his examination with moderate success we need but point to the difficulty of constructing methods of indagation so searching as to baffle the ingenuity of a man of genius, and therefore the often-times inadequacy of the test, even when they are, to all appearances, the most rigid and fair. Thus wrote Keats to his friend Dilke;—

“You must improve in your penmanship; your writing is like the speaking of a child of three years old—very understandable to its father, but to no one else. The worst of it is, it *looks* well—no; that is *not* the worst, the *worst* is,—it is *worse than Bayley's*. Bayley's looks illegible, and may perchance be read; your's looks very legible, and may per-

chance *not* be read; I would endeavour to give you a fac-simile of your word *Thistlewood* if I were not minded on the instant that Lord Chesterfield has done some such thing for his son."

If the only copies of the Greek and Latin authors, he was wont to say, "had been made by Dilke, Bayley, and Haydon, they were as good as lost."—And he would recommend them severally to "look at Milton's hand, and at Queen Elizabeth's Latin Exercises, and blush." The youth who, according to Mr. Milnes, "wrote a hand most clerkly," might easily have a handsome note-book without being diligent beyond the common mark; and our own student's life, we witness not without some shame and confusion, teaches us that there is nothing very enigmatical or difficult of explanation in the fact, that a student who had but seldom opened his books on Surgery and the *Materia Medica*, may have passed a respectable examination in these subjects before grave and learned, honest and conscientious Professors.

Carisbrooke was the place where Keats next took up his abode, where the beautiful ruin of the castle of Charles the First's imprisonment afforded a perpetual feast to his eyes. The trench overgrown with the smoothest turf, the walls clothed with ivy, the keep which had become a colony for jackdaws,—were, to him, like an inspiration; he read and mused and wrote poetry, till solitude weighed upon him, and forced him to wander here and there, and to seek relief among his fellow-men.

The sea, which has been the delight and wonder of the greatest poets, filled him with a rapture which he attempted faintly to express in sonnet;—

"The ocean with its vastness, its blue green,
Its ships, its rocks, its caves, its hopes, its fears,—
Its voice mysterious, which whose hears
Must think on what will be, and what has been."

"It keeps eternal whisperings around
Desolate shores, and with its mighty swell
Gluts twice ten thousand caverns."

The passage in *Lear*, "Do you not hear the sea?" (he wrote to a friend) "has haunted me intensely"; and to another, "It is very fine in the morning, when the sun,

Opening on Neptune with fair blessed beams,
Turns into yellow gold his salt sea streams;

And superb at noon; and gorgeous when the fair planet
hastens

———To his home
Within the western foam.

But the best time of all is after sunset, when there are a few white clouds about, and a few stars blinking; when the waters are ebbing, and the horizon a mystery!"

It was by the sea side that he first contemplated his "Endymion," the longest and the most laboured of his poems, though not the most successful. He commenced it about the end of April, 1817, at Carisbrooke, and advised Reynolds that he expected to make considerable progress before they met, in a letter wherein he anticipates the pleasure of reading his verses to his friend, in "a delightful place he had set his heart upon near the castle." He read and wrote about eight hours a day, according to his own account in a letter to Haydon, dated 17th May; and sometimes threw off a thousand lines in three weeks, remarkably rapid work, as Pope, when a thorough master of versification, never did more even in the way of translation. He expected and promised to finish the poem by the autumn; and he would have, had he gone on as he commenced; but, at times, to use his own expressions, "his spirit was fevered in a contrary direction," and he felt in no mood to write. The promise was on that account revoked, but not forgotten.

Near the end of May, he came to an arrangement with Messrs. Taylor and Hessey for the publication of his poem. These liberal publishers not only "cordially appreciated his genius," but had the fullest confidence in the "sense of squareness" that was in him to repay any amount that might be advanced to him at his request. They gave him whatever he asked, and Keats was not slow to appreciate their kindness. "I am extremely indebted to you," (he says in a very playful letter, which shows the abundance of his animal spirits) "for your liberality in the shape of manufactured rag, value £20; and shall immediately proceed to destroy some of the minor heads of that Hydra the dun, to conquer which the knight need have no sword, shield, cuirass, cuisses, habergeon, spear, casque, greaves, paldrons, spurs, chevron, or any other scaly commodity—but he need only take the Bank Note of Faith, &c., whereat the fiend skulks off with his tail between his legs." "A couple of duns," (he says in another letter) "that I thought would be silent till the beginning at least of next month, have opened upon me with a cry most untuneable. Never did you hear such ungallant chiding. Now you must know I am not desolate, but have, thank God, twenty-five good notes in my fob. But

then you know I laid them by to write with, and would stand at bay a fortnight ere they should quit me. In a month's time I *must* pay, but it would relieve my mind if I owed you instead of these pelican duns." "I am sure," he adds as a finale, "you are confident of my responsibility, and in the sense of squareness that is always in me." When the arrangement had been made with the publishers, the anxiety of Keats to finish the poem became greater than ever. He went day by day at it for a month, at the end of which time he "found his brain so overwrought that he had neither rhyme nor reason in it." So he was obliged to rest on his oars for a few days. The effect of his labors is thus pathetically described in a letter to Taylor. "Instead of poetry I have a swimming in my head, and feel all the effects of a mental debauch,—lowness of spirits, anxiety to go on without the power to do so, which does not at all tend to my ultimate progression." In September he wrote to his friend Bayley that "*Endymion*" was *at the bottom of the sea*; from which we presume he was making progress in the third Book; and a few days after we find him writing from Oxford to his friend Reynolds, that he was "getting on famous" with that Book,—of which he had written 800 lines, and was "hoping to finish it next week." "Bayley likes what I have done very much," he adds in the letter. "Believe me, my dear Reynolds, one of my chief layings up is the pleasure I shall have in showing it to you,—I may now say in a few days."

The first three Books of "*Endymion*"—(not the *three first* Books as Mr. Milnes will have it to be)—were finished in September, and portions of them submitted to, and seen by friends in that month; the fourth Book nearly two months after, while Keats was living at Burford Bridge. The still existing manuscript, written in a beautiful hand, "with many corrections of phrases and some of lines, but with few of sentences or of arrangement," records that the task was done on the 28th of November.

No words can adequately convey the sense of diffidence with which Keats surveyed the result of so many anxious days and sleepless nights. If his critics had known the feelings of dissatisfaction with which he himself regarded his poem, they would assuredly have let it and him alone. There were parts indeed which he liked, or rather tolerated; and any harsh or uncharitable criticism of such would excite a feeling of indignation in him which he found it hard to repress; but no man, perhaps, in the whole

history of literature ever formed so lowly an estimate of his work as a whole, that had labored half so hardly at it. The letter to his brothers about Hunt and Shelley, to which we have already adverted, is nothing, and does not at all affect the question. A poke at a bird—even a dove—on its eggs—will always bid it “ruffle its feathers in its wrath”—and “make it bold with maternal fear.” Hunt’s criticism, though just, was in truth just *such* a poke. If any one is disposed to attach weight to that letter of Keats, he should read the whole of the correspondence with his brothers, and with Reynolds and Haydon and Bayley and Hunt, and then say whether there is any ground for supposing that Keats formed a *high* or even a *just* estimate of “Endymion.” “The truth is,”—he says, writing to Haydon in May, 1817, “I have been in such a state of mind as to read over my lines and to hate them. I am as ‘one that gathers samphire,—dreadful trade!’—the cliff of Poetry towers above me.” “My ideas of it,” he says, in another letter to the same friend, “I assure you, are *very low*, and I would write the subject thoroughly again, but I am tired of it, and think the time would be better spent in writing a new Romance, which I have in my eye for next summer. All the good I expect from my employment (this summer) is the fruit of experience which I hope to gather in my next poem.” “As to what you say about my being a poet,” he writes to his brother George, “I can return no answer but by saying that the high idea I have of poetical fame makes me think I see it towering too high above me. ‘Endymion’”—(on which he was then engaged)—“will be a test,—a trial of my powers of imagination, and chiefly of my invention—which is a rare thing indeed—by which I must make 4000 lines of one bare circumstance, and fill them with poetry.” In a letter to Hunt, he compares the produce of his toils to a pin’s point, and says he is in despair when he considers how many pin’s points are requisite to form a bodkin’s point, and how many bodkins “to make a spear bright enough to throw any light to posterity.” If any other proof were wanting that he never prided himself on “Endymion,” we would point to the Preface itself, and to the remarks he made in his letter to one of the publishers, Hessey, which was written after the storm of dishonest and cruel criticism had blown over his head. The Preface is so modest that it has always been a matter of surprise to us, how any critic who had seen it could find heart to anatomise “Endymion.” A more humble or deprecatory, and, at the same time, candid, straight-for-

ward, and independent introduction to a book was never written.

"Knowing within myself the manner in which this Poem has been produced, it is not without a feeling of regret that I make it public.

"What manner I mean, will be quite clear to the reader, who must soon perceive great inexperience, immaturity, and every error denoting a feverish attempt, rather than a deed accomplished. The two first books, and indeed the two last, I feel sensible are not of such completion as to warrant their passing the press; nor should they, if I thought a year's castigation would do them any good;—it will not. The foundations are too sandy. It is just that this youngster should die away; a sad thought for me, if I had not some hope that while it is dwindling I may be plotting, and fitting myself for verses fit to live.

"This may be speaking too presumptuously, and may deserve a punishment; but no feeling man will be forward to inflict it: he will leave me alone, with the conviction that there is not a fiercer hell than the failure in a great object."

What honest or feeling man could, after such an appeal, ply the torturous lash? As we glance over that preface once again, (we are not ashamed to confess almost with moistened eyes,) we cannot hesitate about the answer as to whether, if charity might "criticize the author," even malignity itself might not have "kept clear of the person?"* The letter to Hessey contains in a single sentence a more simple, forcible, and earnest vindication of his humility than all that his friends have written on the subject. "*My own domestic criticism*," he says, almost with bitterness, "*has given me pain without comparison beyond what 'Blackwood' or the 'Quarterly' could inflict.*"

On the 23rd January, 1818, Keats informed his brothers that he had given the first book of his poem to the publisher, who was more than satisfied with it, and proposed, to Keats's surprise, publishing "Endymion" in quarto, if its author could induce his friend Haydon to make a drawing of some event therein for a frontispiece. The poet made appeal for the painter's help. Haydon said he would do any thing that was desired, but if left to himself would rather paint a finished picture from the volume—something, that would be effectual—an honour to them both;—and on the succeeding day wrote to Keats that as it would not do to hurry up a sketch for the occasion; he thought a finished chalk drawing of the poet's head, "done with all his might," and

* *Spectator*, No. 262.

engraved in first style, would answer the publisher's purpose better. He had never done anything of the kind for any human being; he would put his name to it; "and therefore," he added in conclusion, "it must have considerable effect." Haydon was quite charmed with the first book, and seemed eager to fulfil his promise,—but for some reason or other, of which we never heard an explanation, the book eventually appeared without the picture.

A good deal of time was now consumed in copying out the remaining books for the publisher. On the 16th of February, Keats communicated to his brothers that he would visit them as soon as he had got over the unprofitable and laborious task. "I am now much before-hand with the printers,"—so ran his letter,—"they have done none yet, and I am afraid they will let half the season slip by before the printing." So also he, from time to time, reported progress to Taylor and Reynolds. "I wish it was all done," he added to the latter friend; "for I want to forget it, and make my mind free for something new." The first preface that he drew up was destroyed. Reynolds objected to it, as written too much in the style of Hunt. Keats remonstrated against the criticism, but adopted the advice. On the 10th April he wrote to Reynolds, "I am anxious you should find this preface tolerable. If there is any affectation in it, 'tis natural to me. Do let the Printer's Devil cook it, and let me be as the 'casing air.' I had an idea of giving no preface," he continues, "nowever, don't you think this had better go? O! let it—one should not be too timid of committing faults." The preface was approved and printed. It is the same from which we have already made an extract.

The reception of "Endymion" on its publication is well known. The *Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* attacked it remorselessly.

We had heard before we had seen the paper in the *Quarterly Review* that it was a perfect "demolisher,"—and the indignation of Keats' best friends,—Shelley and Brown and Severn (which ascribed his illness and death to it,)—and the flippant stanzas in *Don Juan* commencing with—

"John Keats who was killed off by one critique,
Just as he really promised something great;"

and concluding with the rather snappish than facetious couplet—

" 'Tis strange the mind that very fiery particle"
Should let itself be snuffed out by an article,—

had confirmed the impression. Mr. Milnes' criticism of the article, though it let in gleams of light, did not completely dispel our error. We fancied that though the article was heavy and ungenerous, and no "demolisher" at all, there was at least a little caustic in it, suspended, perhaps, in a few drops of that poisonous sarcasm in which Macaulay steeped the arrows that pierced the heart of Montgomery, and Jeffrey those which rebounded from Wordsworth's coat of mail. It was not till we had taken the trouble to find out and read the brochure itself, that we discovered how much we had been mistaken, and how little it was calculated to produce the effect ascribed to it. We cannot call it even contemptible; for it was hardly anything beyond a few words of abuse much in the manner of the correspondents of Indian Newspapers, interlarded with a few quotations, to exemplify the defects of immaturity and inexperience to which Keats himself had frankly pleaded guilty. Add to these a few desperate attempts to be smart, and you have the, to say the least of it, very flippant paper which did duty for Article VII., in the nineteenth volume of the *Quarterly Review*. And over how many pages does the reader think this homicidal criticism extended—fifty—forty—thirty—twenty—even ten pages? Oh no—Three and a half—that was all! In that brief compass was the sum of Keats's merits and demerits discussed. Verily the critic had, in his homage for Shakespeare, acted in implicit belief that brevity is the soul of wit.

The article in *Blackwood*, under the signature Z., though more scurrilous, was in one respect more generous. It was copious in its extracts, which the *Quarterly's* was not; extracts, as Mr. Milnes well observes, which no doubt led readers to conclusions very different from those of the writer. It mattered little whether he pronounced Keats "a flimsy, uneducated stripling," or "a bantling, who had learned to lisp sedition," or "a starved apothecary who had left his profession to pen stanzas, and who should be driven back to the shop to toil amongst his plasters, pills, and ointment boxes,"—the while he produced such specimens of his poetry as

"Great spirits now on earth are sojourning";—

Or,

"Oh for ten years that I may overwhelm
Myself in poesy";—

or again,

“A thing of beauty is a joy for ever :
Its loveliness increases ; it will never
Pass into nothingness ; but still will keep
A bower quiet for us, and a sleep
Full of sweet dreams, and health, and quiet breathing.
Therefore, on every morrow, we are wreathing
A flowery band to bind us to the earth,
Spite of despondence, of the inhuman dearth
Of noble natures, of the gloomy days,
Of all the unhealthy and o’er-darken’d ways
Made for our searching : yes, in spite of all,
Some shape of beauty moves away the pall
From our dark spirits.”

These passages themselves refuted by their own eloquence the critic’s condemnation, and completely took the edge from off his taunts.

It is now too late in the day, to expose the false principles on which the *Review* and the *Magazine* articles were based ; but we cannot resist transcribing one or two of the passages which the critics themselves no doubt thought most overwhelming.

The *Quarterly Reviewer* commenced with a declaration (no doubt honest) that he had not read the work he criticised. Not that he had been wanting in his duty—“far from it”—indeed he had made efforts “almost as superhuman as the story itself” appeared to be, to get through it—but “with the fullest stretch of his perseverance” he must confess that “he had not been able to struggle beyond the first of the four Books.”—But he was not without his “consolation ;”

“We should extremely regret this want of energy, or whatever it may be on our part, were it not for one consolation, namely, that we are not better acquainted with the meaning of the book through which we have so painfully toiled, than we are with that of the three which we have not looked into.”

A little further on, after quoting the following sentence from the preface—

“The two first Books, and indeed the two last, I feel sensible are not of such completion as to warrant their passing the press.”

He proceeds ;

“Thus the two first Books are even in his own judgment unfit to appear ; and the ‘two last’ are, it seems, in the same condition ; and as two and two make four, and as that is the whole number of books, we have a clear, and we believe a very just, estimate of the entire work.”

What rare facetiousness! What withering sarcasm! What graceful intermixture of figures with facts! The article in *Blackwood's* contains the following amusing account of Keats:—

"His friends, we understand, destined him to the career of medicine, and he was bound apprentice some years ago to a worthy apothecary in town. But all has been undone by a sudden attack of the malady to which we have alluded. Whether Mr. John had been sent home with a diuretic or composing draught to some patient far gone in the poetical mania we have not heard. This much is certain, that he has caught the infection, and that thoroughly. For some time we were in hopes that he might get off with a violent fit or two; but of late the symptoms are terrible. The phrensy of the poems was bad enough in its way; but it did not alarm us half so seriously, as the calm, settled, imperturbable, drivelling idiotcy of 'Endymion.'"

We feel much inclined to echo Madge Wildfire's exclamation "Wha's the idiot now?"

Although we agree with Mr. Milnes in his verdict on the articles, we differ from him very materially on the much-vexed question whether they affected Keats, or in any way poisoned or embittered his life. Mr. Milnes thinks not merely that they had no injurious bias upon the health and spirits of the sensitive poet, but that they had no effect upon him whatever; that he read them only to despise them,—or rather to forget them; and that in his world of art, he rested far—very far—above the missiles of such paltry assailants. He has come to this conclusion after a conscientious enquiry, and his faith rests upon the correspondence of Keats, in which "it must be seen," he says, "how little importance he attached to such opinions, how rarely he alluded to them at all, and how easily when he did so." It would be as absurd, it seems to us, to expect, that Keats would confess in his correspondence that he was very much hurt at the manner in which he had been reviewed, as it would be to expect a soldier to announce he had been frightened at the field of battle. The Prince of Dramatists, when he makes Othello say—"not a jot—not a jot"—does not impress on his readers that the spirits of the Moorish Captain were not dashed by Iago's intelligence; and the Prince of Essayists does not leave the mind convinced that Sir Roger De Coverley, when he said to the gipsy girl—"Go, go—you idle baggage," was really annoyed with her impertinence. We are not to found our judgments entirely upon men's words, which, according to the oriental philosopher were given to *hide* the thoughts. It does not therefore appear to us so convincing as to Mr. Milnes, that Keats

was in no manner affected by the uncharitable criticism, *because* he seldom alluded to it in his correspondence, or passed lightly over it whenever a reference to it escaped him. If we were to reject the common belief that he was very much hurt at his treatment, on the sole ground that he never told his friends his grief in his letters, we might one day be tempted to believe that love, because so seldom first confessed by the gentler bosom, seldom commences there; or to question the correctness of Mr. Walter Savage Landor's well-known epigram—

“‘I'm half in love,’ he who with smiles hath said,
In love will never be.
Whoe'er, ‘I'm not in love,’ and shakes his head,
In love too sure is he.”

We do not indeed believe that Keats was so humbled or distressed by the scurrility with which he was assailed as to be the victim of “demoniac phrensy, moping melancholy, and moon-struck madness;” and so to induce or aggravate the disease fatal to the family which brought him to a premature grave,—but this we do believe, and not, we think, on groundless presumptions, that he was much depressed by it,—much more, indeed, than any man of his genius and abilities should have been. We do not mean to imply that he was in any way to blame;—far from it; it was his nature. He had not—for Heaven had not bestowed on him—the stronger fibre of Lord Byron, who, when knocked down by a Review, “got up again, and instead of breaking a blood-vessel, drank three bottles of claret, and begun an answer, finding that there was nothing in the article for which he could knock its author on the head in an honorable way.” Keats had been born sensitive, and though he strove manfully, he could not control the feeling, we cannot say of a *little*,—but of a *great deal too much* distress, at attacks which, however impotent in themselves, were written, almost to his certain knowledge, with the *purpose* of giving him pain. Mr. Leigh Hunt assures us that the “hunters had struck him;”—that “a delicate organization which already anticipated premature death made him feel his ambition thwarted by these fellows;” and that “the very impatience of *being* impatient was resented by him and preyed on his mind.” Shelley commenced a letter to the Editor of the *Quarterly*, in which he says that “poor Keats was thrown into a dreadful state of mind by the criticism on ‘Endymion’; that the first effects were described to him as resembling insanity;”

and that it was by assiduous watching he was restrained from effecting purposes of suicide." "The agony of his sufferings had," he said, "ultimately produced the rupture of a blood-vessel in the lungs, and induced a disease from which there were but faint hopes of his recovery." In his *Adonais*, too, Shelley indignantly asked,

"What deaf and viperous murderer could crown
Life's early cup with such a draught of woe?"

After the death of Keats, the accusation against his critics was renewed, as Mr. Milnes himself informs us, by Mr. Brown and Mr. Severn. George Keats, the elder brother, wrote from America that "*Blackwood* and the *Quarterly*," associated with their family disease, consumption, "were ministers of death sufficiently venomous, cruel and deadly to have consigned one of less sensibility to a premature grave." "A good cudgelling should have been the reward of the critics if they had been within my reach," George added, with the pugnacity common to the family—"not for the attacks on the poetry,—for that was fair game and liable to be assailed by sneaking poachers; but for the misrepresentations of his character." All these testimonies (and they are the testimonies of Keats's warmest and best friends and admirers) though we reject, and for argument's sake grant Mr. Milnes that these men, who could not possibly invent a story, might possibly exaggerate and color one they knew or had heard to be true, under excited feelings, or a just sense of friendly indignation, or a laudable desire to protect their friend from further abuse and insult, or an equally praiseworthy anxiety to enlist the public sympathy on his behalf after his death; still, after such rejection, we maintain that Keats was *hurt*, *much hurt* by the abuse, that was showered upon him,—and confidently believe that the letters produced by Mr. Milnes himself afford no reasonable countenance to any other opinion.

• On the 22nd November, 1817—that is, before "*Endymion*" had appeared—Keats wrote to Reynolds—"Why don't you do as I do, *look* unconcerned at what may be called, more particularly, *heart-vexations*? They never surprise *me*—a man should have the fine point of his soul taken off, to become fit for this world."—Is it likely that the man who wrote in such a strain had the fine point of *his* soul taken off? But let us hear further. "There has been a flaming attack upon Hunt" (he wrote to Bayley) in the *Edinburgh Magazine*. I never read any thing so virulent; accusing

him of the greatest crimes,—depreciating his wife, his poetry, his habits, his company, his conversation. These philippics are to come out in numbers,—called the ‘*Cockney School of Poetry*.’ There has been but one number published—that on Hunt,—to which they have prefixed a motto from one *Cornelius Webbe, Poetaster*,—who, unfortunately, was of our party occasionally at Hampstead, and took it into his head to write something about—‘We’ll talk on Wordsworth—Byron—a theme we never tire on,’—and so forth, till he comes to Hunt and Keats. In the motto they have put Hunt and Keats in large letters. I have no doubt that the second number was intended for me, but *have hopes of its non-appearance* from an advertisement in the *Examiner*.” The *Examiner* was conducted by Hunt, and the advertisement referred to in this place* was a call upon the writer of *Blackwood’s Magazine* to send his address, that justice might be executed upon the proper person. “*I don’t mind the thing much*,” Keats added, “but if he should go to such lengths with me as he has done with Hunt, I must infallibly call him to account, if he be a human being, and appears in squares and theatres where we might possibly meet.” This cannot be the language of a man who utterly despised the critic, and read him only to forget him. Again, on the 29th of October, 1818, Keats wrote to his brother George, that Reynolds was with him, and persuading him to publish his “*Pot of Basil*,” “as an answer to the attacks in *Blackwood’s Magazine* and the *Quarterly Review*.” “This is a mere matter of the moment,” he adds, “I think I shall be among the English poets after my death. It is a common expression among bookmen,—‘I wonder the *Quarterly* should cut its own throat.’ It does me not the least harm in society to make me appear little and ridiculous.” Mr. Milnes may consider this extract to be in *his* favor, not in *ours*. We differ from him;—but to set the question at rest, we shall produce more decisive proofs. In a journal meant for the eye of his brother in America, Keats inserted the following remark on the 18th February, 1819:—

“My poem has not at all succeeded. In the course of a year or so, I think, I shall try the public again. In a selfish point of view I should suffer my pride and my contempt of public opinion to hold me silent; but for yours and Fanny’s sake I will pluck up spirit and try it again. * * * These reviews are getting more and more powerful, especially the *Quarterly*. They are like a superstition which, the more it prostrates the crowd and the longer it continues, the more it becomes powerful, just in proportion to its increasing weakness. * * * The

public are like spectators at the Westminster cockpit; they like the battle, and do not care who wins or who loses."

If this should not be thought enough we might still quote passage after passage.

"And yet I should like to study for a physician, and take fees. It is not worse than writing poems and hanging them up to be fly-blown on the review shambles."

"My book," (his third and last, "*Lamia*," "*Isabella*," and other poems) "is coming out with very low hopes. This shall be my last trial—not succeeding, I shall try what I can do in the Apothecary line."

Was this the language of a man who *despised* criticism, and, in his world of art, rested beyond the reach of puny assailants?

Some of the periodicals of the day gave a favorable notice of "*Endymion*," and certain of the newspapers espoused the cause of Keats with warmth. The *Morning Chronicle* published two letters written with much ability by an unknown individual who signed himself J. S.; and the *Examiner* one—written by Reynolds. All these were sent to Keats by his publisher Hessey; and he acknowledged them with thanks, though affecting, like Johnson, to be indifferent to censure or praise. We say *affecting*, because we afterwards find him alluding to them, with evident satisfaction, in a letter to his brother. The letter which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 3rd October "earnestly remonstrated" against the "tyrannous criticism" of the *Quarterly Review*, and enquired "whether the article could have proceeded from the translator of Juvenal (Gifford), who had prefixed to his work that manly and pathetic narrative of genius oppressed and struggling with innumerable difficulties, yet finally triumphing under patronage and encouragement. Or else from the biographer of Kirke White (Mr. Southey), "who had expostulated with the Monthly Reviewer, who sat down to blast the hopes of a boy who had confest to him all his hopes and all his difficulties." The *Edinburgh Review*, under Jeffrey's management, came last;—but made ample amends for a delay of two years by the adoption of a tone at once just to the author and honorable to the critic. It regretted that Keats's volumes had not come earlier under its notice; and while it admitted that there was hardly any work "from which a malicious critic could cull more matter for ridicule, or select more obscure, absurd, or unnatural passages," yet declared that the utmost indulgence should be extended to the productions for their redeeming beauties.

"They are flushed all over with the rich lights of fancy, and so coloured and bestrown with the flowers of poetry"—said the *Review*,—"that even while perplexed and bewildered in their labyrinths, it is impossible to resist the intoxication of their sweetness or to shut our hearts to the enchantments they so lavishly present." And, lower down, he remarked "that the thin and scanty tissue of the story of 'Endymion' is merely the light frame-work on which Mr. Keats's florid wreaths are suspended;" and added most justly, "that he who did not find a great deal in it to admire and to give delight, could not possibly in his heart see much beauty in the 'Faithful Shepherdess' of Fletcher, or the 'Sad Shepherd' of Ben Johnson, or find any great pleasure in some of the finest creations of Milton and Shakspeare." The beautiful manner in which Keats handled the Pagan Mythology, a manner in which "instead of presenting its imaginary persons under the trite and vulgar traits that belong to them in the ordinary systems, little more is borrowed from these than the general conception of their conditions and relations; and an original character and distinct individuality is bestowed upon them, which possesses all the merit of invention, and all the grace and attraction of the fictions on which it is engrafted,"—was praised in deservedly encomiastic language. The Reviewer concluded with copious extracts, and with the expression of a hope that Mr. Keats would not misapply his unquestionably great powers,—his rich and beautiful imagination; his precocious and almost miraculous mastery of the finest diction of English poetry; his intense and keen appreciation of the loveliness and sublimity of nature, by selecting untractable themes for composition, or luxuriating too recklessly on such as were more suitable."

The opinion of the *Edinburgh Review* has been endorsed, with some modifications, by all disinterested and discerning critics; amongst whom we may name Shelley, Hunt, Talfourd, Sterling, and Milnes; and has been ratified in the main by the public voice both in England and America. We differ from it in only one material point, and in that point, we believe, all these eminent critics are of our mind. We do not consider, as Mr. Jeffrey appeared to do, that "Endymion" was *one* of the best, if not the best, of Keats's efforts. We consider it one of his glorious failures,—and indeed *far, very far*, inferior to each of his other sustained poems; to "Hyperion," to "The Eve of St. Agnes," to "Isabella," and to "Lamia". We look on "Endymion" more in the light in which Keats himself regarded it,—as a part of the process of his

poetical education, rather than as a finished or complete poem. We admit it has many beauties of a very rare order; and also, that it has obscure, absurd and unnatural passages;—but we do not agree in the vulgar estimate of it, and would not judge of Keats as its author and the author of nothing else. We have at times even doubted whether it should have been published as a whole, but the reflection that it gives us a clear insight into the manner in which a great genius works out its triumphs, has as often banished an idea which would sometimes linger (though but seldom) after fresh perusal of some one of its brilliant and fanciful scenes. There cannot be any doubt that, as a poem, it would have been vastly more successful had Keats reduced its length, and engaged himself in a searching revision of it; but at the same time there can be as little doubt that had he done so, he would not have reached the height he did in so short a period. It was an exercise to him; a struggle which braced his powers;—not an exhibition of his intellectual strength. He himself confesses in more places than one that he wrote it *without judgment*. “If I had been nervous about its being a perfect piece,” (he wrote to Hessey,) “and with that view had asked advice and trembled over every page, it would not have been written at all.” He “leaped headlong into the sea, and thereby became better acquainted with the soundings, the quicksands, and the rocks,” than if he “had staid upon the green slope and piped a silly pipe and taken tea and comfortable advice.” “The genius of poetry,”—we still use our poet’s own expressions—“as it cannot be matured by law and precept, but by sensation and watchfulness,” worked out its own salvation in him by means of “*Endymion*.” Had he not written *that*, he *could not* have written his more successful poems. The reason that he himself gave for making his poem a long one, (when Hunt advised him to curtail its intended dimensions,) is not the reason which we should have felt inclined to give. “The lovers of poetry,” he said, “like to have a little region to wander in, where they may pick and choose, and in which the images are so numerous that many are forgotten and found anew in a second reading. They like a poem which may be food for a week’s stroll in the summer, better than one which can be read through before Mrs. Williams comes downstairs—a morning’s work at most!” We would rather have said,—and our remark would have been perhaps not less apposite and more modest—“Unless I endeavour to write a *long* poem how am I

to be, a *great poet*? I shall not publish my poem, if, upon completion, it appears to be a *bad* one,—or, if I *do* publish it, it shall be with a distinct avowal that I regard it in the light of ‘a feverish attempt,’ rather than as ‘a deed accomplished’—but it is absolutely necessary for my future success that my poem should be *long*.” We would not have asked “Did our great poets ever write *short* poems?” because it is not as the authors of *those* that they are *great* poets:—but we would have *urged* (what he introduced almost parenthetically, and without any stress) that a *long* poem is a test of invention, “which is the polar star of Poetry, as Fancy is the sails and Imagination the rudder.”

Our remarks on “Endymion” may to some, perhaps, seem too severe; and certainly we shall not attempt to justify them by any illustrations from the poem itself, but though it may be to the disparagement of our own critical sagacity, shall rather introduce a few of the many brilliant passages which display the riches of its young author’s imagination. Here is part of a Hymn to Pan, which Jeffrey said was full of beauty, and in many places equal to the finest strains of Sicilian or English poetry; Shelley, that it gave the surest promise of ultimate excellence, and Wordsworth, that it was “a very pretty piece of paganism.” Leigh Hunt has recorded that Wordsworth’s remark was meant as a compliment, and that Keats was highly gratified by it,—but Mr. Milnes is of opinion that “the mature and philosophic genius, penetrated with Christian associations, probably intended some slight rebuke to his youthful compeer, whom he saw absorbed in an order of ideas, that to him appeared merely sensuous.” He adds that “Keats took it much to heart,” being in truth, far more annoyed at it “than at pages of *Quarterly* abuse or *Blackwood* ridicule.”

“O thou, whose mighty palace roof doth hang
From jagged trunks, and overshadoweth
Eternal whispers, glooms, the birth, life, death
Of unseen flowers in heavy peacefulness;
Who lovest to see the hamadryads dress
Their ruffled locks where meeting hazels darken;
And through whole solemn hours dost sit, and hearken
The dreary melody of bedded reeds—
In desolate places, where dank moisture breeds
The pipy hemlock to strange overgrowth,
Bethinking thee, how melancholy loath
Thou wast to lose fair Syrinx—do thou now,
By thy love’s milky brow!
By all the trembling mazes that she ran,
Hear us, great Pan!

O thou, for whose soul-soothing quiet, turtles
 Passion their voices cooingly 'mong myrtles,
 What time thou wanderest at eventide
 Through sunny meadows, that outskirt the side
 Of their enmossed realms? O thou, to whom
 Broad-leaved fig-trees even now foredoom
 Their ripened fruitage; yellow-girted bees
 Their golden honeycombs; our village leas
 Their fairest blossom'd beans and popped corn;
 The chuckling linnet its five young unborn,
 To sing for thee; low creeping strawberries
 Their summer coolness; pent-up butterflies
 Their freckled wings; yea, the fresh-budding year
 All its completions—be quickly near,
 By every wind that nods the mountain pine,
 O forester divine!

Thou, to whom every fawn and satyr flies
 For willing service; whether to surprise
 The squatted hare while in half-sleeping fit;
 Or upward ragged precipices flit
 To save poor lambkins from the eagle's maw;
 Or by mysterious enticement draw
 Bewilder'd shepherds to their path again;
 Or to tread breathless round the frothy main,
 And gather up all fancifullest shells
 For thee to tumble into Naiads' cells,
 And, being hidden, laugh at their out-peeping.
 Or to delight thee with fantastic leaping;
 The while they pelt each other on the crown
 With silvery oak-apples, and fir-cones brown—
 By all the echoes that about thee ring,
 Hear us, O satyr king!

O Harkener to the loud-clapping shears
 While ever and anon to his shorn peers
 A ram goes bleating: Winder of the horn,
 When snouted wild-boars routing tender corn
 Anger our huntsman: Breather round our farms,
 To keep off mildews, and all weather harms:
 Strange ministrant of undescribed sounds,
 That come a-swooning over hollow grounds,
 And wither drearily on barren moors:
 Dread opener of the mysterious doors
 Leading to universal knowledge—see,
 Great son of Dryope,
 The many that are come to pay their vows
 With leaves about their brows!"

What a lustrous stream of mellow lines! Their music has carried us away to within a stanza of the invocation's close. Better, perhaps had it been to content ourselves (as for the future we must do) with culling here and there, from the many gem-like passages which accumulate upon our me-

mory, singly, yet precipitately, "like pearl beads dropping sudden from their string."

There is a sweetness as well of imagery as of versification in the introduction of Keats's theme:—

———" 'Tis with full happiness that I
Will trace the story of Endymion.
The very music of the name has gone
Into my being, and each pleasant scene
Is growing fresh before me as the green
Of our own valleys: so I will begin
Now while I cannot hear the city's din;
Now while the early budders are just new,
And run in mazes of the youngest hue
About old forests; while the willow trails
Its delicate amber; and the dairy pails
Bring home increase of milk."

The following account of the communings of the "Latmian priest and "shepherds gone in eld," is quite Grecian in its ideas and expression:—

———" They discoursed upon the fragile bar
That keeps us from our homes ethereal;
And what our duties there; nightly to call
Vesper, the beauty-crest of summer weather;
To summon all the downiest clouds together
For the sun's purple couch; to emulate
In ministering the potent rule of fate
With speed of fire-tail'd exhalations;
To tint her pallid cheek with bloom, who cons
Sweet poesy by moonlight: besides these,
A world of other unguess'd offices.
Anon they wander'd, by divine converse,
Into Elysium, vying to rehearse
Each one his own anticipated bliss.
One felt heart-certain that he could not miss
His quick-gone love, among fair-blossom'd boughs,
Where every zephyr-sigh pouts and endows
Her lips with music for the welcoming.
Another wish'd, 'mid that eternal spring,
To meet his rosy child, with feathery sails,
Sweeping, eye-earnestly, through almond vales:
Who, suddenly, should stoop through the smooth wind,
And with the balmiest leaves his temples bind;
And, ever after, through those regions be
His messenger, his little Mercury."

The very spirit of tenderness breathes in the description of Peona's conduct of her brother Endymion, "whose eyelids curtained up their jewels dim," to her bower and bed; and his own acknowledgements on recovering from his trance. "Hushing signs; she made," and led him,—

"Along a path between two little streams,—
 Guarding his forehead, with her round elbow,
 From low-grown branches, and his footsteps slow
 From stumbling over stumps and hillocks small;
 Until they came to where these streamlets fall,
 With mingled bubblings and a gentle rush,
 Into a river, clear, brimful, and flush
 With crystal mocking of the trees and sky.
 A little shallop, floating there hard by,
 Pointed its beak over the fringed bank;
 And soon it lightly dipt, and rose, and sank,
 And dipt again, with the young couple's weight,—
 Peona guiding, through the water straight,
 Towards a bowery island opposite;
 Which gaining presently, she steered light
 Into a shady, fresh and ripply cove,
 Where nested was an arbour, overwove
 By many a summer's silent fingering,
 To whose cool bosom she was used to bring
 Her playmates, with their needle broidery,
 And minstrel memories of times gone by.

So she was gently glad to see him laid
 Under her favorite bower's quiet shade,
 On her own couch. * * * * *
 * * * * * And as a willow keeps
 A patient watch over the stream that creeps
 Windingly by it, so the quiet maid
 Held her in peace; so that a whispering blade
 Of grass, a wailful gnat, or a bee bustling
 Down in the blue-bells, or a wren light rustling
 Among sere leaves and twigs, might all be heard.

O magic sleep! O comfortable bird,
 That broodest o'er the troubled sea of the mind
 Till it is hush'd and smooth! O unconfin'd
 Restraint! imprison'd liberty! great key
 To golden palaces, strange minstrelsy,

Fountains grotesque, new trees, bespangled caves
 Echoing grottoes, full of tumbling waves
 And moonlight; ay, to all the mazy world
 Of silvery enchantment! * * * * *

* * * * *
 Endymion was calm'd to life again,
 Opening his eyelids with a healthier brain,
 He said: 'I feel this thine endearing love
 All through my bosom: thou art as a dove
 Trembling its closed eyes and sleeked wings
 About me; and the pearliest dew not brings
 Such morning incense from the fields of May,
 As do those brighter drops that twinkling stray
 From those kind eyes,—the very home and haunt
 Of sisterly affection.'

Indeed, this, and a variety of passages no less exquisitely conceived, appear to warrant our applying the character which the poet has written of the prelude from Peona's lute to a very considerable part of the lay in which she figures;—

“ A lay
 “ More subtle-cadenced, more forest-wild
 Than Dryope's lone lulling of her child;
 And nothing since has floated on the air
 So mournful strange.”

When was language ever more felicitously moulded, than in the description of Endymion's first vision of his spectral visitant?

“ Whence that completed form of all completeness?
 Whence came that high perfection of all sweetness?
 Speak, stubborn earth, and tell me where, O where
 Hast thou a symbol of her golden hair?
 Not oat-sheaves drooping in the western sun;
 Not—thy soft hand, fair sister! let me shun
 Such follying before thee—yet she had,
 Indeed, locks bright enough to make me mad;
 And they were simply gordian'd up and braided,
 Leaving, in native comeliness, unshaded
 Her pearl-round ears, white neck, and orb'd brow;
 The which were blended in, I know not how,
 With such a paradise of lips and eyes,
 Blush-tinted cheeks, half smiles, and faintest sighs,
 That when I think thereon, my spirit clings
 And plays about its fancy, till the stings
 Of human neighbourhood envenom all.
 Unto what awful power shall I call?
 To what high fane? Ah! see her hovering feet,
 More blue-vein'd, more soft, more whitely sweet
 Than those of sea-born Venus, when she rose
 From out her cradle shell. The wind out-blows
 Her scarf into a fluttering pavilion;
 'Tis blue, and overspangled with a million
 Of little eyes, as though thou were to shed
 Over the darkest, lushest blue-bell bed
 Handfuls of daisies.”

So much for the first Book. In the second there is less to detain us, though it is not without striking beauties. We refer especially to the invocation of Dian; and to the episode on Alpheus and Arethusa, with which the book concludes; and perhaps more finished than either, the flower-embosomed couch of the sleeping Adonis.

“ Above his head,
 Four lily-stalks did their white honours wed
 To make a coronal; and round him grew
 All tendrils green, of every bloom and hue,

Together intertwined and tramell'd fresh :
 The vine of glossy sprout; the ivy mesh,
 Shading its Ethiop berries; the woodbine
 Of velvet leaves and bugle-blooms divine;
 Convolvulus in streaked vases flush;
 The creeper, mellowing for an autumn blush;
 And virgin's bower, trailing airily;
 With others of the sisterhood."

A bouquet, surely, scarce less trimly compacted than those
 kindred to it in *Lycidas* and the *Winter's Tale*.

Endymion's vision of the nymph

"uprisen to the breast
 In the fountain's pebbly margin——"

To him her dripping hand who softly kist
 And anxiously began to plait and twist
 Her ringlets round her fingers;"—

his ejaculations as she vanished to sing her "ditty in her
 hollow cell;"—

"O meekest dove
 Of heaven! O Cynthia, ten-times bright and fair!
 From thy blue throne, now filling all the air,
 Glance but one little beam of temper'd light
 Into my bosom, that the dreadful might
 And tyranny of love be somewhat scared;"—

and his attitude, as he pondered over the cavern, "with
 madden'd stare, and lifted hands, and trembling lips,"—

"Like old Deucalion mountain'd o'er the flood,
 Or blind Orion hungry for the morn;"—

are all replete with imaginative richness. Leigh Hunt is
 enthusiastic in praise of the line last quoted; so correctly
 exponent of the mythological idea. Endymion's incarceration
 in the cavern's deeps, where

"Lo!
 "He cannot see the heavens, nor the flow
 Of rivers, nor hill-flowers running wild
 In pink and purple chequer, nor, up-piled,
 The clouded rack slow journeying in the west,
 Like herded elephants;"—

and again his onward progress,

"Through caves, and palaces of mottled ore,
 Gold dome, and crystal wall, and turquoise floor,
 Black polish'd porticoes of awful shade,
 And at the last, a diamond balustrade
 Leading afar past wild magnificence;"—

and onward still, to where,

- “In enormous chasms, all foam and roar,
Streams subterranean tease their granite beds;”

are so many evidences of the most fertile resources for poetical description. So too is the picture of

———“Mother Cybele! alone—alone—
In sombre chariot; dark foldings thrown
About her majesty, and front death-pale,
With turrets crowned. Four maned lions hale
The sluggish wheels: solemn their toothed maws,
Their surly eyes brow-hidden, heavy paws
Uplifted drowsily, and nervy tails
Cowering their tawny brushes;”—

and his interrogations of his too fair and transient visitant:—

“O my Love,
My breath of life, where art thou? High above,
Dancing before the morning gates of heaven?
Or keeping watch among those starry seven
Old Atlas' children? Art a maid o' the waters,
One of shell-winding Triton's bright-hair'd daughters?
Or art, impossible! a nymph of Dian's,
Winding a coronal of tender scions
For very idleness;”—

and the suggestions of Alpheus to Arethusa, in the long and passionate episode which we have before referred to;—

“I will delight thee all my winding course
From the green sea up to my hidden source
About Arcadian forests; and will show
The channels where my coolest waters flow,
Through mossy rocks, where, 'mid exuberant green,
I roam in pleasant darkness, more unseen
Than Saturn in his exile; where I brim
Round flowery islands, and take thence a skim
Of mealy sweets, which myriads of bees
Buzz from their honied wings: and thou should'st please
Thyself to choose the richest, where we might
Be incense-pillowed every summer night.”

Near the beginning of the third Book, there is an invocation which has often struck us as among the most luxuriant and happily balanced passages in the whole of Keats's writings. Pages might be spent in praise of its exquisite sentimentality and the grouping of the moonlight scenery—the cattle and the nested wren, the spooming ocean and the patient oyster;—as freely handled and transparently wrought as a night piece from the pencil of Albert Cuyp.

"O Moon! The oldest shades 'mong oldest trees
 Feel palpitations as thou lookest in:
 O Moon! old boughs lisp forth a holier din
 The while they feel thine airy fellowship.
 Thou dost bless every where, with silver lip
 Kissing dead things to life. The sleeping kinc,
 Couched in thy brightness, dream of fields divine:
 Innumerable mountains rise, and rise,
 Ambitious for the hallowing of thine eyes;
 And yet thy benediction passeth not
 One obscure hiding place, one little spot
 Where pleasure may be sent: the nestèd wren
 Has thy fair face within its tranquil ken,
 And from beneath a sheltering ivy leaf
 Takes glimpses of thee: thou art a relief
 To the poor patient oyster, where it sleeps
 Within its pearly house;—The mighty deeps,
 The monstrous sea is thine;—the myriad sea!
 O Moon! far spooming Ocean bows to thee,
 And Tellus feels her forehead's cumbrous load."—

Nearly the whole of this third Book is occupied with the story of Glaucus, related by himself to Endymion in the depths of the ocean; a legend of which, though evidently a favourite one with the poets of ancient Greece, and the subject either of a tragedy or of a satirical comedy by Æschylus, we know but little now, except through the scholiasts and fabulists, and have certainly nothing in a metrical dress so complete as that for which we stand indebted to the pen of Keats. The legend, though drawn out more than need be, is told effectively, and, in occasional passages, with remarkable power. Here is the portrait of the principal character, *ἀνδραποειδὲς θηρίον ὕδατι σνζών*.

"Upon a weeded rock this old man sat,
 And his white hair was awful, and a mat
 Of weeds was cold beneath his cold thin feet;
 And, ample as the largest winding-sheet,
 A cloak of blue wrapp'd up his aged bones,
 O'erwrought with symbols by the deepest groans
 Of ambitious magic: every ocean-form
 Was woven in with black distinctness; storm,
 And calm, and whispering, and hideous roar
 Were emblem'd in the woof; with every shape
 That skims, or dives, or sleeps, 'twixt cape and cape.
 The gulphing whale was like a dot in the spell,
 Yet look upon it, and 'twould size and swell
 To its huge self; and the minutest fish
 Would pass the very hardest gazer's wish,
 And show his little eye's anatomy.
 Then there was pictured the regality
 Of Neptune; and the sea-nymphs round his state,

In beauteous vassalage, look up and wait.
Beside this old man lay a pearly wand,
And in his lap a book, the which he conned
So steadfastly, that the new denizen
Had time to keep him in amazed ken,
To mark these shadowings and stand in awe."

The recital, by Glaucus, of his early history to Endymion, in whom he recognised his deliverer from his thousand years' sub-aqueous captivity, has always struck us as remarkably well conceived:—

"I was a fisher once, upon this main,
And my boat danced in every creek and bay;—
Rough billows were my home, by night and day,—
The sea-gulls not more constant; for I had
No housing from the storm and tempests mad
But hollow rocks,—and they were palaces
Of silent happiness, of slumberous ease:
Long years of misery have told me so."

Scylla figures to perfection among "the ceaseless wonders of the ocean-bed."

"Ah, Scylla fair!
Why did poor Glaucus ever—ever dare
To sue thee to his heart? Kind stranger-youth!
I loved her to the very white of truth,
And she would not conceive it. Timid thing!
She fled me swift as sea-bird on the wing
Round every isle, and point, and promontory,
From where large Hercules wound up his story
Far as Egyptian Nile. My passion grew
The more, the more I saw her dainty hue
Gleam delicately through the azure clear:
Until 'twas too fierce agony to bear;
And in that agony, across my grief—
It flash'd, that Circe might find some relief—
Cruel enchantress!"

But perhaps the portrait of Circe is the strongest drawn in the group. Glaucus reared his head above the water:—

"The fairest face that morn e'er look'd upon
Push'd through a screen of roses. Starry Jove!
What tears, and smiles, and homed words she wove
A net, whose thralldom was more bliss than all
The range of flower'd Elysium. Thus did fall
The dew of her rich speech: 'Ah! art awake?
O let me hear thee speak, for Cupid's sake!
I'm so oppress'd with joy! Why I have shed
An urn of tears, as though thou wert cold dead;
And now I see thee living, I will pour
From these devoted eyes their silver store,
Until exhausted of the latest drop,

So it will pleasure thee, and force thee stop
Here, that I too may live !' * * * *

She took me like a child of suckling time,
And cradled me in roses. Thus condemn'd,
The current of my former life was stemm'd,
And to this arbitrary queen of sense
I bowed a tranced vassal, nor would thence
Have moved, e'en though Amphion's harp had woo'd
Me back to Scylla o'er the billows rude."

But Circe ere long deserts him:—he runs impetuously
to the forest, and stumbling down its precipices.

"Soon was near
A sight too fearful for the feel of fear :
In thicket hid I curs'd the haggard scene—
The banquet of my arms, my arbour-queen,
Seated upon an up-torn forest root ;
And, all around her, shapes wizard and brute !
And tyrannizing was the lady's look
As over them a gnarled staff she shook.
 Oft-times upon the sudden she laugh'd out,
And from a basket emptied to the rout
Clusters of grapes, the which they raven'd quick
And roar'd for more, with many a hungry lick
About their shaggy jaws. Avenging, slow,
Anon she took a branch of mistletoe,
And emptied out a black, dull-gurgling phial :
Groan'd one and all, as if some piercing trial
Was sharpening for their pitiable bones.
She lifted up the charm : appealing groan'd
From their poor breasts went sung to her ear
In vain ; remorseless as an infant's bier
She whisk'd against their eyes the sooty oil."

Such passages as these—(and there are scores of them)
—from the hand of a man of two-and-twenty, writing absolutely against time, and producing the fruits of his genius before a single summer had transpired in which to mature them, at least bear witness to the most extraordinary natural gifts, which deserved a better welcome and acknowledgement than the cold-hearted cruelty by which a young and ardent soul, in only too frail a receptacle, was almost certainly blighted.

We shall quote but a single passage from the fourth Book. It pleases us less than either of the others, being, in many parts, even more slightly and rudely compacted ; and, full of faults as they all are, it appears to us beyond all measure and comparison the faultiest. But it is indeed a redeeming extract which we shall make, "a poetical translation," as Mr. Milnes beautifully calls it, "of Titian's Bacchus and

Ariadne", finished with all the brilliancy of that great master of flesh-tones. Nothing purer or more picturesque ever dropped from the pen of Sophocles. The lady, (Dian again) who had bade "adieu to Ganges and her pleasant fields," sighs unto Endymion;—

"Beneath my palm-trees, by the river side,
I sat a weeping: in the whole world wide,
There was no one to ask me why I wept—
And so I kept
Brimming the water-lily cups with tears
Cold as my fears.

Beneath my palm-trees, by the river side,
I sat a weeping: what enamour'd bride,
Cheated by shadowy wooer from the clouds,
But hides and shrouds
Beneath dark palm-trees by a river side?

And as I sat, over the light blue hills
There came a noise of revellers: the rills
Into the wide stream came of purple hue—
'Twas Bacchus and his crew!
The earnest trumpet spake, and silver thrills
From kissing cymbals made a merry din—
'Twas Bacchus and his kin!

Like to a moving vintage down they came,
Crown'd with green leaves, and faces all on flame;
All madly dancing through the pleasant valley,
To scare thee, Melancholy!
O then, O then, thou wast a simple name!
And I forget thee, as the berried holly
By shepherds is forgotten, when in June,
Tall chesnuts keep away the sun and moon:—
I rushed into the folly!

Within his car, aloft, young Bacchus stood,
Trifling his ivy-dart, in dancing mood,
With sidelong laughing;
And little rills of crimson wine imbrued
His plump white arms, and shoulders, enough white
For Venus' pearly bite;
And near him rode Silenus on his ass,
Pelted with flowers as he on did pass
Tipsily quaffing.

Whence came ye, merry Damsels! whence came ye,
So many, and so many, and such glee?
Why have ye left your bowers desolate,
Your lutes, and gentler fate?
We follow Bacchus! Bacchus on the wing,
A conquering!
Bacchus, young Bacchus! good or ill betide,
We dance before him thorough kingdoms wide:—
Come hither, lady fair, and joined be
To our wild minstrelsy!

Whence came ye, jolly Satyrs! Whence came ye,
 So many, and so many, and such glee?
 Why have ye left your forest haunts, why left
 Your nuts in oak-tree cleft?—
 'For wine, for wine, we left our kernel tree;
 For wine we left our heath, and yellow brooms,
 And cold mushrooms;
 For wine we follow Bacchus through the earth;
 Great god of breathless cups and chirping mirth!
 Come hither, lady fair, and joined be
 To our mad minstrelsy! "

We shall not linger over the blemishes of "Endymion"—more frequent, we dare say, and at the same time more superficial than are to be found in any other creation of memorable, but immature, genius. They may be summed up in few words—the slight texture of the story; an indiscriminate and often tedious expansion; a carelessness of versification, and a disregard of rhythm unaccountable in a ear which must have been, as the more polished passages shew, so very well attuned; and a propensity to solecize and to indulge in the most glaring extravagancies and pedantries of expression—these faults are more or less apparent in every page, and even in the most redeeming passages. But withal, it is our persuasion that there has seldom been a work from so young a hand which is the index to such capacities for the very highest forms of art; or of a mind by nature cast in so truly classical a mould, or capable for such high education *in*, and then complete transfusion *of*, the spirit of the ancient muse. And this appears to have been the estimate formed of him by many discerning literateurs of Keats's own day. Among others, we may mention Miss Porter of romance celebrity, who was enthusiastic in her praise of "Endymion," hoped that the "ill-natured Review" would not "damp such true Parnasian fire," and desired to summon its author to that magnanimity of patience and endurance which had an earlier genius, his own idol Chatterton, known, he might have "paged with Milton."

Keats was not stationary during the progress of "Endymion" either through his own hands, or the press. We find him, in Mr. Milnes' pleasantly minute volumes, now amid the classic shades of Oxford, exploring the little tributaries to the Isis, "more in number than your eyelashes," or skimming into a bed of rushes to read Wordsworth;—now in the Isle of Wight, relieving the solitude which weighed upon his mind by a continual fever of thought;—and again

in the rich groves and pleasant vales of Devon, where the ruin was so continual that he had a sense of rotting like a grain of wheat as he lay in his bed. Soon after, in the middle of June, 1818—before the storm of criticism had well nigh overwhelmed him, he endured the pain of parting from his brother George, whom he loved intensely, at Liverpool; whose limited fortunes compelled him to seek the solitudes of the far West. Though Audubon the naturalist, curiously watching his efforts at chopping a log, made pre-sage of his well-doing in the New World—"for" (he said) "I could chop that log in ten minutes, and you've taken near an hour; but your persistence is worth more than my expertness,"—yet the tide seems to have continually to have run against George—his speculations were for ever persevered in at a sacrifice. The brothers' letters are a pleasing record of their mutual tenderness and affection, and of their loving reciprocities towards their afflicted brother, "Poor Tom"—(words which may be found pathetically interlined in Keats's copy of Shakespeare) who, after lingering long in the family disease, died early in December, 1818, in Devonshire, where John accompanied him on his return from a tour in Scotland, with his brother-in-law and associate in the delights of literature, Brown, of whom Keats has left a playful description, writ in the manner of Spencer. To a critical knowledge of the Italian language, Brown added a just, though ardent admiration of the poets therein. A joint literary effort by Brown and Keats is included among the "Remains" which Mr. Milnes has edited. It is a tragedy—*Otho the Great*—was offered to Elliston, Manager of Drury Lane,—admired by Kean, and finally produced both there and at Covent Garden, but unsuccessfully. To Brown we owe much in regard to the present complete state of his gifted brother-in-law's writings. The splendid "Ode to a Nightingale" had been lost but for his assiduity in collecting, and restoring to order, the scattered fragments on which it had been written, "in a grass plot under a plum tree" while the bird "which had built its nest close to the house" was vociferating its love-song. It was Brown who, after the ship which bore away the poet's brother had dropped below the horizon, solaced his melaucholy and enhanced his delight at the first glimpses of mountain scenery. They went to Wordsworth's together, unfortunately to be foiled of the desired interview; but, as the lake first burst upon the vision, Brown has written that his companion "stopped as if

stupified with beauty." They regaled their eyes on Derwent Water, ascended Skiddaw, saw "how the water comes down at Lodore"—thence onward to Carlisle with its "Cathedral of sandy red stone, and very ancient castle"—Dumfries, the burial-place of Burns, and Ayr, his birth-place, exciting something of the thrill with which Keats had glowed in earlier days, as he stood before the cottage where Shakespeare first saw the light. We need not follow him through his rambles, through the land of Meg Merrilies (about whom, by the way, he wrote an excellent song) dining now on dirty bacon, dirtier eggs, and the dirtiest of potatoes, with a slice of salmon; and now, on some *dies alba* of his calendar, on ordinary Christian fare in a carpeted room;—enough that the Highlands, and Ireland, and Staffa, more or less completely explored, and Ben Nevis having been the theme of a very passible sonnet, written off hand, as the mist cleared off its top, and discovered the "tremendous precipices" below, he returned to London to find the brother who knew him best, and valued him most, hastening to his dissolution; and to solicit the absent one—"Bear up against this, or any calamity for my sake, as do I for thine." With untiring love, day by day and night by night the gentle poet sate beside the sufferer, soothing his passage to the grave; and when poor Tom was laid low, himself sickened from the toil and anxiety and grief of the occasion. But his comfort still in his vocation, and "under an everlasting restraint from which he never was relieved, except when therein engaged," he again took down his harp, and struck it, not for the applause of men, for it had been the same to him "had no eye ever shone on" his productions, but for his fondness for the beautiful, for the excitement of the work, and for the relief which that afforded to his mental pain. And therefore have we "Lamia," and "Isabella," and "The Eve of St. Agnes," and "Hyperion," and the several glorious odes in his last and most finished volume, which we hope still to find an opportunity to discuss with our indulgent friends.

VIII.

MR. CHARLES HAY CAMERON ON THE DUTIES OF GREAT
BRITAIN TO INDIA.*

No man has a better right to plead with the British Parliament on behalf of the Natives of India than Mr. Charles Hay Cameron. He lived among them—almost he was of them—for twelve years. In the important positions which he occupied, entirely designed for their benefit—he considered the methods adequate to their elevation in the scale of humanity with a generosity and a single-mindedness certainly never surpassed—very rarely equalled. He was the fourth Member, or legislative adviser, of the Supreme Council—he was the President of the Law Commission—he was the President of the Council of Education. In all these capacities he never for one instant lost sight of the great and responsible duties which devolved upon him, in respect to the vast and interesting people committed to his consideration. No man ever exercised his trust with more conscientious consideration of that for which it was committed to him—no man ever carried to his retirement warmer sympathies or more affectionate recollections. The sons of the soil, to whom, while he was among them, his heart, his study, and his largess, were always accessible, have in him, in his native land, an earnest advocate, and a most persevering patron. Besides, he is a man of considerable scholarship, of remarkable sagacity, to whom research and thought have become habitual, a keen interpreter of human nature, a practised lawyer of that unswerving simplicity of purpose and attachment to all which commends itself to his perception of the right and the true, which carries him far above all the paltry arts of truckling dependency, and imparts a vigour and attractiveness to every thing he writes or speaks. We are not at one with him on many points. A good deed for India though we acknowledge it, that the members of the Whig government of 1832 devised the Law Commission, yet we do not think it an unhappy thing they remained not long in their position, nor do we see why they, any more than the party who succeeded them, should be predicated as, after once the urgency of Indian

* AN ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT *on the Duties of Great Britain to India, in respect to the Education of the Natives and their Official Employment.* By CHARLES HAY CAMERON, *Late Fourth Member of the Council of India, President of the Indian Law Commission, and President of the Council of Education for Bengal,* LONDON. 1853.

debate was over, likely to give to the Commission which they had devised "that support which Tribonian and his colleagues received throughout their labours, from the Emperor Justinian, and which Cambacérès and his colleagues received in like manner from the Emperor Napoleon." Mr. Cameron has given, and well given, as his reason for now speaking, after five years' silence, that "this year 1853 is the time for those to break silence who have any thing to ask for India before she begins a new cycle of twenty years, and dwindles into an unnoticed speck in the distance." We cannot even say that we agree entirely with all his recommendations in the interests of the people of India. In regard to the special case so largely entered on, of Dr. S. C. G. Chuckerbutty's admission to the covenanted Medical service, we are rather of Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone's opinion that, considering the promotion of the natives of India to the covenanted offices of the Company had been so long deferred, "the appointment of a single individual at a time when the Company's Charter was drawing to a close, could produce no favorable effect on the minds of the natives, unless it was looked on as an announcement that the covenanted service was henceforward to be thrown open to their country;"—and as we are quite persuaded that it is "more expedient to admit the natives indiscriminately to the offices now held by covenanted servants, than to introduce some small selection from them into a privileged class," greatly as we admire the talent, the diligence, and the character of Dr. Chuckerbutty, and sincerely as we deplore that gifts such as his are victimized to a previous ungenerous—we could almost say faithless policy, we cannot consider that it would have been a good thing, either for himself or for his countrymen, that he should have gone up alone into the covenanted ranks. And as to Mr. Cameron's proposal to erect five Universities, or even a University of Calcutta (with which, for the present, he would be quite contented), we have no hesitation in asserting our opinion, that on the projected plan of unpaid examiners, "selected, of course, principally on account of their attainments, but also with some reference to the elevation of their position in society," and without any new expense involved,—all those benefits would not flow which its designer and advocate contemplates. Unpaid offices are seldom done well. The examination of candidates for degrees, and the assignment of their respective grades in the honour classes, is not merely of itself a

profession, but perhaps the most delicate and exacting of all professions; it requires constant practice in the College Hall and Public Schools,—mere sedentary scholarship will not do for it;—we doubt if even Mr. Grote or Colonel Mure would be so much in place, or command such confidence, in the classical Schools of Oxford, as Linwood and Mitchell; or if the Astronomer Royal and Dean Peacock would be capable of drawing out the mathematical qualities of the candidates for honours, after their long secession from the discipline of the class, so well as Johnson and Donkin. If we are to have an University—prope adsit dies fausta felixque!—we must also have men, not merely of learning, but of academical routine to conduct its duties; and the status of our educational staff must be advanced by the amalgamation of men of eminence and dignity into that body—men of sufficient weight and prominence to establish the privileges, and assert the social position, of their brethren, the higher officers of the tutorial order. But still, differing from Mr. Cameron so far; and believing that in order to the complete effectiveness of Indian Universities, much more is wanted than “a large additional grant made to the sum now devoted to public instruction,” we feel that he has illustrated his main positions with a knowledge and a skill in argument which is perfectly irresistible.

We shall not tarry over Mr. Cameron's defence of the Legislative Member of Council and the Indian Law-Commission, against the objections of Lord Ellenborough and Mr. Amos. It is, to our mind, complete; and we trust it will commend itself to the wisdom of the British Parliament, if it be the case, as Mr. Cameron is afraid, that “the Court of Directors have been accustomed to think of the Law Commission only with the intention of procuring its abolition.”

Our business lies more in the way of native education and official employment. And in respect to these topics, we will quote Mr. Cameron's Charge against the East India Company:—

“That charge,” he says, “admits in them all the merit belonging to prudent and well-disposed administrators of the system established before the year 1843 (1833?), and is founded entirely upon their apparent unwillingness to adopt a system more in accordance with the higher position which they were then invited by Parliament to assume. I do not accuse them of wanting any of the good qualities which we may expect from rulers placed in ordinary circumstances, but only of wanting the loftier and more heroic attributes which would have enabled them to comprehend the illustrious part assigned to them in

the history of our country—I may say in the history of mankind—and to have raised themselves, not without self-sacrifice, to the height and dignity of the occasion.

"The statute of 1833 made the natives of India eligible to all offices under the Company. But during the twenty years which have since elapsed, not one of the natives has been appointed to any office except such as they were eligible to before the statute. It is not, however, of this omission that I should feel justified in complaining, if the Company had shewn any disposition to make the natives fit, by the highest European education, for admission to their covenanted service. Their disposition, as far as it can be devised, is of the opposite kind.

"When four students were sent to London from the Medical College of Calcutta, under the sanction of Lord Hardinge in Council, to complete their professional education, the Court of Directors expressed their dissatisfaction; and when a plan for establishing an university in Calcutta, which had been prepared by the Council of Education, was recommended to their adoption by Lord Hardinge in Council, they answered that the project was premature."

Discouraged by these expressions, and "with one hand upon the lever of legislation, and the other upon the lever of public instruction," "it was both natural, and quite within my line of duty," says Mr. Cameron, "that I should endeavour to frame to myself a distinct notion of the social and political condition into which it should be our object to bring our Indian Empire by the combined forces of legislation and public instruction; the rather, that Lord Hardinge had, at the period I speak of, broken, beyond all possibility of recovery, the power of the last and most formidable rival that had obstructed the British rule, and consequently the progress of civilization in India."

With these objects in design, Mr. Cameron has brought his accurate historical information very conclusively to bear; and by the precedents of former ages, has "rough-hewed" a plan "worthy of the greatest of European nations in regard to the greatest of Asiatic dependencies."

In addition to confuting the opinions of Lord Ellenborough on the inexpediency of a Legal Member of Council, and a Law Commission, Mr. Cameron has been very hard upon the Ex-Governor-General's recent evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons. It may be recollected that his Lordship then forewarned the Legislature of "new dangers opening upon us" from the strong desire manifested to educate the nation, adducing in evidence what we feel persuaded that playful and facetious old Dwarkanath Tagore must have given him the benefit of rather in jest than in earnest, that were those whose desire it is to extend knowledge in our Indian possessions to succeed to the utmost limit of their desires, "we should not remain in the country three weeks!" This judgment, which struck Lord Ellenborough as perfectly true, and increased his timidity of elevating our Asiatic subjects to covenanted offices, and the civil service, "at a time when the press, and increasing railways and

electric telegraphs will enable them to communicate and co-operate," is the matter which Mr. Cameron undertakes to demonstrate the incorrectness of, from the precedents of history.

His first example is drawn from the graphic and luminous page of Robertson, on the policy of Alexander the Great in his Asiatic conquests. The historian's narrative is accessible to all—we may dispense with detail. The organization of the battalions; the conqueror's repose upon the *affections* of the subdued people, as his best security; and *therefore*, the abolition of distinctions between victors and vanquished, and their incorporation into one people by the bond of similar laws, manners, institutions and discipline; the encouragements afforded to the Persian nobility to acquire the Grecian language; the intermarriages of their daughters with the leaders of the victorious strangers; and the remarkable solidity of a system which to all appearance might have endured for ages, but for the untimely death of its great designer, are discriminately commended as not entirely in point for present application, in the following just and apposite remarks:—

"The policy of Alexander was, as every body knows, eminently successful; but in looking at an historical example with the view of drawing from it instruction for our own practical guidance, it is quite essential to bear in mind the difference of the circumstances.

"The distinctions between the Macedonians and Persians of Alexander's day were few and trifling compared with those which separate the British race from the nations which now inhabit the peninsula of India. The distinctions between these latter are, besides, so deeply rooted in the feelings of each people, that such an amalgamation as Alexander contemplated would not be an object of desire to either of them. Alexander himself would assuredly have perceived that to attempt such an amalgamation would not have conducted to the great and beneficent object he had in view.

"But even if the two cases had been less dissimilar, I should not myself have recommended imitation in this particular."

"Experience acquired since the time of the Macedonian conquests has, I think, shewn that the diversity of races, except in so far as it engenders hatred and desire of war and rapine, is a signal advantage to the progress of mankind.

"What we ought to copy, then, from the great Macedonian king, is not the particular measures by which he proposed to make his Greeks and Persians coherent parts of one united Empire, but the generous, philanthropic spirit, the imperial equity, with which he divided his favour and his protection between them; so copying them, we may expect to create that feeling in the governed which corresponds to imperial equity in the governors,—imperial feeling it might be called simply, as holding nations together under one head, in analogy to the phrase national feeling, for that to which a single nation owes its cohesion."

The other example—the “only other,” says Mr. Cameron, “analogous to our Indian dominion,” is not encumbered with these discrepancies and points of divergence. It is, of course adduced from the history of Rome under the Emperors, and, the authority—except when Mr. Cameron very accurately appeals to the original source—is the equally well turned over, and more polished and picturesque page of Gibbon. The superstructure of the later Roman Government, every body knows, was pillared on the foundations of wisdom, justice, and beneficence. The subdued people enjoyed, with the faith of their fathers, the splendour of dominion in community with their illustrious conquerors. The road to fortune and promotion was opened equally to all, who, whether as Italians or as Provincials, bore the Roman name. “The grandsons of the Gauls who had besieged Julius Cæsar in Alesia, commanded legions, governed provinces, and were admitted into the senate of Rome. Their ambition, instead of disturbing the tranquillity of the state, was inseparably connected with its safety and its greatness.” The Latin tongue was propagated, in whatever distant region, might fall to the imperial sway. The ancient dialects of Italy and the West were thus almost annihilated. The germs of improvement were diligently fostered by education. To the consular and patrician father from the South-Western frontier was born an imperial son who would not have shamed the Scipios. “Domestic peace and union,”—“obedience uniform, voluntary and permanent,” “singular and perfect coalition of all the members of the body corporate, were the results of this sagacious and comprehensive policy. The few apparent exceptions to this universally acknowledged general fact are disposed of by Mr. Cameron in a manner at once scholarly and satisfactory, who then closes the illustration in aggregate with the following strong but well considered words:—

“Considering the immense number and the immense variety of the nations who constituted the Roman empire, the history of that empire furnishes a body of experimental evidence in favour of giving a high English education to our Indian subjects, and of opening to them a career of indefinite advancement in every line, more ample perhaps than can be adduced in favour of any other proposition in the art of Government.”

With the ingenuity of an advocate he then introduces, on the authority of Tacitus, a case of speciality—the case of the grandsons of those Gauls who had besieged Julius Cæsar in Alesia.

Most of us must be more or less familiar with that eventful period—of little more than a year's duration—which was witness to the suicide of Nero, the slaughter of Galba, again the suicide of Otho, the accession of Vitellius, and the proclamation of Vespasian;—a period whose records have been preserved to us on so grand a scale in the “Histories” of Tacitus. There can be but few who need be reminded of the defection of Cæsina; the desertion of the Illyrican and Moesian legions to the army of Vespasian; the battles of Bedriacum and Cremona; the vacillation of Hordeoneus Placcus; the menaces of the Batavi under their leader Civilis; the demand that Vitellius resign the purple; the attack on Sabinus, (who was the executive in that demand) in the Capitol to which he had retired, by the Vitellians; and its conflagration—“*facinus post conditam urbem luctuosissimum fœdissimumque; nullo externo hoste; propitiis, si per mores liceret, Deis; sedem Jovis Optimi Maximi, auspicato a majoribus, pignus imperii, conditam; quam non Porsena dedita urbe, neque Galli capta, temerare potuissent, furore Principum exscindi!*” Sabinus, who escaped the flames, was dragged by the Vitellian soldiery to an ignominious massacre. The generals of Vespasian advanced to the city, now the sole remnant of the dominion of Vitellius. He arms the people and the slaves—attempts capitulation—but too late—Rome already reeks with carnage—Vitellius is dragged from his covert—carried to the scene of his exposure of Sabinus's mangled corpse, and bruised to death. The news soon reached the furthestmost of the Provinces:—Civilis, who had only dissimulated attachment to the cause of Vespasian, with his Batavian cohorts and Gallic allies, was immediately in arms against the Empire. The legions on the Rhine in mutiny, their commander, Vocola, who had been preferred in place of Hordeoneus, escaped their vengeance in the disguise of a slave. There was a rumour that the Dacians and Sarmatians have driven the Moesian and Pannonian legions from their winter quarters. Incitements to rebellion now accumulate; the Druids harangue their subject Gauls, predicting the fall of the Empire as prefigured in the fall of the Capitol,—and Gauls and Batavians together revolt from the imperial yoke. The generals of the former people, Classicus, Julius Tutor, and Julius Sabinus, with their armies, combine with Civilis and the Batavians;—they advance to the Rhine—the legions will hold out no longer—they swear allegiance to Civilis *pro imperio Galliarum*. Sabinus was saluted *Cæsar*, and, attacking the still faithful Sequani with a

Lingon rabble, was totally routed, and after years of painful concealment, captured and slain by the soldiers of Vespasian.

We have judged it expedient to refer somewhat more minutely than Mr. Cameron to these stirring scenes, because the same amount of accurate historical information cannot be presumed, in the majority of our readers, as in the Senators of the British Empire. The lesson which he draws from them we will deliver in his own language:—

“I hope, and I believe, that our country will never be afflicted by civil discord, such as that which inflamed the imagination and stimulated the ambition of the Gallic tribes in this ill-advised movement against the Roman empire. But should such calamities ever fall upon us, the narrative of Tacitus—if we substitute Affghans and Seikhs for the German and Batavian; Mahrattas, Rajpoots, Moguls and Patans, for the Gallic nations; and for Druids, Hindoo and Mahomedan prophets and fanatics—would read like a very probable account of what might ensue in our Asiatic dominions.

“The victory which turned the tide in favour of Rome was, we may observe, a victory gained, not by Romans, but by Romanised Gauls. The effect of it was that more moderate counsels began to prevail. The Remi were the tribe who took the lead in this pacific movement. They invited all the Gallic states to send envoys, who might consult in common whether they should declare for independence or for peace. Roman legions were approaching from Italy, from Britain, and from Spain, when the congress of the Gallic states met at the capital city of the Remi (the modern Rheims) to debate the all-important question, whether they should remain in the well-ordered condition of a Roman province, or grasp at the distracted independence and insecure grandeur of a Gallic empire.”

Mr. Cameron bids his audience bear in mind, when they read the historian's account of the discussion, in his very brief epitome of the speeches of Tullius Valentinus and Julius Auspex, and of its results, that “the leaders of the Gauls had been emancipated from the Druidical superstitions, and imbued with Roman letters and philosophy;” and that a *senatus-consultum* of the Emperor Claudius, differing in no respect theoretically from the 87th section of the British statute for the government of India, which provides that “no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of Her Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company,” opened all public employments to the Provincials equally with the Romans themselves. Valentinus would have the Gauls join in the revolt of Civilis and Classicus;—but the milder counsels of Auspex and the Remi prevailed with all except the Lingons

and the Treviri;—for—says the historian,—“*deterruit ple-rosque provinciarum æmulatio: ‘quod bello caput? unde
jus auspiciumque peteretur? quam, si cuncta provenissent, sedem imperio legerent?’ Nondum victoria, jam discordia erat: aliis fœdera, quibusdam opes viresque, aut vetustatem originis, per jurgia jactantibus. Tædio futurorum, præ-
sentia placere.*”

“Now”—asks our author—“if these Gallic chiefs had been such as their grandfathers were when they besieged Julius Cæsar, instead of of being in civilisation and philosophy on a level with the public men of Rome, would they have been so ready to follow the advice of Auspex while they applauded the spirit of Valentinus? Would the excitement produced in their rude and superstitious minds, by such stimulants as the furious harangues of Valentinus, and the songs and prophecies of the Druids, have been so easily allayed by telescopic speculations into the uncertainties of the future?”

“And again, if the Roman government had treated the *senatus-consultum* of Claudius as a dead letter, had taken no steps and made no preparation for carrying it into effect, and had even refused such a complete Roman education to the Gauls as would have fitted them for the enjoyment of its privileges, what an irresistible topic would this have been in the mouths of bards and orators!”

“Valentinus, we are told, said every thing that could be urged against large empires and against the Roman people. But if he could have said that the consequence of the Gauls submitting to be a part of the large empire established by the Roman people was that all the high offices in the Gallic states, all the offices which the Romans thought worth occupying themselves, and which would, under the proposed Gallic empire, become the portion of his hearers, were withheld from them, apparently for ever, by the jealousy or the avarice of their masters; if he could have said this, he would have described a present state of things which could hardly have seemed pleasing to a congress of Gauls even in comparison with the most lowering future.

“The wise and liberal policy of the Romans had deprived him of this most effective topic, and had made the government of foreigners in this respect as effective as that of natives. And accordingly Cerealis, in the conciliatory speech made soon after to those Gallic states which had been most active against Rome, was able to remind them of the advantages they would have sacrificed in these memorable words:—

“*Ipsi plerumque legionibus nostris præsidetis, ipsi has aliasque provincias regitis. Nihil separatim clausumve.*”

“If ever a doubt has crossed our minds on the expediency of admitting the natives of India to whatever office and dignity they may, in due time qualify themselves to hold, and also of encouraging them so to qualify themselves by affording them every possible facility of liberal education, we confess it to be entirely dispelled by this irrefutable argument. It is as clear as words can make it, that neither by statute, nor by policy, nor by the duties which we imperatively owe to the people whom we hold in fealty, have we the shadow of a just pretence for our past behaviour towards them. *First*

make them Christians, argue some,—*then prefer them to posts of responsibility*. We should be found, we hope, as reluctant as any to check any incitement whatsoever to the progress of evangelization. But—did we not find them heathen? Were they not, before we came, in the exercise of all the high functions of government? Have we not set our hands to it, by solemn statute, that, the mental proficiency for official employment in any department of the state being attained, neither creed, nor colour, nor any or every other *national* distinction, shall be a barrier to our Indian subjects' exercise of any office or dignity in that *imperial* province in which they are not only constituents, but the indigenous population? Beyond all, can we be justified, upon any plea of more immediate expediency whatsoever, for withholding any thing which in us lies which might enable the people of this magnificent province to assume the functions of which no less by our decrees than by their own birthright they may be the lawful tenants, when and wheresoever they are capable of transacting them? I would debar, say some, Hindoos and Mahommedans from covenanted offices in India, on the same principle as you would debar Jews from seats in the British House of Commons.—A ready answer to this objection may be found in Sir Frederic Thesiger's speech on the Jew Question, March 11th, 1853. The British Parliament is, constitutionally, a *Christian* Parliament, it legislates for Christian men, and "the sole object for the exclusion of the Jews from the legislature is self-defence—not in the low sense of defence against danger, but in that of security against the violation of a sacred principle." In the other cases, that "sacred principle" does not exist—it is positively disclaimed by statute law. It is no "persecution" to exclude the Jews from Parliament—because persecution is "the infliction of some pain or disability unjustly, either as a penalty for religious opinions or for the purpose of inducing persons to abandon them; and there is no such object in the exclusion of the Jews from the Legislature." But, by this very definition, exclusion of Hindoos and Mahommedans from the covenanted services is persecution of the very rankest intolerance. In the reign of Charles II. there were but twelve Jews in England. Up to the 26th George II. they were aliens in England, and for how long after is not clearly traceable; up to the present day they are merely naturalized subjects of the Crown. Is there a single point of resemblance between their position, and that of the Asiatics in India, either in respect to their birth-

right, or to the fact that it is a Hindoo and Mahommedan population to whom we administrate? But *this* is not all. What defence can be devised for the practical, though not the statutable regulation that a native of India may be an *uncovenanted* Judge, or Magistrate, or Surgeon, but not a covenanted one? Can the consequence be wondered at, which Sir Edward Ryan and Mr. Cameron brought clearly to the notice of the Court of Directors, "that the promise of the Charter is regarded by the natives of India as a mockery"? And if this continues, will it be any wonder if, instead of finding, as in the instance of Rome, that our Provincials remain attached to us as long as our empire lasts, we raise up Civiles and Valentini against us, and find no one Auspex to espouse our cause?

"The Romans deserve, it is true," our author further argues, "to be taken as a model for any people on whom Providence has cast the imperial function, because they did not hesitate to mete out to the subject races the same measure of protection and privilege which they enjoyed themselves. But morality, public and private, has made immense progress since the days of the empire; Christianity has brought nearer to perfection its fruits of gentleness, purity and self-denial; so that to be governed on British principles, if we can but raise ourselves to make this imperial equity one of them, would be a far more valuable boon to India than to be governed upon Roman principles can have ever been to any people of Europe, Asia or Africa."

What, then, is it to govern on British principles? Not to give the same political constitution to every part of the empire;—that can be defended neither by reason nor upon precedent. Not to push the limits of imperial equity beyond the higher constringencies of *Christian* toleration. Not to render all our subject people, irrespective of their divergencies from the faith of the mother country, and of the fountain of power, eligible to all offices, rights, and dignities, at the seat of empire, as well in the provinces to which those subjects severally belong:—that was Roman policy—because, as Gibbon writes, "the various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people, as equally true; by the philosopher, as equally false; by the magistrate, as equally useful." But British policy it can never be, because it is essentially unchristian. Mr. Cameron merely says that "the natives of India do not at present desire" equality with the people at the seat of empire, as that relates to public functions there, as well as in the provinces; and "perhaps they will not desire it for a long time." We would add that it never can be conceded to them, except as converts to the Christian faith. No act

of a British Legislature has ever yet passed, with the avowed object and design of opening its doors to the enemies of Christianity, and long may we be spared the peril of such a declaration. Suppose an Asiatic gentleman, still retaining the creed of his ancestry, yet desirous of the protection of Christian laws, to settle on an estate in one of the counties of England. We believe there to be nothing to interfere with his enjoyment of every civil privilege of a home-born subject:—he might even be upon the Commission of the Peace, and thus invested *there* with an independent dignity from which he is, practically, debarred in his native land. But the function of a legislator exacts for its proper execution a compliance with the principles of the legislation; and those, in England, are Christian, and can be conscientiously entertained by Christians only. Mr. Cameron, then, seems to us to put the matter *without* that point and prominence which it deserves, when he, apparently with some degree of doubt and caution, says, “there is nothing that I know of, *unless it be religious belief*, to prevent a native of India from holding any office in England, *or from becoming a member of of the British Parliament.*” That is the disqualification for the latter named office,—there needs no hesitation in saying so—and may it ever continue so to be. “The first estate in the realm”—(we use the language of Sir Robert Harry Inglis)—“is the Church—our first interest our religion;—and are those who call our Lord an impostor to frame enactments on blasphemy—those who believe the Gospel to be fables to make laws for Christians—those who disbelieve in a day of judgment to legislate by the side of Christian men?” But for the very reason that this is a disqualification in England, it is *not so* in India, where the principles of legislation for the overwhelming majority are contained in the Shasters and the Hedaya. There is positively no argument whatever, except that one derivable from the interests of the ruling Body, to exclude any sufficiently qualified Hindoo or Mahommedan from the exercise of any function attainable by a qualified Englishman. On the contrary, a very plausible case might be constructed, in defence of their superior eligibility, a proper intellectual and moral qualification being first established, to the whole civil, political, and military duties of the country, the superintendence and control alone being in the hands of Europeans.

That the natives of India may be qualified by education for any of those functions which would devolve upon officials administering according to their own religious constitution,

it seems absurd to deny. The principles of equity, as received among themselves, have been just as much adhered to by heathen administrators, and in Mahommedan communities, as in the Christian state. We know perfectly well that among the Parsees of Bombay, and in the mercantile community of Calcutta, there are numerous native gentlemen whose sense of commercial rectitude is in every respect as nice as that which prevails in the leading firms. In the latest English letter of the valuable correspondent of the "*Friend of India*," we read that "the Parsee gentleman, Pestonjee, who came home to urge his claim for the repayment of the money lent to the Nizam," in his examination before the Committee of the House of Commons, though "not speaking English with so much fluency as many other natives of India, and therefore hesitating somewhat in his replies," yet did, "in a very difficult position, surrounded by men of great eminence who kept up a continual fire of cross-questions, manifest the most remarkable presence of mind, urging with great zeal and earnestness the wish so natural to the natives of India, of participating in its government, both legislative and executive." Mr. Cameron, on this point, delivers the following valuable testimony:—

"That our Colleges are now nurseries of men intellectually fit for all these functions—(namely, to improve their own estates, and the condition of their ryots, to utilise the vast stores of undiscovered facts contained in the soil, and to study the peculiarities of the Indian races, and direct them, by eloquent exhortation, to virtue and happiness)—I am confident, from my own personal experience as President of the Council of Education. That they are gradually becoming nurseries of men morally fit, I am persuaded, by the reflection that where large numbers are concerned, intellectual improvement of the best kind brings with it a corresponding moral improvement. It has been so in Europe. In the middle ages, there was fully as much perjury and bribery, fraud and violence, tyranny and oppression, in the nations now at the head of civilization, as there are at this moment in India. Education has produced the change here, and will produce it there; but from the difference of circumstances, with incomparably greater rapidity. There is good evidence, moreover, that this moral improvement is already discernible. Mr. Kerr, Principal of the Hooghly College, says, in his lately published Review of Public Instruction in Bengal:—

"It may be asked, Are the educated natives more likely to prove honest men, and consequently more useful servants of the state, than the rest of their countrymen? I believe they are. The universal impression amongst themselves is, that they are; and of this distinction they are not a little proud. At our colleges and schools, they acquire, to some extent, the habit of truthfulness. English principles are, to a certain extent, engrafted on their hearts. They acquire, also, a taste for what is true and beautiful in speculation, which, so far as it goes, is favourable to upright and honourable conduct. It may also be observed, that it is becoming a point of honour, with those natives

who have received a good education, to be more truthful and trustworthy than the uneducated classes. It would give them more pain to be detected in a falsehood, or in any dishonest practice. A public feeling favourable to integrity is growing up among them. As yet the feeling may not be strong; but even in its feeble state, it must be regarded as a good sign, and as one of the noblest fruits of the education they are receiving.—p. 195.

"This is testimony of very high value: for Mr. Kerr has had ample experience, as Principal of both the Hindoo College and the Hooghly College, and he is a very impartial witness, as any one may see who chooses to read his book.

"Sir Erskine Perry has just returned from Bombay, where he has presided for many years over the education of the natives. On my mentioning to him the above-cited passage from Mr. Kerr's book, he assured me that it entirely accords with his own experience at Bombay. He says, indeed, that he has no hesitation in giving still stronger evidence as to the moral improvement of the natives resulting from a good English education.

"Mr. Halliday, one of the secretaries of the Government of India, lately arrived from Calcutta, has given me similar assurance."

To govern on British principles, then, is, first of all, to stimulate and encourage, by all the weight of our position, our influence, our talents, and our learning, the good work which is, on the amplest conceivable testimony, in course of development. It is, at the same time that we create and foster the impression, that there is no road to advancement but by that more excellent way which we, in the way of Providence, are the instruments for breaking up and levelling in the land so far from the homes of our fathers, to open the most assured passages to distinction unto all, without reference to "religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them," if they will but earn their title by our common birth-right to deserve and gain. It is by no means to obliterate all distinction between the European and the Asiatic officials of the territory. It is not, as Sir Edward Ryan and Mr. Cameron most judiciously put it in their address to the Court of Directors on behalf of Dr. Chuckerbutty, to introduce an unity between the emoluments of Europeans and of Asiatics:—

"We acknowledge that, however anxious we might have been to see him placed, in point of rank, honour, and social position, upon a footing with your European medical officers, we should not have desired to see him receiving pecuniary emolument equal to theirs, if he had not earned his testimonials by residence and study in Europe.

"A native of India ought to be allowed to compete with Europeans for any office in India from which political considerations do not exclude him, and ought, when appointed, to be put upon an equal footing with a European holding a similar office.

"But then an important question arises, as to what really is equality under such circumstances.

"The true principle, we think, is that a native gentleman in public employment in Calcutta should be paid, not as an English gentleman would be paid for executing the same office in Calcutta, but as an English gentleman would be paid for executing the same office in London.

"The English gentleman in Calcutta has to toil in a climate extremely oppressive to his spirits, and unfavourable to his health. He has to pass the best years of his life at a distance from his home, his friends, and relations; and is almost certain to be obliged to retire from the service at a much earlier age than would be necessary if he were discharging public functions in his own country.

"It appears to us, then, that equality of pay for equal services to Europeans and natives generally is nominal equality and real inequality. And it is clearly for the interest of the native community itself that this real inequality should not exist; for, first, the native community is wronged when any functionary paid out of the resources of India is overpaid; and secondly, the fact that native agency can be equitably remunerated by a smaller amount of salary than European agency, is a strong reason for preferring a native, except in so far as such preference may interfere with the higher considerations which we must now advert to.

"The permanent connexion of England and India we consider an object of the last importance to both countries, and it is obviously desirable, with a view to that connexion, that English gentlemen should be sent out to perform public duties in India, even though such agency must always be considerably more expensive than the employment of natives educated in their own country. Now it appears to us clearly desirable, in the same manner and for the same great end, that young native gentlemen should come over to be educated in England.

"If it be so, then, considering all the difficulties and prejudices which they have to overcome for that purpose, it is expedient that higher emoluments should be offered to them than are obtainable by such of their countrymen who have not ventured to seek an English education in England, just as it is expedient that higher emoluments should be offered to induce young English gentlemen to devote themselves to the service of India.

"In this manner it seems to us, that out of the peculiar relation in which England and India stand to each other, there arises a sound rule for the guidance of that discretion with which Parliament has invested you, upon occasion of declaring the natives of India eligible to all those offices in their own country from which they have hitherto been excluded. A rule restricting the number of natives to be admitted under the 87th section of the Charter Act, within limits, at first extremely narrow, but gradually expanding with the gradual advances of the natives in knowledge and in civilisation, is in itself so desirable, that you would have been justified in laying one down arbitrarily. But here a rule of the very sort which is desirable for regulating the transition from the old to the new system presents itself, springing naturally out of the principles of distributive justice, as applied to European and native functionaries in India.

"It certainly cannot be said that the rule thus presenting itself would err in the way of too great laxity. For under it, the present candidate would probably be the sole instance of a native admitted (supposing that you do admit him) to the benefit of the 87th section of the Charter Act during the whole twenty years for which that Act confers the Government of India upon you."

The principle seems a sound one—the single objection arising in our mind being that it might have a tendency to exalt the aristocracy of wealth rather than the aristocracy of intellect. National prejudice dwindling under the halcyon influence of cultivated manners and refined sensibilities, it is by no means improbable that in the course of years it may become a favourite object of the opulent native gentry to educate a son in Europe with a view to his eligibility to the emolument, as well as the dignity of his European associates in the official employment to which he may be designated. To open the same advantages and ulterior prospects to eminent parts in humbler life might be a motive with philanthropists to endow, and attach to our Schools of Arts and Medicine, a small number of travelling fellowships, to be held by natives of India in Europe, during the period of their residence prior to graduating in the faculties. We can imagine no more generous or patriotic appropriation of the reserves which will by and by accumulate in the hands of almost every moderately endowed Hindoo family, when the idle and too often gross and sensual ceremonies on which their fortunes have been lavished up to this time shall, as the effect of a growing enlightenment, cease and terminate.

It will be gathered from the last extract that Mr. Cameron is a warm advocate of the English language and literature, as the vehicle of instruction in the Schools and Colleges of India—not indeed that he is a thorough-going and indiscriminating impugner of the capabilities of the languages of the soil—far from it—his views upon the value of the indigenous dialects, as instruments for the creation of a literature possessing original and national traits, are, as we shall take occasion to shew, singularly just and well-considered. His great complaint against the Roman conquerors is, that they romanised, to the very limit of their dominions, thereby destroying every national and peculiar faculty which was not Roman, and supplanting the promise of original genius that they might encourage the viler produce of servile imitation. The *true* principle, on the other hand, he discerns to be, that “the unity of truth being preserved in knowledge, and the unity of good being preserved in action, we should foster with kindly encouragement, and receive with ready welcome, every variety of delightful product which the varieties of the human mind throughout the habitable world may spontaneously engender.” It is upon this principle that in each of the five universities for the learning of Europe of which he advocates the ultimate establishment in the five

great cities of our Indian dependencies, he contemplates a liberal encouragement of the territorial vernacular—viz.—Bengali in Calcutta, Hindi, or perhaps Hindustani, in Agra, Maratha at Bombay, Tamil at Madras, Singhalese at Colombo;—all—as he justly remarks—“separate, but cognate languages, bearing to each other nearly the same relation as the languages of Christendom bear to each other.” In distinction to the worn-out and now nearly obsolete philological opinion, that the Sanskrit is “the *living* and fostering parent” of all these languages—“the only parent to which they can look up for wholesome nourishment,”* Mr. Cameron adopts the better-sustained hypothesis that “only the northern languages of India are the offspring of Sanskrit, as, the Romanesque languages of Europe are of Latin, while the numerous Sanskrit words which now enrich the vocabularies of Southern India, like the Latin words so abundant in the Teutonic speech of Europe, are mere additions made to pre-existing languages, by borrowing from that venerable source.” At the same time, then, that he quotes with manifest approbation the Reverend Krishna Mohana Banerjea’s practice, in composing treatises on literature and science in the Bengali,—to “draw from the Sanscrit, if that can readily be done, without having recourse to far-fetched inventions,” he lays naked the error and perniciousness of the doctrine that a scientific treatise may be prepared in the “Hindi, Bengali, Mahratta, Guzerati, Tamil, and Telegu” languages, with very little trouble or chance of mistake, “when once the work is put fitly into Sanskrit.” The issue of such a method, it is manifest, can merely be to create the same dearth of originality as resulted from the old “romanising” propensities, and the absurdity as regards the larger half of the above-named languages, of making Sanskrit the medium between it and English, is about as great as if Schlegel, preparing to translate Shakespeare into German, had begun by asking Scheller to make a Latin version of the plays for him. Mr. Cameron delivers, much more wisely and consistently, that to learn the lesson how “to call forth the various excellencies that may be hid in an aggregate of nations resembling each other much, yet also differing much from one another, we must look at the movement of those whose energies found a voice in the Ionic, Doric, Æolic and Attic dialects of ancient Greek; and at the corresponding movements of the English, French, Italian,

* See Sketch of Operations in the Benares Sanskrit College, p. xxiii.

German, and Spanish people of our present Europe, all striving independently and spontaneously, without any acknowledged head or general guidance." And therefore, and with excellent reason, does our author contend that English should be the language in which the highly-educated class of natives should be encouraged to communicate; in which he proves, by two specimens, the one from the pen of Ram Mohan Roy, the other by Professor Banerjea, that they are capable of making a wonderful achievement. There is a passage in the former specimen, bearing so appositely upon the present subject of discussion, that we are induced to quote it.

"The establishment of a new Sanskrit school in Calcutta evinces the laudable desire of Government to improve the natives of India by education,—a blessing for which they must ever be grateful; and every well-wisher of the human race must be desirous that the efforts made to promote it should be guided by the most enlightened principles, so that the stream of intelligence may flow in the most useful channels.

"When this seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government of England had ordered a considerable sum to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful sciences, which the nations of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.

"While we looked forward with pleasing hope to the dawn of knowledge thus promised to the rising generation, our hearts were filled with mingled feelings of delight and gratitude; we already offered up thanks to Providence for inspiring the most generous and enlightened nation of the West with the glorious ambition of planting in Asia the arts and sciences of modern Europe.

"We find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu pundits, to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.

"The Sanskrit language, so difficult that almost a lifetime is necessary for its acquisition, is well known to have been for years a lamentable check on the diffusion of knowledge; and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it."

It will be evident from a previous paper on Education in Bengal, that we do not concur in all the sentiments set forth by Ram Mohan Roy. In places where English has become

the language of current conversation, we are of opinion that the cultivation of Sanskrit—and of Arabic too, we may say, among the Mahommedan students)—supplies a mental discipline corresponding with that supplied by the ancient classics in our European Schools. And though it may be very true that (as Mr. Macauley writes in a most able and highly interesting minute, more than usually replete with his remarkable power of illustration and pungent rhetoric, now first printed by Mr. Cameron,) “no orientalist” has ever been heard by him “to maintain that the Arabic and Sanskrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations,” nevertheless, in the inaccessibility to our native students of the models of the ages of Pericles and Augustus —(the English element is foreign to the present consideration;—for, for the *very highest* order of education, we want the disciplinal instrument of an exact and richly inflected language)—we believe there are in the Arabic, and we know there are in the Sanskrit, numerous poems of a high order of merit. We would never instigate the institution, or even the preservation, of a College to be dedicated to all future time to either of these languages *only*; but still we recognize in them, and not, as Mr. Macauley seems to do, in the languages of the West, the sources of refinement to the vernacular languages of the country, and for enriching these with the terms of science, and so “rendering them, by degrees, fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.” To adopt Mr. Macauley’s idea would be, it seems to us, to make every scientific treatise for the people of India an ungainly hybrid. As Dr. Sprenger has very well said, “to believe that such heterogeneous stuff can be assimilated, if it be imported wholesale, is as absurd as to believe that a wooden leg will grow to a stump.” Mr. Cameron’s answer to this gentleman’s “three propositions” do not appear to us to be conceived in his usually happy vein. The question raised was not whether English and Hindustani should be taught in the future university of Agra, but whether, in the application of Hindustani to the construction of scientific treatises, it shall be enriched by opening its *natural* resources, or from an exoteric element. Now though it is very true that “the Hindustani is no genuine Indian language, nor even a member of the Indo-Germanic family,” but “a hybrid dialect, begotten by a Semitic intruder upon one of the daughters of the Indo-Germanic Sanskrit,” yet it should be recollected that this was an accident of circumstances, and

was not of design. The Mahommedan conquerors introduced as much of the Semitic element as they could—to indigenize their mother tongue was impossible—still the Indo-Germanic is, philologically speaking, the exoteric element in Hindustani—the nearer the vast Mohammedan population who principally employ it can bring it to the genuine Semitic stock, the more perfect it will be, not only in their eyes, but absolutely. And therefore, and as the stock from which the scientific nomenclature of the languages of the nations beyond the Indus may be hereafter enriched, we advocate that for *its* expression the resources of the Arabic be investigated. We can safely say, too, that there is often as great a difficulty in putting English into Nagree as into Arabic character—our own name occurs to us in a moment, which, though no dissonance to English ears, is barbaric in an oriental dress;—and as to saying that “if it is really impossible to write English in Arabic characters, the legitimate consequence is that Arabic characters must be disused, and some other substituted,” it might be quite as reasonable, in our opinion, alleged that Arabic itself, and every thing drawn from it, must be disused, and something else substituted;—and, if the substitute is to be the alphabets of the West, why we say sincerely that, having seen some monsters in our day, we never saw other such a monster as Arabic in English letters. Still after all, Mr. Cameron’s main position is the right one,—that “English is the language which, while it binds together the Indian races, will also bind them to Great Britain; and English contains also such masterpieces in the several kinds of composition, and such a fund of useful and ornamental knowledge, that the two rival languages, Sanskrit and Arabic, must shew transcendent claims of some other kind, before Parliament can be induced to give them the preference. Nor could Parliament have failed to perceive, if it had undertaken to decide the question in 1833, that to give the natives a complete English education was the surest way of putting them in real and practical possession of the privilege of eligibility to all offices in their own country, which it was conferring upon them by law in the 87th section of the statute.”

As to the present results of English education, as apparent in the masses, we are sorry that we cannot give a very satisfactory account. The educated natives succeed better in scholastic essays than in the English of every day life. In editing this Magazine for several years past, we have had various occasions of observing the generic blemishes of their

style, and, we trust, in some few instances, of tendering the word in season. With considerable taste, and appreciation of our very highest forms of diction, they run, in their original brochures, into a turgid licence of phraseology, or else into a prim and unidiomatic explicitness. They are verbose, and parenthetical, and appear, even after much practice, to gain but little mastery of the terse and nervous energy of our speech. We do not venture to assign a reason for it, it may be from the denial of university honours to them, or it may be that the apparent intention of confining them to the uncovenanted services has driven them to abandon their literary pursuits;—but certainly, with very, very rare exceptions, as far as our own experience goes, the *class* of students from the Hindoo and Hooghly Colleges, of Mr. Cameron's day, do not now possess so large a stock of good English, good sense, and forcible argument as once existed in the person of the Rajah Ram Mohun Roy.

In regard to "the disputed question of religious education," though not absolutely at one with Mr. Cameron, we still acknowledge the general defensibility of the positions which he assumes. It is undoubtedly true that "a government of Christians, undertaking to rule a multitude of nations professing the Hindoo, Boodhist, and Mahommedan creeds, is strictly bound, as between its subjects and itself, *not to assume* the truth or falsehood of any religion." It is true that "it cannot teach Christianity in its own Colleges, *as part of its general system of imperial instruction*. It is also true that it cannot countenance an *enforced* attendance on instruction in proof of the truth of Christianity. Nevertheless it is quite eligible to it *to permit* the accessibility of such instruction, within the walls of its own Colleges, where there is a disposition to receive it; and also to countenance communication of that instruction, to willing recipients, by men whose position in the Church would be the best security for its soundness and perhaps its popularity. We have already expressed our feelings upon this subject, in a previous article on Education in Bengal, and need not repeat them at any greater length here.

Every one who has for any length of time taken an interest in native improvement, will be aware that in June, 1845, Mr. Cameron prefixed, at Principal Kerr's request, to that gentleman's edition of the "Novum Organon," an exceedingly happy discourse to the students under the superintendence of the Council of Education. We have to do with only one passage of this. It is the following:—

"What this Anglo-Indian nation is destined to *create* in English, or in its own vernacular languages, whether it will *produce any thing at once new and important* in literature and philosophy, in jurisprudence and social science,—these are questions which I cannot pretend to answer."

Mr. Cameron, after intimating to his interesting audience that though he cannot *answer* those questions, he cannot refrain from meditating upon them, quotes the remarkable passage from Arnold's lectures on Modern History, in which it is suggested that the history of *modern* times seems to indicate that we are in the *last* stage of human advancement;—that the fulness of time is approaching, and that there will be no *future* history, with characteristics distinguishable from the *present*. The highly elaborated and long-enduring systems of Greece and Rome are now, in as far as they were meet and right, wedded with "the perfection of moral and spiritual truth." A succession of races have received, and assimilated these elements of truth, and have invested them with their own peculiar characters. But races so gifted are few in number, and at last become extinct altogether. "Now," says Dr. Arnold, "looking anxiously round the world for any new races which may receive the seed (so to speak) of our present history into a kindly yet vigorous soil, and may reproduce it, the same and yet new, for a future period, we know not where such are to be found. Some appear exhausted, others incapable, and yet the surface of the globe is thrown open to us."

"*I may be mistaken,*" (said Mr. Cameron, in reference to the foregoing extract) "*but I am impressed with the belief that the races which occupy British India are neither exhausted nor incapable.*"

He discusses this opinion^d in his Address to Parliament, in an argument which, though to all it may not be convincing, yet we must acknowledge to be conceived in an eminently philosophical spirit; and which we deem of sufficient importance to transfer entire to our pages, as supplementary to an address which has for several years, among the educated classes of India, been estimated at its proper value.

"The early literature of the Hindoos shows decisively that there was formerly no want of capacity in some of the Indian races."

"But when I ventured, notwithstanding Dr. Arnold's authority, to express my opinion that the races which occupy British India are neither exhausted nor incapable, I ought to have given my reasons for the former, as well as for the latter opinion. Want of leisure for investigation and reflection obliged me to content myself with an appeal to the literary fame acquired by Hindoo writers in remote ages. But I have since reflected maturely on the subject, and am satisfied that there is no evidence of such exhaustion in the Indian races as should prevent

the sort of reproduction that Dr. Arnold was thinking of. I now, therefore, say again, as I said eight years ago, 'I am much disposed to believe that there is in the people who inhabit this great peninsula, sufficient force of character, and sufficient difference from the European races, to make it probable that great changes will be wrought in the elements which the Indian subjects of Great Britain are now receiving under her instruction, and that what is old in itself, when exhibited in them, will seem to become new'. And I think I can fortify my opinion in such a manner that no one, who would have assented to it, if I had been speaking of the generations in which the Sanskrit literature flourished, need shrink from admitting that opinion to be true of their descendants, because they have long ceased to produce any thing at all comparable to that manifestation of intellectual and imaginative power.

"The ground of my conviction is, that the only supposed cases of exhaustion are those of the Greek and Roman races under the empire, and that we can show regarding the latter, that their exhaustion, such as it was, did not prevent them from exhibiting to the modern world the stores which they had preserved from the ruin of the ancient, in new aspects and new combinations of extraordinary splendour and variety.

"The exhaustion of the Greeks is thus described by Gibbon in his 53rd Chapter:—

"They held in their lifeless hands the riches of their fathers without inheriting the spirit which had created and improved that sacred patrimony: they read, they praised, they compiled, but their languid souls seemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity or promote the happiness of mankind. Not a single idea has been added to the speculative systems of antiquity, and a succession of patient disciples became in their turn the dogmatic teachers at the next servile generation. Not a single composition of history, philosophy, or literature, has been saved from oblivion by the intrinsic beauties of style or sentiment, of original fancy, or even of successful imitation."

"In this condition the Greeks remained till their subjugation by the Turks, an event which crushed whatever energy may have been latent in them for several centuries, though, we may hope, not for ever.

"The subjugation of the Latin half of the Roman world by the warlike races who invaded it from the north, had a very different effect. It produced, after a long and dreary interval, those masterpieces of art and that wonderful scientific development on which the foremost nations on the earth now justly pride themselves. And it is most important to the present argument to remark that the revival of letters commenced in that part of the former Roman Empire which received the smallest infusion of foreign elements, in which the population was most thoroughly Roman, and in which the language employed to express the new forms of thought was very little else than transfigured Latin."

"If we could only appeal to Germany, where nearly every thing Roman was swept away with the legions of Quintilius Varus; or to Britain, although the Romans left deep traces in Britain; or even to Gaul, although there the Romans left still deeper traces; the new Teutonic element might be held to account sufficiently for the new products which, after a long interval, followed its introduction.

"But while these were still latent in their seeds, or displayed only in the gay but idle efflorescence of the troubadour minstrelsy, Italian literature had sprung up in amazing vigour and luxuriance, and

demonstrated for us that the people of Italy, who had seemed, like the Byzantine Greeks, to have become unfit for any thing nobler than reading, praising, and compiling, were in truth still teeming with original genius. This genius, which, so long as it used only the classical medium, could do no more than servilely copy the great classics; yet failed not, when it threw itself into new vernacular forms, to delight and to astonish the world.

"The soil was exhausted as regards classical seed, but full of productive vigour as regards the new vernacular seed; as a field worn out by incessant harvests of wheat is still found capable of sending up luxuriant crops of lucerne.

"We cannot, indeed, assert with confidence that no part of the new mental vigour displayed in Italy was produced by the infusion of Lombard or Ostrogothic blood. But since the nations which received a much larger infusion of new blood than the Italians, awakened from their torpor, not earlier, but much later, we have sufficient ground to conclude that the Roman element, which bore in Italy so much larger a proportion than elsewhere to the barbarian, had not become incapable of sending forth vigorous shoots when a stimulus was applied to it wholly different to that to which it had grown insensible.

"Now thus it may be too, and thus it probably is, with the people of India. I can see nothing in the history of the human race, or in the known laws of the human mind, that should forbid us to expect from the inhabitants of that vast region (barren as they have become of works after the Sanskrit type) a fertility corresponding in novelty and copiousness to the novelty and the exciting nature of the circumstances which now surround them.

"A highly organized race, a language capable with due culture of expressing all that is graceful and lofty in human thought, together with free access to works of the highest art expressed in another language, and embodying forms of thought such as to suggest to the new candidates for fame, the ambition of producing, not servile copies, but corresponding manifestations of a new and different energy; these seem to me to be conditions of a new intellectual development. And when these co-exist, I am no believer in the doctrine that exhaustion of the race can make their combination abortive."

Beyond all doubt or question there seems to be consistency in the line of reasoning pursued:—and if such be the results, prospective even in the distant future, from the advance of sound learning in our Eastern dominions, what a noble mission have the Discreet among our Principals and Professors of Colleges before them, and how culpable will it be to persevere in the system of ill-assorted claptrap which we have taken occasion to expose in our article on Education in Bengal, the certain tendency of which must be to incapacitate the scribes therein instructed for bringing forth out of their treasure things new and old.

"It has not been Mr. Cameron's plan to go into any great detail on the Law Commission, his object having been, like our own, to set forward in as distinct terms as possible, that Education's first duty to India consists in the prepara-

tion of the natives, by the diffusion of sound learning and enlightenment, for occupation of the honours and dignities of office in their own land. He is no headstrong and imperturbable man of one idea. More than twenty years ago he wrote, "my anxiety for the improvement of the natives of India does not blind me to the marked distinctions which exist between them in their present moral condition and their European governors," and his estimate is still the same of that vastly more multitudinous body of the people into whose minds only oriental morality has been instilled. "I am not at all sure," he confesses, "that we have not gone too far in the official employment of natives without preparing them by European training." But the consummation which he desires is to see judges of all grades, indiscriminately native and European, who, after liberal preparation in the Schools of England or of India, shall have devoted the best years of their lives to their profession, administering, in association with a select portion of the public, the three civil codes which it is the Law Commission's object to digest and record—the Hindoo,—the Mohammedan,—and the *Lex Loci*, for every man neither Hindoo nor Mohammedan;*—and the common penal code of the whole empire. These judicial officers are, according to the scheme of the Commission, to be superintended by one great court of appeal at each of the presidencies—to be composed of judges of the Supreme and Sudder Courts as at present constituted.

Many years of intimate familiarity with the educated natives of India of almost every grade of society convince us that there is no such ingrained obliquity in the race as some would have the world to believe; but that on the contrary, there are already noticeable tokens that eligibility to honour and responsibility, as the meed of due acquirement, would most certainly incite them to nobler efforts, and higher elevation of character. No people on the earth are more keenly sensible of the sacredness of a trust. This our Missionaries have found out, having practically learned that the readiest way to secure justice in the little communities of which they are the Heads, is to commit the award to

* This *Lex Loci* Mr. Cameron describes as "so much of the rules of morality, sanctioned by authority, and systematized by the sagacity of English judges, chancellors, and parliaments, as can be conveniently enforced in Courts of Justice, together with such arbitrary rules, as for example, the rule which regulates the distribution of an intestate's property, as are subsidiary to the rules of morality."

juries composed from them, after evidence heard. A long, and tolerably various and extensive practice of friendly interchange of offices with the educated Hindoo, has brought conviction to our mind that, omitting those exceptional cases which must be looked for in all communities, Christians as well as pagan, confidence and discriminating kindness will invariably have its reward in integrity and obsequiousness.

The people are entirely disposed for our imperial rule. The system of caste precludes all but a very fractional part of them from entertaining any fondness for, or even thought of Government; and even those who do, could aspire to it only in a very limited sphere; and knowing how their fathers were, in their state of independence, in peril of the perpetual raids of the petty potentates in their proximity, they would one and all of them, probably, in return for the assurance of imperial equity, choose "to subserve where wisdom bears command." At least, as Mr. Cameron has properly said, "not one of them desires to be the vassal of any other. And I believe that if every native of India who could dream of aspiring to the sceptre of an Indian Empire were asked who next to himself he would consider most fit to exercise imperial power over the nations of the Peninsula, he would answer 'Queen Victoria,' if he knows that there is a Queen Victoria; if not, 'the East India Company.'"

But that they expect us to mete them imperial equity, is as natural as true. The feeling is less and less dissembled every year; the signs of the times cannot escape the least attentive observation; the smallest familiarity with the lettered class is enough to indicate a dissatisfaction at their disabilities, or rather at the hindrances imposed on their advancement to those preferments to which they are constitutionally eligible; that they succumb to the ultimate authority of our codes and constitutions, but see the justice of their exercising functions in the polity with the same honorable distinctions, and independence of the lower tribunals, as their hitherto only more favoured brethren from the West.

As to the political constitution under which this imperial equity may be most eminently well maintained, Mr. Cameron is inclined to think that the existing one is the most promising; a despotism "acting upon constitutional maxims, and with constitutional habits, and therefore ruling, or at least intending to rule, in the interests of the people." The British constitution he considers wholly unfit for the Indian nations.

"My own opinion is," he writes, "that the best government for India, at least in her present condition, is a despotic government; and that the inhabitants of that country, European as well as Asiatic, should derive the assurance which they ought to possess against the abuse of the powers of government, not from any political privileges exercised by themselves; but, first, from the fact that none are admitted to the highest offices of the country, but those who (whatever be their origin) have received the moral and intellectual training of British functionaries; secondly, from the fact that all the details of the Indian governments are submitted in detail to the criticism and correction of authorities in England; and, lastly, from the fact that those authorities are responsible to the British Parliament. In this way, it seems to me, the advantages of despotic and constitutional government are united, while the disadvantages of both are avoided in a remarkable degree. * * * * * I incline to think that such a scheme will always be the best. For it is no stationary system; on the contrary, it is one which will go on continually reflecting all the successive improvements of the constitutional and progressive system, from which its principles of administration are derived, and to which they must conform."

Cuilibet in sua arte credendum, as Mr. Cameron himself has quoted: we must refrain. But we thank him for his truly liberal and timely address. The Editor of the *Benares Magazine* will not, at this hour of the day, be ranked with the factious disturbers of established order; but a sense of what is due from England to India, and a belief that, blinded by the interests of selves and families, our rulers have been chary of their higher obligation to do good and to communicate, combine to make us grateful that one has been found to consider so wisely, and to appeal so convincingly.

